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Studies in Indian History And Civilization

1781

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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY AND CIVILIZATION

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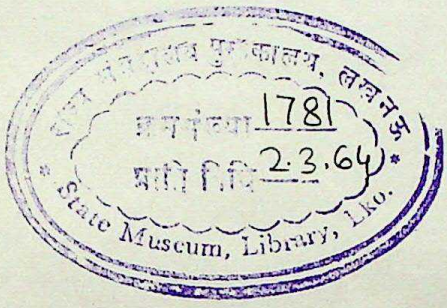

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PREFACE

This volume entitled *Studies in Indian History and Civilization* is a collection of my research studies in different periods and aspects of Indian history and culture. Some of these studies have appeared in well-known journals relating to Indological researches. But now they have been thoroughly revised and rewritten in the light of latest studies and researches. Every study contained in this volume enshrines a new approach to the problem it treats. The key-note of this new approach is a reconciliation of literary evidence and archaeological data. Every historical age or epoch is characterised by its peculiar atmosphere which pervades every aspect of its culture and conditions its art, science, philosophy, literature, economy, polity and styles and ideals of life. This atmosphere knits the varied manifestations of life and culture in a common relationship and thus gives an individuality to the age. Hence there is a fundamental unity in the various cultural strands of an age. The poet's imagination, the story-teller's fancy, the artist's vision, the philosopher's insight, the scientist's acumen, the trader's method and the diplomat's skill partake of a common cultural background having its own peculiar and singular atmosphere. The poet's rhymes, the novelist's diction, the painter's brush, the sculptor's chisel, the architect's scale, the mint-master's die and the craftsman's tools create objects stamped with the cultural identity of the age and thus express its innate nature in diverse media and forms. Hence there is an underlying unity in all the creative works of an age. Literature, art and monuments complement each other. Literary traditions and archaeological evidence breathe the same air of the age. Sometimes the legends of an age clothe the facts of history in such a garb of fiction that their real form becomes somewhat recondite and they seem quite inconsistent with the data of archaeology and epigraphy. But often the historical nucleus can be recovered from the mass of legends by means of a method of critical analysis and dissection. Through this approach the data of legends and traditions contained in literature are easily brought in harmony

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with the facts of history gleaned from chronicles and archaeological remains. Thus, we should not shun literary legends and traditions as mere figments of imagination but try to discover their historical kernel by penetrating into their inner core with a critico-comparative methodology. We should endeavour to correlate every datum with its proper context and perspective and consider it from the standpoint of situations and probabilities which can be gathered from other reliable sources. Thus, a wonderful concordance is sometimes established between historical, archaeological and literary data. What appears as mere fiction shines up with a new historical light. It appears that the poet was merely colouring the facts of history with literary flourishes and imaginative touches. Archaeology seems to provide a commentary to literary works. Some of the studies contained in this collection bring out the intimate relationship of history, literature and archaeology. An approach to Kālidāsa and his works from this standpoint is illuminating in many ways. A study of the Purānas and epics, both Indian and Iranian, the *Mahābhārata* and the *Shāh-nāmā* with this methodology, results in the discovery of unknown facts and supplies missing links of known data. Where archaeological evidence fails, as in the case of Poros and Candragupta Maurya, the value of these data becomes immense. We can ill-afford to shut out these data of literary traditions coming from unforeseen sources such as the Iranian epic, because it is with analogous literary data only that we are forced to reconstruct the history of these epochs. If late Pāli works such as the *Mahāvaṁsa Tīkā* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna, penned in Ceylon, can be utilised for writing the history of these periods, there is no reason why the Iranian works, composed on the basis of equally old records, containing traditions, with which they were especially likely to be familiar, should be discarded *ab initio*. Of course, a very strict scrutiny and highly critical analysis is indispensable while dealing with this material and only that fact is to be accepted which fits in very closely with the known context of events, but this does not mean that we should harbour any inborn bias against it and reject it outright without even feeling the need of examining it. In some studies I have shown that this material has enough historical worth which can be assessed by a critical method but a sympathetic outlook. A scientific method shuns prejudices

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and preconceptions. It is characterised by an open and receptive mind. It never refuses to examine any set of data for some bias. It has a use for every variety of evidence. In these studies the endeavour has been to follow the scientific method of the study of historical facts and cultural phenomena and to approach historical legends and traditions contained in literary works and chronicles as well as the data of archaeology, epigraphy and numismatics with an open though critical mind.

Moti Bhavan,
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October 2, 1962

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGES
I	*The Hindu Philosophy of History*	1-27
	1. The meaning of history	1
	2. Hindu Historiography	1
	3. The theories of organic causation	3
	4. Ādipuruṣ and Virāṭrūpa	4
	5. The conception of time	5
	6. Law and freedom in history	8
	7. The quest of universal cultural values . .	14
	8. The synthesis of moral and mechanical processes	18
	9. The Hindu philosophy of history applied to world history	22
II	*Poros*	28-29
	1. The dynasty of Poros	28
	2. The identity of the Pauravas and Parvatakas . .	30
	3. Political conditions of North-western India on the eve of the rise of Poros	33
	4. The relations of Poros and Darius III . .	38
	5. The Indian invasion of Alexander and the attitude of Poros towards it . .	44
	6. The battle of the Jhelum between Alexander and Poros B.C. 326 . .	46
	7. The friendship of Alexander and Poros and the subjugation of the states of the Panjab by them	62
	8. The aftermath of Alexander's Indian invasion and the alliance of Poros and Candragupta Maurya . .	65
	9. The conquest of Magadha and the murder of Poros	65
III	*The Home of the Mauryas*	70-85
	1. Buddhist traditions about the Mauryas . .	70
	2. Jaina traditions about the Mauryas . .	72
	3. Brahmanical traditions about the Mauryas . .	73

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CHAPTER		PAGES
	4. The theories of the north-western origin of the Mauryas	74
	5. The Mauryas and Moriya Sannivesa ..	78
	6. A critical estimate of the theory of the separation of the Moriyas from the Śākyas following the persecution of Viḍuḍabha ..	79
	7. The location of Moriya Sannivesa, the home of the Mauryas ..	83
IV	*Candragupta Maurya in the Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi*	86-130
	1. The sources of the history of Alexander and Candragupta Maurya ..	86
	2. Firdausi and his Shāh-Nāmā	87
	3. Firdausi's treatment of the history of Alexander	90
	4. The reference to Kand or Kaid by Muslim historians	91
	5. The contemporaneity of Kaid and Alexander ..	93
	6. The Milad of Kaid and Taxila	93
	7. Mihran, the guide of Kaid	96
	8. The dreams of Kaid	98
	9. The tyrant king	100
	10. The tyrant king and the Nandas	103
	11. The treaty of Kaid and Alexander ..	117
	12. The character of Kaid	118
	13. The identity of Kaid and Candragupta Maurya	118
	14. Early life of Candragupta Maurya ..	119
	15. The details of the treaty of Candragupta Maurya and Alexander	123
	16. The rumours of the marriage of Alexander with an Indian woman ..	125
	17. The rumours of the matrimonial alliance of Candragupta Maurya and Seleucos ..	127
	18. The gifts sent by Candragupta Maurya to Alexander	128
V	*The Relations of Candragupta Maurya with Alexander the Great*	131-134
	1. Plutarch on the meeting of Androcottos and Alexander	131

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CHAPTER		PAGES
	2. Arrian on the meeting of Meroes and Poros	132
	3. The identity of Meroes and Candragupta Maurya	133
VI	*Historical Characters of the Maurya Period in the Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhadatta*	135-142
	1. Introductory remarks	135
	2. Malayaketu	138
	3. Balagupta	141
	4. Virādhagupta	142
VII	*Fall of the Maurya Empire*	143-175
	1. Sources and authorities	143
	2. Chronological framework	146
	3. The question of Kunāla	149
	4. The reference to other kings	153
	5. The problem of partition	154
	6. The north-western scene : Vīrasena and Subhāgasena	155
	7. The eastern theatre	160
	8. Samprati (236 B.C.—227 B.C.)	161
	9. Daśaratha (227 B.C.—219 B.C.)	166
	10. Śāliśūka (219 B.C.—206 B.C.)	167
	11. Devadharman or Devavarman (206 B.C.—199 B.C.)	172
	12. Śatadhanu (199 B.C.—191 B.C.)	173
	13. Bṛhadratha (191 B.C.—184 B.C)	173
	14. Remnants of the Mauryas	174
VIII	*Main Trends of the Social and Economic History of Maurya Empire*	176-208
	1. The urban-economic development of the sixth century B.C.	176
	2. Social and political unity as an expression of economic unity	180
	3. Secular standpoint and rational outlook ..	183
	4. The dichotomy of rich and poor ..	183
	5. State capitalism under the Mauryas ..	188
	6. The lot of the poor in the Maurya empire ..	190

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CHAPTER		PAGES
	7. Maurya etatisme and bureaucracy . .	192
	8. Economic aspect of the fall of the Maurya empire	194
	9. Oppressive taxation and exaction in the Maurya period	195
	10. Revolt against Maurya secularism . .	199
	11. The Brahmanical Renaissance	203
	12. Centrifugal forces and policies of pacifism . .	204
	13. Mystic, escapist and metaphysical trends of thought	207
IX	*A New Approach to the Indo-Greeks*	209-239
	1. The settlement of the Greeks in Bactria . .	209
	2. The rise of the Bactrian Greeks under Diodotus	211
	3. The advent of Euthydemus	213
	4. The reign of Demetrius I	214
	5. The career of Puṣyamitra Śunga	217
	6. Kṛmiśa and Demetrius II	220
	7. The struggle in India after the death of Puṣyamitra and the invasion of Demetrius II . .	221
	8. The Puranic accounts of the Indian invasion of Kālayavana	223
	9. The identity of Kālayavana and Demetrius II	227
	10. The war of Eucratides and Demetrius II . .	231
	11. The criticism of the theory of the Indian invasion of Menander	236
X	*Thākura*	240-261
	1. Connotations of the word 'ṭhākura'	240
	2. Literary uses of the word 'ṭhākura'	241
	3. 'Thākura' and 'Tegin'	244
	4. The word 'ttaugara'	245
	5. Movements of the Yue-che	250
	6. The Yue-che and India	253
	7. 'Thākura' and 'ttaugara' : a linguistic study . .	256
IX	*Samudragupta and the Saka-Kuṣāṇas*	262-270
	1. The reference to the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta	262

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CHAPTER		PAGES
	2. The debacle of the Kuṣāṇas	263
	3. The relations of the Kuṣāṇas with Rome and the Sassanid empire	265
	4. The pressure of Shāhpuhr II on the Kuṣāṇas ..	267
	5. The alliance of the Kuṣāṇas with Samudragupta between 350-356 A.D.	268
XII	*Candragupta Vikramāditya and Ardashir II*	271-276
	1. The rise of the Kuṣāṇas in the later part of the reign of Shāhpuhr II	271
	2. The Kuṣāṇa invasion of India after the death of Samudragupta	272
	3. The Pehlavi and Persian traditions of the relations of Ardashir and Kaid	274
	4. The embassy of Ardashir II in the court of Candragupta II	275
XIII	*Kālidāsa and the Hūṇas*	277-329
	1. The reference to the Hūṇas in the Raghuvaṁsa	277
	2. A flying survey of the history of the Hiung-nu	283
	3. A thumb-nail sketch of the history of the Oxus Valley	289
	4. A brief outline of the history of the Hephthalite-Hūṇas	301
	5. Considerations about the date of Kālidāsa ..	323
XIV	*The Geographical and Cultural Aspects of the Northern Itinerary of Raghu as described by Kālidāsa*	330-357
	1. The north-western route across the Indus ..	330
	2. The valley of Kāpiśī	333
	3. The Yavana cantonment	335
	4. The battle of Begram	337
	5. The Pārasīkas at Begram	339
	6. Routes from Kāpiśī to the Oxus	343
	7. The conquest of the Hūṇas on the Oxus ..	346
	8. The funerary custom of the Hūṇas ..	347
	9. The march against the Kambojas of Badakhshan	350
	10. The crossing of the Pamirs and the campaign in Khotan	352

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Chapter		Pages
	11. The Parvatīyas, Utsavasanketas and Kinnaras . .	355
	12. The homeward journey	356
XV	*The Kidarites in Indian History*	358-377
	1. The Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas	358
	2. The Sassanids and the Śakas	360
	3. The Guptas and China	362
	4. Movements and migrations in Central Asia . .	364
	5. The Kidarites	365
	6. The Kidarite-Hephthalite invasion of northern India	372
	7. Kungkas and Kanka	374
	8. Skandagupta's wars with the Kidarites and Hūṇas	375
XVI	*A Reference to the Sassanids in Indian Literature*	378-389
	1. The rise of the Sassanids	378
	2. The Sassanids and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas . .	379
	3. The Sassanids and India	383
	4. The Sassanids and the Sajjhāṇaṁśa of the *Titthogālīpainnaya*	386
	5. The cultural consequences of Sassanid influence in North-western India	387
XVII	*On Vikramāditya Traditions*	390-398
	1. Traditions about Bikarmājīt, a contemporary of Ardashīr or Shāhpuhr, mentioned by Farishta	390
	2. The problem of the era of 57-58 B.C. . .	390
	3. Al-Birūni's reference to two Vikramādityas . .	392
	4. Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the Śakas . .	392
	5. Candragupta II Vikramāditya's association with Ujjayinī in Malwa	393
	6. The identification of Candragupta II Vikramāditya with the traditional Vikramāditya credited with the foundation of the era of 57-58. B.C. . .	393
	7. Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the South . .	394
	8. Concluding remarks	398
XVIII	*The Age of the Mrcchakaṭika*	399-416
	1. Reference to Subandhu	399

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CHAPTER		PAGES
	2. Mention of King Rudra	404
	3. Allusion to 'Khera Khāṇa'	405
	4. The identification of 'Madhughāta' . .	409
	5. The political revolution	410
	6. The court scene	412
	7. Concluding observations	416
XIX	*A Historical Approach to the Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara*	417-427
	1. Rājaśekhara and his Karpūramañjarī . .	417
	2. Caṇḍapāla and the Deccan	418
	3. Caṇḍapāla and Mahīpāla	419
	4. Mahīpāla and the East	419
	5. Mahīpāla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas	421
	6. Caṇḍapāla and Mahendrapāla	423
	7. Mahendrapāla and the East	423
	8. Mahendrapāla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas	425
	9. Mahendrapāla and Lāṭa	426
	10. Caṇḍapāla identified with Mahendrapāla . .	426
	Appendix to Chapter VII "Fall of the Maurya Empire" . .	429
	Index . .	431-444

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CHAPTER I

The Hindu Philosophy of History

1. *The meaning of history.*

History is a study of the past of man. This study has two stages : (1) the ascertaining of facts on the basis of a critical and scientific investigation of the evidence left by the past and (2) the finding of correlations and inter-connections among the facts thus established. The second stage of the study of history relates to the arrangement and classification of facts in such a way as to bring out the tendencies or directions that they exhibit in their unfolding. These tendencies and directions are then compared and correlated to find if they follow some pattern or system capable of being formulated in terms of laws, theories and formulae. For making such attempts it is necessary, first, to regard the phenomena of human development as real and substantial rather than as illusory and shadowy and, next, to treat the process of the unfolding of these phenomena as dynamic and fluxional.

2. *Hindu historiography.*

The Hindu view of life is commonly believed to be antagonistic to the historical approach enunciated above. In the whole range of Hindu literature we seldom come across a work of history written on scientific lines. Of course, the Purāṇas give long chains of royal genealogies and the Brāhmaṇas contain detailed lists of priestly families. In the epics, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, we get a vast mass of ancient legendary lore and in the Pāli canon of the Buddhists and the Ardhamāgadhi literature of the Jainas there are numerous references to old kings, battles and events as well as the outlines of the development of their respective churches. In secular and court literature there are some interesting chronicles like the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* of Padmagupta, the *Kumārapālacaritas* of Jayasiṁha and Hemacandra, the *Rāmācarita* of Sandhyākara

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Nandin, the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati and the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya* of an anonymous writer. But these works are full of epic adulation, colourful descriptions and courtly exaggeration. They do refer to important events but they clothe them in poetic vestures so as to deprive them of their historical character. Only the *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhaṇa (1149-1150 A.D.) is a notable and solitary exception. In it the author follows the critical and analytical method which covers the first stage of the study of history, as stated above. He pleads for the dispassionate investigation of facts and follows a scientific method of historical criticism. The following quotations from his introductory chapter clarify his methodology.

"That virtuous poet alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of facts....I have examined eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings as well as the views of the sage Nīla (Nīlapurāṇa)....By the inspection of ordinances (*śāsana*) of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions (*praśastipaṭṭa*) as well as written records (*śāstra*) all wearisome error has been set at rest."[1]

But despite his excellent equipment and scientific method Kalhaṇa was unable to reconstruct the early history of Kaśmīra. His account of the period preceding the seventh century cannot be regarded as wholly trustworthy though it contains precious information which when checked with the help of other materials becomes of paramount importance to the modern historian. The Pāli chronicles of Ceylon, *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Dīpavaṁsa*, are likewise bare accounts of kingly successions interspersed with stray references to church history. Despite all these works of historical character, the fact remains that most of the glorious figure of Indian history have paled in the dimness of fable and romance. Buddha, Mahāvīra, Candragupta Maurya, Aśoka, Vikramāditya, Kālidāsa, Śankarācārya and a host of other monarchs, thinkers and writers are to us no more than shadowy figures of fairy tales. Notwithstanding the early recognition of historical literature on a footing of equality with the Vedic literature, as is manifest from the inclusion of history (*itihāsa-veda*) among the scriptures to be read during the recital of the cycle of legends (*pāri-plavākhyāna*) on the occasion of the horse sacrifice (*aśvamedha*), it is an

1 *Rājatarangiṇī* 1, 7, 14, 15.

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undisputed fact that we have no connected account of the history of the Hindus written by them in their own language, much less a history of other peoples and countries of the world from their pens.

3. *The theories of organic causation.*

This seemingly historyless character of Hindu genius is the outcome of the fundamental postulates of the thought and civilization of the Hindu people. The Hindu view of life is based on an organic conception of nature. According to it nature is so organically constituted that all its acts emerge from the convergence of the functions of its whole system and effect in turn the working of its whole process. A seed sprouting and growing into a tree evokes and involves the operation of the whole scheme of being. Its development depends on climatic action, alluvial function, osmotic process and favourable environment no less than on the potentiality of the seed. This view of organic causation is best enunciated in the philosophy of Sānkhya Yoga. Starting from the metaphysical premises of neutral pluralism, according to which mind and matter and all their effects, relations and developments are diverse kinds of aggregates of the ultimate reals, the *guṇas*, Yoga philosophy has come to hold that causation signifies the self-determination of the organized whole. The self-determination of the whole is also the self-determination of the parts and vice versa. The tendency that guides the mode of evolution of an entity is on the one hand the actualisation of its potentiality and on the other its subordination to the history of the development of other component entities in the interest of the total cosmic development of which every individual development is a part and towards which it has a tendency.[2] As in Yoga so in Vedānta the concept of causation means the multiplication and diversification of the Essential Absolute (*brahman*) through illusion (*māyā*) and superimposition (*adhyāsa*). The merging of the world of time, place and causality in the being of *brahman* is tantamount to a rejection of the idea of individuality (*ahaṁkāra*) as a causal factor.[3] Even in the realistic system of Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, which postulates the ultimate reality of atoms as the material cause of the world, a supreme dynamic principle pervading and

1 *Śatapathabrahmana* XIII, 4-3.

2 S. N. Das Gupta: 'Yoga Theory of the Relation of Mind and Body', *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. I, p. 386.

3 Subramania Aiyer : 'The Essentials of Vedānta', *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. I, p. 527.

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asserting itself in it is conceived as its final cause.[1] In Buddhist philosophy cause is defined as a combination of circumstances (*paccayasāmaggi*) and the conception of cause as a single self-contained factor or agent is rejected. According to this view nothing self-dependent or possessed of soul exists. Everything that exists or appears is a phase of the universal flux, that is to say, every object is a form of the interdependence of the system of being. An individual is a mere creation of *saṁskāras* or an aggregate of the *skandhas*. His claim as a creator or doer (*kāraka*) or knower (*vedaka*) is illusory and unsound.[2]

4. *Ādipuruṣa and Virāṭrūpa*

The organic conception of nature implicit in Indian philosophy expresses itself in the idea of the primeval being (*ādipuruṣa*) adumbrated in *Ṛgveda* X, 90 and of the macrocosmic being (*Virāṭrūpa*) developed in *Bhagavadgītā* XI, 32-34. In the suggestive imagery of the primeval being of the *Ṛgveda* there is a linking of social factors with physical forces through the medium of a cosmic order. There, the unity and system of the cosmic order is represented as a person from whose limbs the phenomena of nature emanate. The priestly class (*brahmana*) emerges from his mouth, the ruling class (*rājanya*) from his arms, the traders and agriculturists (*vaiśya*) from his thighs and the

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[1] Satkari Mookerji : 'Nyāyā-Vaiśeṣika system of philosophy', *Cultural Heritage of India* Vol. I, p. 409. This position of Hindu philosophy is summed up in the *Bhagavadgītā* (III, 27) as follows :—

प्रकृतेः क्रियमाणानि गुणैः कर्माणि सर्वशः ।
अहंकारविमूढात्मा कर्ताहमिति मन्यते ।।

[2] Aśvaghoṣa : *Saundarānanda Kāvya* XVII, 20-21

यतश्च संस्कारगतं विविक्तं न कारकः कश्चन वेदको वा ।
सामग्र्यतः सम्भवति प्रवृत्तिः शून्यं ततो लोकमिमं ददर्श ।।
यस्मान्निरीहं जगदस्वतन्त्रं नैश्वर्यमेकः कुरुते क्रियासु ।
तत्तत् प्रतीत्य प्रभवन्ति भावा निरात्मकं तेन विवेद लोकम् ।।

The doctrine of the plurality of causes is adumbrated by Buddhaghoṣa in his *Atthasālinī* p. 59.

समवायसंखातो समयो अनेकहेतुतो वुत्ति दीपेति, तेन एककारणवादो पटिसेधितो होति ।

साधारणफलनिप्फादकत्तेन हि ठितभावो सामग्गि न अनेकसं समोधानमत्त न च अन्धानं दस्सनं नाम साधारणफलम् ।

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servile people (*śūdra*) from his feet. The moon springs from his mind, the sun from his eye, Indra and Agni from his mouth and the wind from his breath. Space issues from his navel, the sky rolls from his head, the earth sprawls from his feet and the directions spread out from his ear.[1] Thus the entire scheme of being comprehending the social as well as the physical phenomena is concentric and unified.

As in the *Ṛgveda* so in the *Bhagavadgītā* the grand and majestic spectacle of the macrocosmic being comprising the processes of the whole universe in the functions of his body is presented in an epic style. The macrocosmic being is the whole cosmic system personified. He shines in the sun and thunders in the clouds; he breathes in the breezes and blows in the blizzards. He is both birth and death and the quintessence of all that exists. It is as his instruments that the warriors fight in the battle and it is at his instance that they kill each other. The role of the individual is only to act as a means to execute his will or to behave as a *nimittamātra*.[2]

5. *The conception of time.*

From the aforesaid standpoint of Hindu philosophy we arrive at a significant conception of time. In the *Gītā, Virāṭrupa* is called 'time'. Time denotes movement. In the *Atharvaveda* (XVIII, 53-54) time is called a horse who is pulling everything on with his seven traces. In another context time is compared to a vehicle

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1 *Ṛgveda* X, 99, 12-14

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद्बाहू राजन्यःकृतः ।
उरु यदस्य तद्वैश्यःपद्भ्यां शूद्रोऽजायत ।।
चन्द्रमा मानसो जातश्चक्षोःसूर्यो अजायत ।
मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत ।।
नाभ्या आसीदन्तरिक्षं शीर्ष्णो द्यौ समवर्तत ।
पद्भ्यां भूमिर्दिशः श्रोत्रात्तथा लोकां अकल्पयन् ।।

2 *Bhagavadgītā*, XI, 32-34

कालोऽस्मि लोकक्षयकृत्प्रवृद्धो लोकान्समाहर्तुमिह प्रवृत्तः ।
ऋतेऽपि त्वां न भविष्यन्ति सर्वे येऽवस्थिताः प्रत्यनीकेषु योधाः ।।
तस्मात्त्वमुत्तिष्ठ यशो लभस्व जित्वा शत्रून् भुंक्ष्व राज्यं समृद्धम् ।
मयैवैते निहताः पूर्वमेव निमित्तमात्रं भव सव्यसाचिन् ।।
द्रोणं च भीष्मं च जयद्रथं च कर्णं तथान्यानपि योधवीरान् ।
मया हतांस्त्वं जहि मा व्यथिष्ठा युध्यस्व जेतासि रणे सपत्नान् ।।

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with the objects of the world as its wheels. It is said that the earth and sky are born of time. Mind, soul and name are intimately connected with the temporal process. The entire universe and frame of being is pregnant with the process of time. Everything is in movement.[1] The basic source and cause of being is called *Kālaprajāpati*. This theory was known as *ahorātrāvada*. We find a reference to it in the famous *Nāradīya Sūkta*. Like the modern relativist philosophy it recognised the fundamental unity of time and space.

The theory of time has also been discussed by grammarians. Commenting on *Pāṇini Sūtra* (III, 2, 123)[2] Patañjali has expressed some interesting views on time. He opines that past, present and future are relative terms. The present has no sense since the things we denote by this expression have ever been in existence. Besides this, the present is impossible since the action that is completed is past and that which remains to be completed is future. We cannot conceive of a thing which is complete and incomplete at one and the same time. The existence of things is momentary. Every moment they appear and disappear. Hence past, present and future have no significance. Here the discussion of Patañjali agrees with the reasoning of Buddhist Mādhyamika philosophy.[3] But Patañjali adds that the present denotes that action which has not been completed. In fact, time is the process of the birth and death or appearance and disappearance of things. For convenience's sake we divide it into year, month and day.

Bhartṛhari has also discussed the theory of time in detail. In accordance with the postulates of Vaiśeṣika philosophy he has declared time as eternal, omnipresent and monistic. It regulates and controls the entire activities of the universe. It is the way the scheme of being behaves and acts.[4] It is the source of growth (*anugraha*) and decay (*vinaśyatā*). It moves like a persian wheel.

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1 *Atharvaveda* XIX 54, 1

काले मनः काले प्राणः काले नाम समाहितम् ॥
कालादापः समभवन् कालाद् ब्रह्म तपो दिशः ॥

2 *Pāṇini Sūtra* III, 2, 123, वर्तमाने लट् and the *Mahābhāsya* of Patañjali on it.

3 *Prasannapadā* commentary on *Mādhyamikavṛtti*, pp. 383-385 Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa* V, 124.

4 Bhartṛhari : *Vākyapadīya* ed. Charudeva Sastri (Lahore 1934) III, 9, 5.

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Its main function consists in the decay and disappearance of things, forms and phenomena. Bhartṛhari has called this function '*Jarākhyākālaśakti*.

Time is the basic process of creation. When the atoms are set in motion by the invisible force of destiny and their dormant activity is awakened, movement starts and creation proceeds.[1] The forms which emerge from this movement are controlled by time. The process that operates and intervenes between cause and effect is called *samavāya*. On account of it things assume their individualities and we are able to perceive unities and uniformities in them.[2] Since time is eternal, things never come to an end; they only change their forms.[3]

The above discussion shows that according to the Hindu philosophies, studied here, there is activity and movement in the organic structure and harmony of the universe and it is called time. On the one hand it is eternal and on the other it is momentary. Its movement is mechanical and cyclical. Its two aspects are conceived of as the day and night of Brahman. In Jaina scriptures they are described as the *avasarpiṇī* and *utsarpiṇī* kalpas. In the former *dharma* declines and reaches the lowest point and in the other it progresses and reaches the highest pitch. Both of these eras are further sub-divided into six periods (*Kālas*), *viz.*, (1) *Susamā-susamā* (the period of great happiness), (2) *susamā* (the period of happiness), (3) *susamā-dusamā* (the period of happiness and sorrow), (4) *dusamā-susamā* (the period of sorrow and happiness), (5) *dusamā* (the period of sorrow), and (6) *dusamā-dusamā* (the period of great sorrow).[4] Corresponding to the Jaina eras and ages are the Buddhist four great and eighty smaller

1 *Vākyapadīya* III, 9, 20, Helārāja's commentary:
इह अदृष्टवशात् परमाणुषु क्रियोत्पन्ना पूर्वदेशसंयोगविनाशपूर्वकं परस्परोपश्लेषेण द्वयणुकादिप्रक्रमेण भोगसाधनान् पदार्थानुत्पादयतीति पिण्डार्थः ।

2 *Vākyapadīya* III, 9, 42
अवश्यैवानुसंधत्ते यथा गतिमतां गतिः ।
वायुस्तथैव कालात्मा विधत्ते क्रमरूपताम् ।।

3 *Vākyapadīya* III, 9, 74, Helārāja's commentary:
क्रिया व्युपरमादेव वसन्तादिकाल परम व्यवह्रियते न तु वस्तुतः काल उपैति नित्यत्वात । For the Hindu philosophies of time see, F. Otto Schrader: *uber den Stand der Indischen Philosophie zur Zeit Mahaviras and Buddhas* pp. 17-30.

4 *Jambudīpapaṇṇati* (Bombay) XVIII, 40.

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kalpas which are the acts and scenes of the drama of the successive creations and dissolutions of the universe. In the Purāṇas we get the four-fold division of time into Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages. In the first age virtue (*dharma*) reigns supreme, in the second it declines, in the third it becomes sparse and in the fourth it disappears. This system of epochs corresponds to the division and demarcation of ages from the standpoint of the rise and fall of Dikē proposed by the Greek writers Hesiod and Aratus.

6. *Law and freedom in history.*

We have observed that in some schools of Indian philosophy time is regarded as the primary cause and mode of existence. It represents the process of perpetual becoming. Its direction or tendency is called destiny (*niyati*). It has an inherent force and movement carrying in its sweep the endless formations and transformations characterising the scheme of being. Hence in Pāñcarātra philosophy time-energy (*kālaśakti*) with its concomitant destiny (*niyati*) is regarded as the universal ordering element (*Sūkṣmah Sarvaniyāmakah*). The Vaiśeṣika system emphasises the spatial aspect of *niyati* by calling it *diś* or the regulator of positions in space, but the Ājivika school stresses its temporal aspect as well and treats it as the basis and pervasive principle of being. The latter believes in a process of evolution which proceeds according to its own innate logic and trend and drives the existence in definite and determined directions in an inexorable and immutable manner. This evolutionary process (*pariṇāmavāda*) is completely unalterable, inhuman and mechanico-organismic. It has three facets : destiny (*niyati*) or the tendency and function of time (*kālaśakti*), the manifestation of destiny in action (*sangati*) and the resultant formation of the appearances of nature (*bhāva*). Thus the universal process is described as *niyati-sangati-bhāva-pariṇatā*.[2] God

[1] S. N. Das Gupta : *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. III p. 45. F. O. Schrader, *Introduction to the Pāñcarātra and the Ahirbudhnya Saṁhitā* pp. 64-65. Schrader observes: "*Niyati* is not only what the Vaiśeṣikas call *Diś*, to wit, the regulator of positions in space, but it also regulates, as Karmic necessity, the intellectual capacity, inclinations and practical ability of every being, that is to say, it includes the functions of the above mentioned Śaiva principles called vidyā, rāga and kalā."

[2] *Dīghanikāya*, 1, 2, Sāmanna-phala-Sutta:
नत्थि पुरिसकारो, नत्थि बलं, नत्थि विरियं, नत्थि पुरिसपरक्कमो । सब्बे सत्ता अवसा अबला अविरिया नियति-संगति-भाव-परिणता ।

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has no place in it. Even soul is regarded as a material entity having a definite form, size and colour. Thus the whole of matter, organic and inorganic, consisting of atoms, evolves and revolves according to fixed tendencies and courses. Animate matter undergoes regular and automatic development like the ripening of a plant. Considering the course of historical development from this standpoint we arrive at the conceptions which Spengler formulated in this century.[1] He held that "each culture has its own new possibilities of self-expression which arise, ripen, decay and never return. These cultures, sublimated life-essences, grow with the same superb aimlessness as the flowers of the field. They belong like the plants and animals to the living nature of Goethe and not to be dead nature of Newton—We talk of the *habitus* of a plant by which we mean the specific outward appearance that belongs to this plant alone and the character and the style in which it presents itself in the realm of static existence and spatial extension whereby every plant is distinguished, in every one of its parts and at every single stage of its life, from the representatives of all other species. This notion is so important for the study of physiognomy that I propose to apply it to the great Organisms of History."[2] The substance of Spenglerian philosophy is that history is a process of time and destiny. The postulates of Ājivikism imply similar propositions.[3]

Analogous to the temporalism (*kālavāda*) and evolutionism (*pariṇāmavāda*) of some schools of Hindu philosophy studied above is a tendency of naturalism (*svabhāvavāda*) adumbrated by them. The Sānkhya school recognises the operation of natural law in the process of evolution. According to it evolution follows a definite law which cannot be overstepped (*Pariṇāmakramaniyama*) or, in other words, there are natural barriers which cannot be removed, and thus the evolutionary course has to take a path to the exclusion of those lines where barriers could not be removed.[4] This natural law and its natural barriers consist in the inner nature of the evolution of things. In fact the evolution of an entity means the manifestation of its potentiality in accordance with its inherent tendency. To

1 Oswald Spengler: *The Decline of the West* Vol. I, p. 21.

2 Ibid, p. 156.

3 B. M. Barua : "*The Ājivikas*", *Journal of the Department of Letters* II (1920) pp. 1-80; A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas* (London, 1951) part II.

4 S. N. Das Gupta: *History of Indian Philosophy* Vol. I, p. 256.

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quote the *Bhagavadgītā*, "God creates neither the actions, nor the creative faculties nor the connections of quality and object of the world. Nature alone prevails."[1] Citing the views of these thinkers Guṇaratna observs, "what makes the sharpness of thorns and the varied nature of beasts and birds? All this comes about by *svabhāva*. There is nothing which acts at will. What is the use of effort?[2] Thus the svabhāvavādins join hands with the niyativādins.

The determinists mentioned above appeal to social structure also in their argument for the autonomy of the evolutionary process. They argue that the return of work done by man is determined not so much by the nature of that work as by the social setting of that man. For instance servants, slaves, merchants and peasants all put in ample labour to the best of their ability and capacity but they are recompensed according to the scale of values of the different kinds of labour evolved by the society in which they live. Some people do not put in any labour at all yet they enjoy riches and prosperity; others toil hard yet can hardly make both ends meet.[3] Hence it follows that man is not quite independent in obtaining the reward of his labour according to his desire or ability. He depends a good deal on the operation of impersonal forces and factors manifested in traditions, standards and values of the society to which he belongs. Social phenomena also follow natural phenomena in their tendencies.

The aforesaid schools of philosophy belittle the role of man by imagining a fantastically vast expanse of time. According to the

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[1] *Bhagavadgitā*, V, 14.

न कर्तृत्वं न कर्माणि लोकस्य सृजति प्रभुः ।
न गुणकर्मसंयोगं स्वभावस्तु प्रवर्तते ।।

[2] Guṇaratna's commentary on *ṣaḍdarśanasamuccaya* entitled *tarka-rahasydīpikā*. 13.

कः कण्टकानां प्रकरोति तैक्ष्ण्यं विचित्रभावं मृगपक्षीणां च ।
स्वाभावतः सर्वमिदं प्रवृत्तं न कामचारोऽस्ति कुतः प्रयत्नः ।।

[3] Śilārka's commentary on *Sūtrakṛtānga* ed. Venicandra Suracandra (Bombay 1917) I, 1, 2, 2

यदि पुरुषकारकृतं सुखाद्यनुभूयेत ततः सेवकवणिक्कृषकादीनां समाने पुरुषकारे सति फलप्राप्तिवैसादृश्यं फलाप्राप्तिश्च न भवेत । कस्यचित्तु सेवादिव्यापाराभावेऽपि विशिष्टफलावाप्तिर्दृश्यत इति । अतो न पुरुषकारात् किंचिदासाद्यते ।

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Ājivikas "the bed of the Gangā is 250 yojanas in length and half a yojana in width and 500 *dhanus* in depth. Seven Gangās equal one Mahāgangā; seven Mahagangās equal one Sādinagangā; seven Sādinagangās equal one Maccugangā; seven Maccugangās equal one Lohiyagangā; seven Lohiyagangās equal one Āvatigangā; and seven Āvatigangās equal one Paramāvati. The latter therefore equals 117,649 Gangās. If one grain of sand is removed every hundred years from the bed of this imaginary river the total time required for the removal of all the sand would be one *sara*. 300,000 *saras* of this duration equal one mahākappa. 8,400,000 mahākappas form one mahāmānasa.[1] It is the period of the transmigration of a soul. This frightening and incalculable expanse of time agrees with the immense time scale of modern astronomers and geologists. On this time scale, to quote Toynbee, "nineteen hundred years are no more than the twinkling of an eye."[2] Thus man and his striving are of no consequence in the long journey of his soul along an inestimable course of time.

It is clear from the above study of Indian determinism that it regards man as subordinate and subservient to the impersonal forces of nature and society. According to it man is fully shackled to the laws governing the course of his life. He is an Ixion tied to the wheel and a Sisyphus rolling an ever-returning stone. He is a prisoner of time and a slave of destiny. History transcends and overpowers him; he cannot alter and amend history. This is the philosophy propounded by Hesiod, Ibn-Khaldūn, Vico, Comte and Spengler and implied in the developments of modern science.[3]

But there are also some schools of Indian thought which do not countenance this determinism and fatalism. Jainism, for instance,

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1 A. L. Basham: *History and Doctrine of the Ājivikas*, pp. 253-254.

2 Arnold J. Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial*, p. 238.

3 A. N. Whitehead in his *Science and the Modern World* observes as follows:

"The pilgrim fathers of the scientific imagination as it exists today are the great tragedians of ancient Athens, Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. Their version of fate, remorseless and indifferent, urging a tragic incident to the inevitable issue, is the vision possessed by science. Fate in Greek tragedy becomes the order of nature in modern thought."

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registers its strong protest against it. According to this system the soul bears the brunt of the actions done by the body of man. The painful condition of the self is brought about by one's own action and not by any other cause, fate, chance, creator, etc. A man is responsible for his actions himself. His rise and fall, weal and woe, happiness and sorrow depend on his own actions. He acts, suffers and enjoys individually. He can cleanse the soul of the effects of acts by renouncing bodily pleasures and performing austerities. Since act (*karman*) is corporeal in character it can be wiped out by bodily restraints. Hence Jainism enjoins severe austerities and abnegations and complete detachment and withdrawal from the world of senses. This is called the practice of *nirjarā* or the wearing off of *karman*. By it man can shake off the shackles of *karman* and enable his soul to relinquish the *kārmaṇa, taijasa and audarika* forms and attain salvation (*mokṣa*) and perfection (*kaivalya*).[1]

Buddhism also combats determinism and passivism and enjoins a life of effort and activity. But it treats action (*karman*) as psychological rather than physical. In the *Atthasālinī*, *karman* is defined as volition expressed in action.[2] It means consciousness of good and bad, merit and demerit.[3] Buddhism dispelled the horrible dread of the accumulation of karmic sins through 84,00,000 *kalpas* by propounding a Miltonic idea of mind which can undo in a moment the work of ages.[4] Thus absolue abstention from the world of senses is not necessary for the attainment of happiness. The path of the golden mean (*madhyamā pratipadā*) based on the Four Noble Truths (*catvāri āryasatyāni*) and consisting of the Noble Eightfold way (*āryāṣṭāngikamārga*) is essential for this purpose.[5] It lies midway

1 B. C. Law: 'Jaina View of Karma,' *Bhāratīya Vidyā* Vol. VI pp 7-8 *Mahavīra, His Life and Teachings*, pp. 104 ff.

2 *Atthasālinī* p. 88. चेतनहां नाम भिक्खवे कम्मं वदामि ।

3 *Visuddhimagga* II p. 614 कम्मं नाम कुसलाकुसलचेतना ।

4 B. M. Barua: 'The Role of Buddhism in Indian Life and Thought', *Indian Culture* Vol. XIII (no. 2) 1946 p. 106.

5 The Four Noble Truths are: (1) misery (2) the cause of misery (3) the necessity of removing misery (4) the way of removing misery.

The Noble Eightfold Path is : right view, right aspiration, right speech, right conduct, right livelihood, right effort, right mindfulness and right contemplation.

T. W. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist Suttas* (Sacred books of the East) Vol XI p. 147.

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between indulgence and abnegation. It consists of righteous conduct and contemplation. In the *Sallekhasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* (I, I, 8) Buddha enjoins on the people to practise virtue irrespective of the practice of other persons. According to him one should have such feeling that one should be virtuous, non-violent, non-stealing, non-indulgent, non-lying, non-backbiting, non-abusing, non-coveting, non-envying even if others behave and act to the contrary. Virtue is dependent upon circumstance but has its own independent footing also. It signifies a code of private and public conduct leading to the eradication of discord and rehabilitation of harmony. Buddha not only emphasized the practice of virtue in private life but laid stress on its propagation in society by creating suitable environment. In the famous *kūṭadanta-sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (V), Buddha narrates the story of king Mahāvijita who was advised by his priest to abandon the Vedic yajña. The purohita told him that there was lawlessness and disorder in his state. Towns and villages were being looted. Highway robbery was rampant. If, therefore, he would levy taxes he should fail in his duty. If he thought that by fining, expelling, imprisoning or hanging thieves he would quell robbery he was mistaken for the thieves who would escape would again foment trouble. The correct way of putting an end to this evil was to provide seed etc. in adequate quantities to those who desired to cultivate land, to furnish capital to those who wanted to do business and to give jobs and suitable salaries to those who sought government service. Thus all people would be busy in their work and there would be no chance of rebellion. Again in the *Cakkavattsīhanādasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (XXVI) we hear of a king who tried to eliminate thefts by giving financial aid to the culprits who confessed that they committed the offence on account of stringency but failed in his endeavour because a large number of persons took to this device of obtaining royal assistance. Then he started giving deterrent punishments to the convicts. This struck terror in the hearts of thieves. But they, having no alternative, began to organise and arm themselves and started committing open dacoities. All this was due to unemployment and poverty in the state. Therefore the king Dṛdhanemi exhorted his son to eradicate misery and poverty from the land by distributing work and money among the people. This is the modern approach to social problems. Instead of relying on religious observances and scramental rites and invoking divine pleasure and benediction thereby it was considered more expedient to reform the social order, to launch economic

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measures and thus to tackle the problem of poverty, destitution and unemployment. In this way Buddha extolled and emphasised the role of human effort and organisation in private and public spheres and held that man can better his lot and circumstances by his own actions. He is not dependent on natural or supernatural powers but is a free agent having the right and capacity to shape his life and culture as he thinks fit. This view runs counter to the deterministic theories studied by us above.

The *Bhagavadgītā* effects a synthesis between the aforesaid two different views about the freedom of man. We have seen above that it subscribes to the theories of organic causation, inherent necessity, temporalism and *svabhāvavāda*. But it concedes some freedom to man in the sphere of action. It observes that man has a right to choose his course in the field of action but has no control over its result or reward. Therefore it counsels a policy of indifference and detachment so far as the outcome of actions is concerned.[1] This standpoint is brought into bold relief when Kṛṣṇa after convincing Arjuna of the impersonal and immutable character of the cosmic process and of his role as an agent or instrument (*nimittamātra*) thereof grants him leave to do as he pleases according to his own judgment.[2] Here an effort has been made to reconcile law and freedom in history. This is one of the most remarkable syntheses of Hindu thought and philosophy.

7. *The quest of universal cultural values.*

We have observed that Hindu philosophy regards the entire universe as an organic whole. For it the divisions and distinctions of race, country or climate have little significance. The whole earth is the mother of man and he is her child.[3] He derives suckle and

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[1] *Bhagavadgītā* II, 47

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु कदाचन ।
मा कर्मफलहेतूर्भूर्मा ते संगोऽस्त्वकर्मणि ।।

[2] *Bhagavadgītā* XVIII, 63

इति ते तत्वमाख्यातं गूह्याद् गुह्यतरं मया ।
विमृश्यैतदशेषेण यथेच्छसि तथा कुरु ।।

[3] *Atharvaveda* XII, 1, 12 माता भूमिः पुत्रोऽहं पृथिव्याः ।

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nourishment form the earth as from his mother.[1] He solicits affluence and prosperity from her and salutes her bosom full of gold and riches. "The universe including the earth, heaven and nether world is one country,"[2] "mankind is one kind," "the deepest truth is that nothing is better than man"—this is the motto of the *Mahābhārata*. "All beings I regard alike, none is hateful to me or beloved; but those who with loving faith worship me abide in me, and I also in them"[3]—declares the Lord in the *Gītā*. Thus Indian humanism was universal in character. It eschewed parochialism and particularism. It abhorred that regional and sectarian consciousness which generates the sensitiveness to political viccissitudes. To the Hindus it was not of much consequence whether the government fell into the hands of persons belonging to a group different from theirs. To them the goal of humanity was neither individual riches nor national prosperity but the solution of the human problem of moral elevation and spiritual transfiguration. Their thinkers grappled with the question of the reconciliation of man to the scheme of being. Being born in a land overflowing with milk and honey,[4] where nature showered plenty and prosperity all around, they became rather unmindful of the struggle of livelihood. (*Svacchanda-vanajātena ṣākenāpi prapūryate, Asya dagdhodarasyārthe kah kuryāt pātakam mahat.*) Therefore they occupied themselves with the higher questions of the spirit. Their humanism and universalism assumed a garb of spiritualism.

In this context the cultural aspect of personality became more important than the individual aspect. Man in general had greater significance than man in particular. Individuals appear like bubbles on the surface of the flow of history. Howsoever important they may be they disappear in the current of time after their momentary existence. After the passage of time all traces of their existence

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1 *Atharvaveda* XII, 110. सा नो भूमिर्विसृजतां माता पुत्राय मे पयः

2 *Atharvaveda* XII, 1, 26 तस्यै हिरण्यवक्षसे पृथिव्या अकरं नमः ॥

3 *Bhagavadgītā* IX, 29

समोऽहं सर्वभूतेषु न मे द्वेष्योऽस्ति न प्रियः ।
ये भजन्ति तु मां भक्त्या मयि ते तेषु चाप्यहम् ॥

4 *Atharvaveda* XX, 127, 7-10

कतरत त आ हराणि दधि मन्थांपरिश्रुतम् ।
जाया पतिं वि पृच्छति राष्ट्रे राज्ञः परीक्षितः ॥

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are wiped out and it becomes questionable whether they even existed or not. The historian of *Viṣṇupurāṇa*[1] observes :

"Arjuna Kārtavīrya, who ruled over all continents by overcoming the circle of his foes, is named only in course of stories and is the subject of doubts and uncertainties. Were not the Rāghavas, whose sight could not be borne by the ten-headed Rāvaṇa whose majesty illumined the faces of the quarters, reduced to ashes in a trice by a bend of the eyebrows of death? The paramount sovereign on earth, Māndhātṛ by name, has attained a place in the realm of stories. Who is that fool who feels haughty after hearing of him? Bhāgīratha and others, Sagar, Kakustha, Rāvaṇa, Rāma, Lakṣamaṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira etc.—we do not know whether it is true or false that they ever lived."

Following this trend of thought the Hindus did not attach importance to biographical details. Most of the eminent thinkers of the country did not leave any account of their lives and times nor did their contemporaries record their activities and memoirs. For us Kapila, Kaṇāda, Gautama, Patañjali etc. are mere legendary names. On the other hand the Hindus were adepts in evolving cultural concepts like the universalism of Vedānta, the moral piety of Buddhism and the great compassion of Bodhisattvacaryā. To sum up, in the words of Mukerji, "history in Indian tradition is not the biography of heroes or representative men, but an ageless process in which not men but the human species, not particular lives but Life, cyclically grow, mature and decay."[2] From this standpoint the historical process is something which develops of itself in an auto-

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[1] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24, 72-75

य: कार्तवीर्यो बुभुजे समस्तान् द्वीपान् समाक्रम्य हतारिचक्र: ।
कथाप्रसंगे त्वभिधीयमान: स एव संकल्पविकल्पहेतु: ।।
दशाननावीक्षितराघवाणामैश्वर्यमुद्भासितदिङ मुखानाम् ।
भस्मापि जातं न कथं क्षणेन ? भ्रूभङ्गपातेन धिगन्तकस्य ।।
कथाशरीरत्वमवाप यद्वै मान्धातृनामा भुवि चक्रवर्ती ।
श्रुत्वापि तं कोऽपि करोति साधु ममत्वमात्मन्यपि मन्दचेत:।।
भगीरथाद्या सगर: ककुस्थो दशाननो राघवलक्ष्मणौ च ।
युधिष्ठिराद्याश्च बभूवुरेते सत्यं न मिथ्या क्व नु ते न विद्म : ।।

[2] Radha Kamal Mukerji : *History of Indian Civilization*, pp. 9-10

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nomous manner transcending and carrying in its sweep the individuals participating in it. This is tantamount to the view that movements, not men, make history. This view implies that historical events are the results of the needs, actions and volitions—conscious and sub-conscious—of a large number of individuals constituting a society who cannot be separately named or described. These social needs, actions and volitions find their expression through a series of individuals who chance to be at the points of vantage that qualify them for their respective roles. In the wrords of Morris R. Cohen "these great men are the points of intersection of great social forces."[1] This view of history is analogous to what Koyrè calls the Romantic conception of history which became popular in Europe in the nineteenth century as a reaction to the Enlightenment view of history which found its superb expression in the thought of Condorcet.[2]

Indian culture is marked by a quest of unity in diversity. In India different racial, linguistic, religious and political strands were welded into an abiding cultural unity which has survived the rounds of invasions and successions of empires. Indian culture is an organic and harmonious synthesis of a large number of human cultural trends and imperatives. But it has a unique individuality of its own which defies confusion or pammixia. It represents the evolution of a beautiful cosmos out of a bewildering chaos. The vehicle of this evolution is the concept of the universal man (*viśvātman*) and the sanctity of all Life. "The whole world is Brahman, since it was created by Brahman. The differences of varṇas are not real,"[3] declares the *Mahābhārata*. The petty conflicts and squabbles of kings and commanders for patches of land or pieces of gold pale into insignificance before the great concepts and creations of poets and philosophers and the noble missions and messages of ṛṣis, Buddhas and Tirthankaras. Recently Arnold J. Toynbee has observed in this vein: "The works of artists and men of letters outlive the deeds of businessmen, soldiers, and statesmen. The poets and the philosophers outrange the historians, while the prophets and the saints overtop and outlast them all. The ghosts of Agamemnon and Pericles haunt the living world of

1. Morris R. Cohen : *The Meaning of Human History*, pp. 222-221.
2. Alexandre Koyré 'condorcet' *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. IX (1948) pp. 134-135.
3. *Mahabhārata*, Śanti Parvan Ch. 108, Verse 10.

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today by grace of the magic words of Homer and Thucydides; and, when Homer and Thucydides are no longer read, it is safe to prophesy that Christ and the Buddha and Socrates will still be fresh in the memory of (to us) almost inconceivably distant generations of men."[1]

8. *The synthesis of moral and mechanical processes.*

We have seen above that the Hindus do not attach much significance to individuals and their activities. They are concerned with broad epochal changes in cyclical successions. The leitmotif of these changes is the progress and regress of dharma. The cyclical process of time is also the winding course of dharma. The wheel (*cakra*) is the symbol of the process of time as well as the movement of dharma. In the Rgveda (II, 13-14) the whole universe is conceived of as a wheel and its movement is compared to the mechanical rotation of the same. Buddha called his first discourse the sermon on the turning of the Wheel of Law (*dhammacakka-ppavattana-sutta*). The Bhāgavatas concentrated their thought and speculation on the imagery of the Sudarśana Cakra of Viṣṇu. According to the *Ahirbudhnya saṁhitā*, life, world, activity, power, feeling, progress, effort and determination all are synonymous with Sudarśana Cakra.[2] In political terminology the entire field of action of a paramount sovereign is his Cakra (wheel).

The administrative machinery encompassing the power and activity of the state represents the wheel of sovereignty. Thus the wheel symbolises the synthesis of the moral and mechanical processes of life and the universe. By this imagery, to quote a modern thinker, "into the ageless cyclical process of the world organism, India imports a moral and cultural purpose through the conception of emanation, fruition and destruction of dharma across the Kṛta, Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali ages of history (*yugas*), the moral order of Dharma, gradually lapsing from purity and perfection into disorganisation and conflict

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1. Arnold J. Toynbee: *Civilization on Trial*, p. 5.
2. *Ahirbudhnya-Saṁhitā* XII, 53-54 ed. M. D. Ramanujacharya, Vol. I, p. 113.

प्राणो माया क्रियाशक्तिर्भाव उन्मेष उद्यमः ।
सुदर्शनं च संकल्पः शब्दाः पर्यायवाचकाः ।।
निष्ठा त्वेकैव शास्त्राणामेतेषां पंचवर्त्मनाम् ।
शास्त्रं सुदर्शनं नाम तदर्थो विष्णुरव्ययः ।।

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and then beginning another cycle."[1] The cyclical succession of the ages is not merely a mechanical process analogous to the fixed recurrence of natural phenomena but is essentially a moral order based on the actions of men. The duration of the ages is not chronologically immutable but rather depends upon the actions and character of the people. In other words the succession of ages is symbolic of the psychological development of man and represents the stages of his moral progress.

The aforesaid view of the historical ages is best enunciated in an old text pertaining to the *Rgveda* called *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa*. In it, in a parable of the animosity of Indra and King Hariścandra, the former gives a very interesting discourse to the latter's son Rohita, exhorting him to keep moving without relaxation. In course of this very suggestive discourse he observes, "the fortune of a sitting man is static, of an idle man becomes still, of a sluggard sleeps and of a moving man moves forward. Kali is sleeping, Dvāpara is shaking off (of the sleep), Tretā is rising and Kṛta is moving. The moving man gets honey and tastes the fruit of ficus glomerata. Look at the glory of the sun who never stops moving."[2] In this exhortation the succession of historical epochs is equated with the unfolding of the psychological stages of man. The phenomena of sleep, awakening and activity which constitute the cyclic routine of the life of man are stated to underly the turnover of the periods of history. Thus Kali is the age of sleep, Tretā and Dvāpara are the ages of awakening and Kṛta is the age of activity. On this showing the process of history characterised by the rhythmic succession of periods is the counterpart of the daily life of man marked by the

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1. Radha Kamal Mukerjee: *History of Indian Civilization* p. 10.

2. *Aitareya-brāhmaṇa* VII, 15.

आस्ते भग आसीनस्योर्ध्वस्तिष्टति तिष्ठतः ।
शेते निपद्यमानस्य चराति चरतो भगः ।।
कलिः शयानो भवति संजिहानस्तु द्वापरः ।
उत्तिष्ठँस्त्रेता भवति कृतं सम्पद्यते चरन् ।।
चरन्वै मधु विन्दति चरन् स्वादुमुदुम्बरम् ।
सूर्यस्य पश्य श्रेमाणं यो न तन्द्रयते चरन् ।।

Vide also *Śukla Yajurveda Saṁhitā* XXX, 17

भूत्यै जागरणम् । अभूत्यै स्वपनम् ।

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recurring phenomena of sleep, awakening and activity. As every individual acts, sleeps and awakes, so every group of individuals also feels the urge of action, exhaustion and again of action. There is thus a unique harmony and symmetry between the tendency of an individual and that of a group of them. We can perceive the working of the rhythm of action, sleep and awakening in the histories of castes, states, regions, institutions and even cultures. Here I want to outline the broad features of historical development that an approach from this standpoint of activity, sleep and awakening unveils.

While dealing with the behaviour of groups of individuals, we have to apply the analogies and parallels drawn from the life of individuals in a somewhat figurative way. Of course, a number of individuals compose a social group and their behaviour necessarily conditions its character, but that group comes to possess a supra-individual identity in virtue of which it follows its own way of conduct which is in some respects different from that of the individuals composing it. Hence when we speak of the activity, sleep and awakening of social groups we mean thereby the alertness, inertia and reinvigoration of a large number of individuals that compose it. It is from this standpoint that we have to study the periodised arrangement of history according to the Hindu conception.

The aforesaid discussion has shown that history is a collective and impersonal process according to the Hindu view of life. This means that the totality of the individuals composing and participating in it shapes its course. The persons who occupy prominent positions act only as the instruments of the will of the people as a whole. Hence it follows that when the people as a whole are active it is the age of activity, when they are not active and lapse into inertia, it is an age of sleep, and when they again become active and shake off their inertia, it is an age of awakening. Let us now see how the transition from one age to other is effected.

We have seen that in an age of activity every section of the people is up and doing and every field of social activity throbs with agility and alertness. Hence the persons at the helm of affairs cannot afford to ignore the interests and aspirations of the people. The form of government may be monarchy, oligarchy or republic, but the people as a whole are a force to reckon with and the government cannot by-pass them. In other words, so long as the people are behind the government it continues to function and when they rise against it,

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it ceases to exist. This force of the people is the real basis of what we call "democracy". As long as this force persists, every government, whatever its outward form or constitutional apparatus, has to base itself on a democratic *raison d'être*. As a result, it is strong, united and popular. When this force is withdrawn, a government, though it may make a show of ascertaining the will of the people through elections or referenda or plebiscites, loses its fundamental democratic character and becomes a dictatorship of those who chance to hold its key-points. As a consequence it is weak, divided and unpopular.

Secondly, in a period when the people as a whole are active, social institutions are characterised by mobility and broadness. A person having a particular bent of mind gets the necessary scope to develop and express it. Society provides the institutional channels to direct this development and expression. But when the people cease to be active, social institutions are marked by rigidity and narrowness. Persons do not get the necessary scope to develop and express their individual potentialities; instead of directing this development these institutions clog it. The social horizon shrinks and becomes parochial.

Thirdly, the period when the people are active is marked by notable contributions and achievements in all fields of activities, *e.g.*, philosophy, science, art, literature, technology, cultural expansion and social development. But when the people cease to be active, the faculty of making creative contributions flags away. In the field of human activities the atmosphere of imitation and affectation spreads widely, cultural expansion stops and social development is stunted.

Fourthly, when the people as a whole are active, they are moved by a faith which impels them to creative activity. When they cease to be active that faith dries up and gives place to escapism and apathetic indifference.

Thus we observe that when the people cease to be a powerful and regulating force behind the state, social institutions are marked by rigidity and immobility, the outlook of the people becomes narrow, the creative element in the arts and humanities fades away and the religions preach escapism, the "age of activity" lapses into the "age of sleep". And when these processes take a reverse course, that is,

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the people struggle to be active, to assert themselves in political affairs, to make the social institutions mobile, to render the arts and humanities creative and to treat religion as conducive to social good, the "age of sleep" passes into the "age of awakening".

9. *The Hindu philosophy of history applied to world history.*

Let us now see if the history of different societies is capable of being demarcated after the pattern suggested above in the light of the tendencies of Hindu thought. Let us begin with Indian history.

Looking at Indian history from the standpoint enunciated above we stumble upon 647 A.D. as a turning point. In the period preceding this date we watch the impressive spectacle of the intense activity of the Indian people in all walks of life. When tyrants ascend the throne, they are deposed; when royal dynasties detract from the norm of conduct, they are overthrown. Traders, sailors, missionaries, artists and colonisers cross the high seas of the south and the arid deserts of the north and spread their culture in Indonesia and Indochina on the one side and the Tarim basin along the Silk Route on the other. Religious missions and political embassies visit the countries of the West and the East and there is a brisk process of contact and intercourse between India and the outside world. India adopts much of western culture in the domain of science and arts and contributes a great deal to it in the sphere of religion and thought. But gradually the horizon shrinks and by 647 A.D., the date of the death of Harṣa, it narrows down to very parochial limits. People develop a narrow regional outlook. Kings and captains, moved by motives of selfish aggrandizement, quarrel and kill each other; the people, blinded by the pall of inerita that has fallen upon them, follow them without any perspective or objective. Regional jealousies are paralleled by sectarian bickerings and perpetual military contests are matched by religious intolerance. In the arts, crafts, philosophy and literature there is a sway of stereotyped subtleties. Castes grow tight, contact with the outside world is shunned, religions preach escapism and a sense of weariness broods over the people.

In 1192 A.D. the Hindus are finally crushed in the battle of Taraori and the Turks and Afghans converted to Islam establish their hegemony over India. But they themselves are projections of the decadent spirit of India. As held by scholars like Prof.

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Muhammad Habib, Muslim rule in India was a system of foreign domination and exploitation. In his words "the so- called Muslim period of Indian history is really the Turkish period with two Afghan interludes in between. It seems ironical giving the name of Muslim period to a time when the Mussalmans of India, by the unfortunate fact of their birth, were excluded from all high offices."[1] Likewise Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the greatest authority on this period, observed : "the net result of theocratic rule in a country like India was the debasement and economic ruin of the Hindus and Muslims alike. The Muslims, though politically dominant, fared no better in the long run than the Zimmis. Their intellectual and moral degeneracy, in spite of state patronage, monopoly of public offices and preferential taxation, increases with the passage of years. The moral canker at the heart of Indian Islam—the Hindus also shared the rot, living under the same rule—was concealed for a time by the frequent migration of scholars, saints and physicians from Persia and Khurasan to the Indo-Muslim royal courts. But when at the beginning of the 18th century, the springhead of Islamic culture in Persia dried up, through the decline of the Safavi royalty and political revolutions, nothing could hide the utter bankruptcy of Islamic theocracy in India."[2] There was undoubtedly a temporary spurt in arts and culture in the time of, say, Akbar or Shāhjahān but the general sleep of the people could not be shaken. The chaos of the eighteenth century brought to the surface the deep degeneration of the people. The Marathas did make a bid to resuscitate the ancient culture and state that were interrupted by the Muslim conquests but they were also steeped in the decadence of medieval times. Hence they could not hold their own against the new-comers from the West who took over the traditions of a foreign domination from the Muslim Turks. But their impact quickened the minds of the people, first the Hindus and somewhat later the Muslims, into a new awakening which can be dated from the halcyon peace that followed the suppression of the uprising of 1857 and which reached its highest point in the attainment of independence in 1947 by the Indians.

The same rhythm is also perceptible in Europe. The brilliance of Hellenic culture which dazzled the world in the form of the invasion

1. Muhammad Habib: 'Presidential Address', *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (10th Session) Bombay (1947) p. 15.
2. Jadunath Sarkar: "Society during Muslim Period," *The Hindustan Standard* (Calcutta) 4 November 1951.

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of Alexander the Great and the consequent defeat of the mighty Achaemenian empire, burst forth in a remarkable development of art, science and philosophy. Plato and Aristotle, Hippocrates, Eratosthenes, Apollonius and Hipparchus and Hero, Archimedes and Herophilus made their age memorable by pioneer work in philosophy, politics, geography, mathematics, astrophysics, mechanics, physics and medicine. The swiftness with which constitutions and governments were changed, the experimental attitude which takes nothing for granted and the somewhat fleeting and unstable texture of life which the Greeks exhibit show the age of activity in Greece at its zenith. But after the battle of Actium in 31 B.C. the scene changes. Caesars appear as gods incarnate and compel the people to worship them as such. The idea of democracy is gradually deprived of all substance. The Roman empire becomes a gigantic system of the tyranny and exploitation of the rich over the common man. Society become stiff-necked and stereotyped. The man who brings the grain of Africa to public shores at Ostia, the baker who makes it into loaves for distribution, the butcher, the purveyor of wine and oil, the man who feeds the furnaces of public baths are bound to their callings from one generation to another.[1] The mentality of the lower classes was based exclusively on religion and was hostile to the intellectual achievements of the higher classes.[2] The advent of Christianity did not signify any turnover in the course of history. In 390 A.D. Theophilus got the library of Alexandria burnt and in 415 A.D. Hypatia, the mathematician daughter of the Alexandrian astronomer Theon, was mercilessly tormented by Christian fanatics. This age of sleep ended when the impact of Islamic thought brought home to the people of Europe the message of the Greek thinkers. As a result, there was the Renaissance, the Reformation, the progress in Science, the great conquests of the ocean and the discovery of new lands. The Iberian peninsula which fell under the domination of the Muslims was so much invigorated by their contact as to rival the achievements of its conquerors by exhibiting a great expansionist spirit in the Old and New Worlds. By the end of the seventeenth century Europe realised the futility of religious wars and entered into a phase of secular culture. The dignity of man asserted itself in the French Revolution and the Reform Movements of Great Britain. The high

1. S. Dill: *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*, p. 194.
2. M. I. Rostovtzeff: *The Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, p. 479.

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ideals of justice and the dominating passion for science that characterised the culture of the West won the appreciation of such persons as the great Egyptian historian Al-Jabarti, the contemporary of Napoleon. Thus with the fall of the Bastille the age of awakening developed into an age of activity.

Similar trends can be observed in the history of the Middle-East. The age of activity which manifested itself in the growth of cities, the construction of temples and the progress in writing, laws and commerce, art, engineering enterprises and astronomical observations came to an end with the death of Hammurabi. In the long age of sleep that followed, the Kassites, Assyrians, and Neo-Babylonians ruled in spite of the will of the people. There was, no doubt, a shake-up under the Achaemenids and the Seleucids but the age of awakening really came with the advent of Islam. This religion embodied a new and great conception of the unity of God and the equality of his followers and breathed a new life into the bodies of old cultures. With a great stir the Middle-East awoke and embarked on a tremendous movement of creativity in religion, philosophy, science, art and literature. Damascus and Baghdad rose to the heights of Babylon and Nineveh. But the coming of the House of Abbas to the helm of affairs signified the predominance of Persian culture and politics. Thus the decadent shadows of Sassanian Iran spread over Islam. After the death of Harun-al-Rashid (763 A.D.—809 A.D.) the dismemberment of his empire started. The Tahirids, Saffarids, Samanids, Seljuquids, Khwārazmians and Chingzkhanids gradually assumed full-fledged sovereignty and reduced the Caliphate to a shadow. These nomadic peoples caused Islam to signalise loot and plunder and they brought havoc to the civilized countries of the Middle-east. The historian Ibn-al-Athir, the geographer Yāqūt-al-Hamawi and the philosopher Ibn-Khaldūn have drawn vivid pictures of the decadence of these Islamic societies.[1] The age of awakening in these countries dawned with the initiation of a programme of Westernisation by the Ottoman Statesmen Selim III, Mahmūd II, Mehmed Ali of Kavalla and Mustafā Kamal Atāturk.

These studies are sufficient to throw light on the methodology that the Hindu conception of history implies. According to it we

1. E. G. Browne : *A Literary History of Persia* Vol. II p. 430. de-Slane: *Prolegomēns d' ibn Khaldoun* Vol. II, p. 30.

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can trace the succession of these ages in the history of all societies, groups and countries. In China, for instance, the age of sleep came in the latter half of the eighth century under the later T'angs and the age of awakening dawned in 1911 A.D. with the establishment of a Democratic Republic under Dr Sun-Yat Sen. In Egypt the age of sleep came after the death of Akhenaton and the age of awakening shimmered with the process of Westernisation set afoot by the Ottoman Statesman Mehmed Ali of Kavalla, there being brief periods of brilliance, for instance, under the Ptolemies and the Mamelukes. In this manner this process can be traced in the history of every country and culture.

In describing the rhythm of history as the succession of the ages of activity, sleep and awakening, I have followed the nomenclature adopted by the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in the interpretation of the four traditional ages of Hindu chronology. But I do not mean to suggest that the author of this text conceived of the process of history on the basis of the above interpretation just as I have done. Yet there is no doubt that the four ages did not signify to him fixed and predetermined periods of time that are bound to run their set courses in spite of the efforts of man; rather, they meant to him the stages of the moral and mental development of man in which human effort is the primary determining factor. That this conception was not always overlooked is manifest from the fact that according to the traditional belief the defeat and expulsion of the Śakas by Vikramāditya in 58 B.C. marked the beginning of he Kṛta Yuga or the age of truth. The Vikrama era was, for several centuries after its initiation, called the Kṛta-era. Later on when Yaśodharman Visṇu vardhana crushed the Hūṇas in the sixth century A. D. he was conceived of as the Kalki Avatāra or the incarnation of God that is destined to appear at the end of the Kali age, as has been shown by K. P. Jayaswal.[1] Still later in the latter half of the 17th century the advent of Shivaji was hailed as the coming of the divine incarnation signifying the end of the Kali age. Thus we observe that inspite of the traditional fixed periods of history which constitute the bedrock of the chronology of the Purāṇas the conception of these periods as phases of the moral and mental progress and regress of man was present in the minds of the Indian people. They stressed the moral aspect of the historical periods besides their chronological

1. K. P. Jayaswal: "The Historical Position of Kalki" *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLVI (1917) p. 145.

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conception and the way in which this view was possible was the belief in the rise and fall of virtue (*dharma*) as the basis of the succession of ages. When virtue was once accepted as the basis of the periodic arrangement of history, the freedom of human will and effort followed as a corollary. Hence a moral footing was given to a natural process. How this conception embodying a synthesis of moral and natural phenomena can be made the basis of a philosophical study of history has been the aim of this study.

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CHAPTER II

Poros

Among the kings, who came into contact with Alexander the Great, Poros has a unique position. He fought with him unto the last and ultimately made an honourable peace with him. Tall and stately in person, brave and courageous at heart, foremost in darting his javelins at the enemy and a great terror on the field of battle, he made such a deep impression on the mind of the Macedonian conqueror that he decided to make friends with him instead of risking a fight to the finish. Thus, he presents a striking contrast to the other antagonists of Alexander, who either flew from the battle-field or submitted to his behests or hugged him as their supporter. Hence the historians of Alexander have given a special place to him in their histories. Here an attempt is made to write his history and evaluate the part, that he played in the events of his time.

1. *The dynasty of Poros*

Poros is a dynastic name. The nephew of Poros is also called Poros by Greek writers. About the first century B.C. there was another Poros, who sent an embassy to the court of Augustus Caesar, as we learn from Strabo. The Sanskrit equivalent of the word 'Poros' is 'Puru', which is the name of an old Aryan clan. We learn from Vedic literature that the Purus were the progenitors of the Kurus. The *Rgveda*[1] describes a Kuru king named Kuru-śravaṇa as a descendant of Trāsadasyu, who belonged to the clan of the Purus. The word 'puru' connotes the idea of abundance and multitudinousness. It occurs in the Avesta, as 'pouru' and in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian

[1] IV, 38, 1; VII, 19, 3.

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emperors of Iran as 'paru'.[1] The clan of the Purus appears to have acquired this name by virtue of their overwhelming numbers and irresistible might. The occurrence of the word 'puru' in Indo-Iranian literature shows that the clan bearing this name was known in Iran as well as in India in fairly early times. The sweeping tide of Aryan Voelkerwanderung spread the Purus from the regions of Iran up to the heart of India. When the migratory period of Aryan clans changed into the era of settlement, the countless small stocks of the Saṁhitā age merged into the greater peoples, mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. Professor Oldenberg observed that the Bharatas and probably their old enemies, the Purus, mixed with the Kurus, who came to occupy the regions between the Sarasvati and the Dṛṣadvati in course of time.[2] But some sections of the Purus escaped this process of racial amalgamation and kept their identity intact in the North-Western regions. The *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira associates the Pauravas with the peoples of Takṣaśilā (Taxila) and Puṣkalāvati (Peukelaotis, modern Pakholi in the neighbourhood of Peshawar according to Wilson and Abbott and Parang and chārsade, 17 miles to the North-West of this city according to Cunningham) and locates them in the vicinity of the Mālavas and Madrakas.[3] The *Mahābhārata* refers to the city of the Pauravas, which was adjacent to the republics of the Utsavasaṅketas and the territory of Kaśmira.[4] Thus, it appears that the Pauravas were settled in the North-West.

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1 Cf. Naksh-i-Rustam inscription of Darius I in Sukumar Sen: *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 92. There the word 'Parū'nām' occurs as a common noun meaning 'many'.

2 Hermann Oldenberg : *Buddha* pp. 409-10; *History and Culture of the Indian People* Vol. I (The Vedic Age) pp. 252-253.

3 *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* IV, 26-27.

तक्षसिलपुष्कलावतकैलावतकण्ठधानाश्च ।
अम्बरमद्रकमालवपौरवकच्छारदण्डपिङ्गलकाः ।।

4 *Mahābhārata* II, XXVII, 15-17.

जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुरं पौरवरक्षितम् ।
पौरवं युधि निर्जित्य दस्यून्पर्वतवासिनः ।
गणानुत्सवसंकेतानजयत्सप्त पाण्डव ।।
ततः काश्मीरकान्वीरान्क्षत्रियान्क्षत्रियर्षभ ।
व्यजयल्लोहितं चैव मण्डलैर्दशभिः सह ।।

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It is likely that Purūravas Aila, the son of a ruler, who migrated from Bālhi (Bactria) in Central Asia to mid-India,[1] had something to do with the Pauravas settled in the North-West. He is said to have lived with his wife Urvaśi at a place named 'Nandana',[2] which has been identified by Sir Aurel Stein with the mountainous territory of that name situated right above a difficult path in the eastern part of the Salt Range on the bank of the Jhelum.[3] In this way, the Aila conqueror is associated with that very region in which Poros had a hard contest with Alexander in the 4th century B.C. Thus, Poros belonged to the old and powerful clan of the Purus, which had played a leading part in the Aryan Voelkerwanderung in India.

2. *The identity of the Pauravas and Parvatakas*

The Pauravas inhabited a rugged and mountainous country. Hence they were counted among the Parvatīyas (mountaineers) mentioned by ancient writers among the peoples of the North-West. Pāṇini includes 'Parvata' in the Takṣaśilādigaṇa[4] and the Greek writers refer to the settlements of the Parvatīya people beyond the borders of India. Herodotus (I, 101) states that the Paraitakenai occupied a mountainous part of Media; Isidoros of charax says that another tribe of the same name lived between Drangiana and Arachosia, and Arrian writes that

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[1] *Rāmāyaṇa* VII, 90, 21-22-23.

[2] *Vāyu-Purāṇa* ch. 90.

वने चैत्ररथे रम्ये तथा मन्दाकिनीतटे ।
अलकायां विशालायां नन्दने च वनोत्तमे ।
गन्धमादनपादेषु मेरुशृङ्गे नगोत्तमे ।
उत्तरांश्च कुरून्प्राप्य कलापग्राममेव च ।
एतेषु वनमुखेषु सुरैराचरितेषु च ।
उर्वश्या सहितो राजा रेमे परमया मुदा ।

[3] Sir Aurel Stein : *Archaeological Survey in North-Western India*, p. 25.

[4] Pāṇini IV, 2, 143 सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ Cf. Gaṇapāṭha under तक्षशिलादि. Cf. Pāṇini IV 3, 93 आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते

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the Paraitakenai (Paraitakai)[1] inhabited the country to the east of Baktra and Sogdiana. They had a great rock-fortress which was in the occupation of their chief Khorienes (Chorienes). When Alexander invaded this fortress, Oxyartes persuaded Khorienes to submit to him. But the surrender of this chief did not damp the spirit of independence of these people. Hence Alexander sent Krateros against the Paraitakenai who were holding out against him under their chiefs Katanes and Austanes. Krateros had a severe struggle with these people.[2] Thus, we see that the Parvatiyas were far-flung in the North-West.

We learn from the *Mahābhārata* that the Purus were the leading tribe of the Parvatiya group. When Arjuna marched against Paurava, he encountered the stiff resistance of the Parvatiya warriors and after defeating them in a battle he proceeded towards the capital of that country, which was "guarded by Paurava".[3]

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[1] Hillebrandt has identified the Paruetae or Parautai of Gedrosia or Aria mentioned by Ptolemy with the Pārāvatas mentioned in the Ṛgveda. [*Vedische Mythologie* Vol. I, pp. 94-97; *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 87; D. R. Bhandarkar, *Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture* p. 3]. The word Pārāvata appears to be a variant of Parvataka or Parvatiya, for both of them are synonymous. Dr. Motichandra doubts this identification and holds that Paraitakenai or Paraitakai stands for the Para-tangaṇas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* [*Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata* p. 80]. But he adduces no evidence in support of his view. Should we consider the forms Paratakai, Paruetai and Parautai, we shall be driven to conclude that their equation with Parvata is most natural. As for the Paraitakenai, the suffix 'nai' in it recalls that in Assakenoi and Astakenoi which stand for the Aśvakas and Aṣṭakas respectively. Hence it would be implausible to connect the 'na' of this word with the nasal in 'para-tangaṇa'.

[2] J. W. M'crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 57.

[3] *Mahābhārata* II, 27, 14-15.

स तैः परिवृतः सर्वैर्विश्वगश्वं नराधिपम् ।
अभ्यगच्छन्महातेजाः पौरवं पुरुषर्षभः ।।
विजित्य चाहवे शूरान्पर्वतीयान्महारथान् ।
जिगाय सेनया राजन् पुरं पौरवरक्षितम् ।

(पौरव is described as विश्वगश्व, that is, "surrounded by horses". Here 'Aśva' may signify the Aśvakāyanas, who were the neighbours of Paurava).

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Here it is noteworthy that Paurava is used in singular while Parvatiya is used in plural. According to a sūtra of Pāṇini,[1] Paurava means the king of the Purus. It appears that the Puru king ruled over the Parvatiya people. Hence Arjuna planned his expedition against the Puru king, for by defeating him he could easily become the master of the country of the Parvatiyas. Had it been otherwise, the author of the *Mahābhārata* would have described him as marching against the Parvatiya people instead of proceeding towards Paurava.

The Parvatiyas had a republican form of government, 'gaṇarājya', as we learn from the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa. After defeating them Raghu worsted the Utsavasaṅketas and humbled the Kinnaras.[2] The Kinnaras were associated with the region now known as Kanaur and included in the Kaśmīra state. Thus, we see that the Kinnaradeśa of the *Raghuvaṁśa* corresponds to Kaśmīra of the *Mahābhārata*. In the former, the Utsavasaṅketas and Kinnaras come after the Parvatiyas; in the latter, these people and the Kaśmīras come after the realm of Paurava.[3] Thus, Parvatiya and Paurava belonged to the same region. Even as late as the 7th century A.D., Hiuen-Tsang called the territory east of the Jhelum, which was occupied by Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion, 'Parvata'. This shows that the Purus and the Parvatiyas lived in the region called 'Parvata'. If Paurava was a tribal name, Parvatiya was a territorial

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[1] *Pāṇini* IV, 1, 168

जनपदशब्दात्क्षत्रियादञ् ।
क्षत्रियसमानशब्दाज्जनपदात्तस्य राजन्यपत्यवत् ।।
पूरोरण् ।

[2] *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 77-78

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत् ।
नाराचक्षेपणीयाश्मनिष्पेषोत्पतितानलम् ।।
शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् ।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ।।

[3] Pāṇini also places 'Parvata' near 'Kinnara' in the *Takṣaśilādigaṇa*, which is as follows :—

तक्षशिला, वत्सोद्धरण, कर्मेदुर, ग्रामणी, छगल, कोष्टुकर्ण, सिंहकर्ण, संकुचित, किन्नर, काण्डधार, पर्वत, अवसान, बर्बर, कंस ।

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designation. Hence the identification of Poros and Parvataka suggested by F. W. Thomas and H. C. Seth rests on very strong grounds.[1]

3. *Political conditions of north-western India on the eve of the rise of Poros*

In order to understand the rise of Poros at the time of the invasion of Alexander it is necessary to cast a flying glance at the history of North-Western India in the later Vedic period. In the Vedic age the Panjab was the cock-pit of the conflicts of various tribes, that migrated into India in successive waves. These tribes pressed towards the East and established their settlements in Mid-Indian regions. Hence the importance of the 'Sapta-Sindhu-Pradeśa, passed over to the 'Kuru-Kṣetra' and the 'Antarvedi' of the Ganges and the Jumna. The Brāhmaṇas and the Upaniṣads represent this stage of transition of the Aryans from the North-West to the Middle country. In these texts the states of the North-West and the states of the Middle country and the East are treated on an equal footing. We learn from these works that the chief states of the North-West were Gandhāra, Kekaya and Madra. The Gandhāra territory embraced the Rawalpindi district of Western Panjab and the Peshawar district of the North-Western Frontier Province. The Kekaya country was situated between the Jhelum and the Chenab and comprised the territories occupied by Poros at the time of Alexander's invasion. Its chief city Rājagṛha or Girivraja, mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa*,[2] has been identified by Cunningham with Girjak or Jalalpur on the Jhelum, in the neighbourhood of which the camp of Alexander was laid. According to the Jātakas, the kingdom and capital of the Kekayas were known as Kekaka after them and this capital was one of the three principal cities of Jambudvipa. A

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[1] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 471; H. C. Seth, On the Identification of Poros & Parvataka, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (June 1941) p. 173 ff.

[2] II, 67, 7

उभौ भरतशत्रुघ्नौ केकयेषु परन्तपौ ।
पुरे राजगृहे रम्ये मातामह-निवेशने ।।

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branch of the Kekayas had migrated to the South and settled on the bank of the Māhiṣmati. Below the Kekayas were the Madras. Their capital Śākala (modern Sialkot) was situated between the Chenab and the Rāvi. In early times, the realm of the Madras was an important seat of Vedic learning and produced such eminent scholars as Mādragāra Śaungāyani and Kāpya Patañcala, the teacher of Uddālaka Āruṇi.[1] The Madras also played an important part in the wars and confederacies of those times. Śalya, the king of the Madras, fought in the battle of the *Mahābhārata* and rose to be the commander-in-chief of the Kuru forces after the death of Karṇa. But gradually their morals sank and their political prestige also waned. Below the Madras, the Uśinaras lived along the approaches to the Madhyadeśa. Besides these principal peoples, there were other states and tribes like the Śibis. These peoples and states were swept away by the imperialist movements that started at the time of Gautama Buddha and culminated in the Maurya empire. In the North-West, Gandhāra played the part, which was destined for Magadha in the East. The Jaina *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*[2] refers to the Gandhāra king Nagnajit or Naggaji as an important king (bull of kings), who ranked with Dvimukha (Dummukha) of Pañcāla, Nimi of Videha, Karakaṇḍu of Kalinga and Bhīma of Vidarbha [*Jātaka* Vol. III, p. 377] and adopted the faith of the Jainas. In the middle of the sixth century B.C., Pukkusāti was the king of Gandhāra. He was a contemporary of King Bimbisāra of Magadha and Pradyota of Avanti. Buddhaghoṣa[3] states that there was a friendly relation between Pukkusāti and Bimbisāra in token of which he sent an embassy and a letter to him. He also waged war with king Pradyota of Avanti and would have inflicted a crushing defeat on him had not the Pāṇḍavas, who inhabited the regions around Śākala in the days of Ptolemy, launched an attack against him.[4] Nearer home, the territory of Kaśmira formed part

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[1] *Ibid* II, 68, 22

गिरिव्रजं पुरवरं शीघ्रमासेदुरंजसा ।

Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad III, 7, 1.

[2] Ed. Jarl Charpentier XVIII, p. 45.

[3] *Papañcasūdani* (Singhalese edition) Vol. II, p. 982 cited by T. W. Rhys Davids: *Buddhist India*, p. 28.

[4] Felix Lâcote : *Essay on Guṇāḍhya* (English translation by Rev. A. M. Tabard) p. 176.

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of the Gandhāra Kingdom as we gather from the *Gandhāra Jātaka*[1] and the region between the Chenab and the Rāvi formerly occupied by the Madras, passed under the domination of its kings, for we find a tribe named Gandaris (Skt. Gāndhāra) living there at the time of Alexander's invasion, according to Strabo.[2] As already noted, Pukkusāti tried conclusions with the Pāṇḍavas, who lived in the Panjab and were probably menaced by his expansionist policy.[3] He also seems to have acted as a bulwark against the expansion of the Achaemenian power in the North-West. Nearchus informs us that Cyrus planned an expedition against India through Gedrosia but lost his entire army except seven men. If we study the political conditions of the North-West at the time of Cyrus, we find that the only power which was more than a match for the Persian monarch was Gandhāra. Hence it is not unlikely that it was the armies of Gandhāra which smashed the might of the intending invader. But the growth of the Achaemenian power under Cambysis and Darius I synchronised with the decline of Gandhāra and the irruption of many exotic and outlandish elements in the Panjab. Darius I conquered Gandhāra and annexed it to his empire.[4] The downfall of Gandhāra gave an occasion to many foreign and indigenous tribes to carve out small states and principalities for themselves and thus fill the vacuum caused by the

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[1] Ed. Fausböll No. 406.

[2] J. W. M'crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 111-112, 133.

[3] The Pāṇḍavas, the Pandooui, mentioned by Ptolemy, as settled in the Panjab, are probably the same as the Prārjunas or Ārjunāyanas mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta [H. C. Raychoudhry : *Political History of Ancient India* 5th ed. p. 544]. According to the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya, the Janapada of the Prārjunakas (Prājjuṇakas) was held in as much respect and esteem as Gandhāra. Evidently this Janapada was near Gandhāra. [See *Arthaśāstra* III, 18, p. 194 प्राज्जूणक गान्धारादीनां च जनपदोपवादा व्याख्याताः] The authority of the *Arthaśāstra* on this point is beyond doubt for its author is also said in the *Mahāvamsaṭīkā* (*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*) (P. T.S. Vol. p. 181) to have been a resident of Gandhāra. The proximity of Gandhāra and the Janapada of the Prājjuṇakas renders it possible that Pukkusāti, while embarking on an expansionist policy, came into collision with them.

[4] Sukumar Sen : *Old Persian Inscriptions*, pp. 93-94 (Persepolis inscription of Darius 1).

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lapse of political authority. Jean Przyluski has shown that shortly before and after the rise of the Achaemenian power, many Iranian and Central Asiatic tribes entered into India probably as a result of the pressure of imperial authority. These tribes were collectively known as "Bāhlikas".[1] It appears that in course of the movements and migrations of tribes, the Purus settled down between the Jhelum and the Rāvi in the seats of the Kekayas and the Madras. One of their states lay between the Jhelum and the Chenab and the other between the Chenab and the Rāvi. The decline of the Achaemenians after Xerxes and the weakening of their authority in their Indian satrapies of Gandhāra and Sind (Sindhu) gave an impetus to the new tribes to strengthen and consolidate their power in the territories, which they had occupied. A. V. W. Jackson has held that the Achaemenian sway in India lasted up to 330 B.C.[2] and Dr. S. Chattopadhyaya has shown that Artaxerexes II (404-395 B.C.) maintained intact the Indian empire created by the genius of Darius and his predecessors and that even Darius III (336-330 B.C.) exercised authority over it.[3] These conclusions are based on the presence of Indian soldiers in Persian armies. But we learn from Pāṇini[4] and Kauṭilya[5] that the Panjab was rampant with floating contingents of mercenary soldiers, who lived by the profession of arms and lent their services to those kings, who

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[1] Jean Przyluski : 'Un ancien peuple du Panjab: les Oudoumbaras', *Journal Asiatique*, 1926, pp 11-13.

[2] *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 341.

[3] Sudhakara Chattopadhyaya : 'The Rule of the Achaemenids in India, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, (Sept. 1949) p. 197. See also J. M. Unvala, 'Political and Cultural relations between Iran and India', *Annals of the Bhandarkar O. R. Institute* Vol. XXVIII, pts. 3-4, July-Oct. 1947, p. 174.

[4] Pāṇini IV, 3, 91

आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते ।

Ibid V, 3, 114

आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यङ्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् ।

[5] *Arthaśāstra* XI, 1

काम्भोजसुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः ।

Ibid II, 35

समाहर्ता चतुर्था जनपदं विभज्य·····ग्रामाग्रं परिहारकमायुधीयं·····निबन्धयेत् ।

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paid them best. Such contingents of soldiers sought fortune under the Achaemenian emperors, who promised rich prospects to their troops. Hence it is quite implausible to conclude on the basis of the presence of such contingents of soldiers in Persian armies that Persian rule actually prevailed in India. As a matter of fact, the decline of Achaemenian power was so rapid and thorough that it is erroneous to think that the boisterous tribes of the North-West continued to cling to that corpse unto the last.[1] Commenting on the decadence of Persian art under the later Achaemenians, Prof. Herzfeld observed that "Iranian art after Artaxerexes II shows an astoundingly quick decline, an unparallelled fall, to the point that even the mere technique was almost entirely lost. Old Persian art was dead before Alexander conquered Persia and with the art the whole culture died : this complete decay was the cause, the conquest was its consequence. The burning of Persepolis by Alexander was only the symbolic expression of the fact that the ancient East had died."[2] Under these circumstances, the presumption of Persian rule in India up to the death of Darius III is quite baseless, as there is absolutely no evidence to show that there was any vestige of Persian rule in India after Xerxes. It appears that sometime after the defeat of Xerxes in Greece the hold of the Achaemenians on the outlying provinces of their empire began to weaken. D. R. Bhandarkar held, on the basis of a passage in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the commentary of Śankarārya theron, that Kākavarṇa, son of Śiśunāga, king of Magadha, who inherited from his father the empire of the whole of Northern India except the Panjab and Rājputānā, invaded the Panjab and conquering up to the confines of the Achaemenian empire, inflicted a defeat on the Persian satrap of Gandhāra. But this invasion could not have any lasting effect, for as Bāṇa and Śankarārya suggest, Kākāvarṇa was allured by the Yavanas, by which term they mean the Persians, as Dr Bhandarkar has shown, to the vicinity of a place named Nagar and assassinated with a dagger thrust in his neck. [D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Notes on Ancient History of India', *Indian Culture*

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1 For a like view see R. C. Mazumdar : 'Achaemenian Rule in India', *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXV, No. 3, Sept., 1949, p. 153, et. seq.

2 E. Herzfeld : *Iran in the Ancient East*, p. 274.

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Vol. I, p. 13 ff.] This conjecture may not be historically true but the fact that the Achaemenian power was waning after Xerxes admits of no doubt. Almost at that time the Indian provinces threw off the yoke of the Persians and the tribes and peoples, who had crowded the Panjab in the centuries gone by, set up their autonomous states. In this period of conflict and turmoil the Purus pursued an imperialist policy and struck their blows at the neighbouring states. We learn from Greek sources that the Elder Poros[1] who ruled between the Jhelum and the Chenab was feared and envied in the surrounding areas. Taxiles, the ruler of Takṣaśilā, was his old enemy ; Abhisares, his powerful ally, was sceptical of his friendship as was manifest from his indecisive policy at the battle of the Jhelum ; his own family-member, who ruled between the Chenab and the Rāvi, was ready to welcome a foreign invader in order to put an end to his greatness and prosperity ; further south, the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas had just repulsed his attack and armed themselves to the teeth to guard their independence. But the power of Poros was steadily increasing and his destiny as a great monarch of India was fast unfolding itself.

4. *The relations of Poros and Darius III*

Poros had developed so much power that the Achaemenian emperor of Iran approached him for assistance in times of need.

[1] Dr H. C. Seth has suggested that the personal name of the Elder Poros was Devāpi on the basis of the following passages of the Puraṇas. *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24, 45

देवापिः पौरवो राजा मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः ।
महायोगबलोपेतौ कलापग्रामसंश्रयौ ।।

Bhāgavata Purāṇa XII, 2, 37

देवापिः शंतनोर्भ्राता मरुश्चेक्ष्वाकुवंशजः ।
कलापग्राम आसाते महायोगबलान्वितौ ।।

Vāyu Purāṇa ch. 99, verse 437

देवापिः पौरवो राजा इक्ष्वाकोश्चैव यो मरुः ।
महायोगबलोपेतः कलापग्राममास्थितः ।।

Dr Seth identifies Devāpi Paurava with Poros and Maru Aikṣvākava with Candra Gupta Maurya. See his चन्द्रगुप्त मौर्य्य और एलेग्जेण्डर की भारत में पराजय (in Hindi) pp. 66-69. But this is only a conjecture.

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We learn from Greek, Syriac and Persian sources that Darius III Codomannus sought the help of Poros against Alexander the Great. According to the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* and its Syriac version, Darius invited Poros to meet him with an army at the Caspian Gates and promised him half the spoil and Alexander's horse Boukephalas.[1] But Firdausi in his *Shāh-Nāmā* gives a slightly different version of this episode. He says that in course of his flight after his defeat (at Arbela) Darius wrote a letter to Alexander in which he set forth his terms of peace with him. Alexander's response to this offer was very favourable but in the meantime Darius was struck with remorse at the thought of surrendering himself at the feet of a foreign invader and leading the life of an humble vassal. Hence he made another attempt to resist and repel Alexander and wrote a letter to Poros (Fur[2] in the Arabic and Persian version) requesting him for succour and promising him a rich return.[3]

The Ethiopic version of *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* also refers to the invitation extended by Darius to Poros. To quote the translation of Budge :

"And it came to pass that Darius wrote to Poros, the king of India, and he asked him (for help) in his letter saying this :

'From Darius, who was the king of kings to Poros, the king of India (greetings). Formerly I dwelt in my kingdom in glory and power, but now I entreat thee to receive me, and to be pleased graciously to help me, because of this mighty man of war

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1 *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* ed. C. Müller Vol. II, p. 19.

The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes edited and translated by Ernest A. Wallis Budge II, p. 11.

2 In the Arabic script the letter 'p' is written as 'f'

3 *Shāh-Nāmā* edited by Turner Macan Vol. III, p. 1279.

chū yāvar nabūdash zanazdík-o-dūr ।
yaki nāmāḥ banavisht nazdik-i-Fūr ॥
Pur az lābāh va zir dasti-o-dard ।
nakhist-āfríñ bar jaḥāñdār kard ॥
Digar guft k'ai mehtar-i-hindavāñ ।
Khirdmand-o-dānā va roshan-ravāñ ॥
Hamānā kih nizd-i-tū āmad khabar ।
Kih mārā chah āmad za-akhtar basar ॥
Sikandar bayāvurd lashkar za-rūm ।

(*continued on the following page*)

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who hath come upon me ; he knoweth not fear, his courage is mighty, and his body is thick, and I never saw his like either among kings or among all other men. Behold, too, he hath gained possession of my women, who are the source of my depravity, and behold I came upon the Greeks in several places, but I was not able to beat them. And he hath overcome me and put me to shame because there was none (among us) able to do battle against him. He hath taken my kingdom, and hath carried into captivity my mother, and my wife and my daughter, and there is nothing left to me but death ; and it is better for me to die than to become his servant. And now, help me, and do thou take heed to the love, which hath always existed between us, and then make ready for me an army of the soldiers of the country, for (Alexander and his hosts) are mighty men of war and are strong. Hasten thou to me with this army, for I place my hope and confidence in thee and I will abide on the borders of my country until thy message shall reach me, and I will deal graciously with those who shall come unto me from thyself and I will reward them abundantly with possessions. If I conquer Alexander I will send to thee one half of whatever I find with him.'

(*continued from the previous page*)

naḥ barmānd mā rā naḥ ābād būm ||
naḥ pevand-o-farzand-o-takht-o-kulāh |
naḥ dídaim shāhí nah ganj-o-sipāh ||
Garídūñ kiḥ bāshí merā yārmand |
Kih az kheshtan bāz dāram gazand ||
Farastamt chandāñ gohrhā za-ganj |
Kazāñ pas naḥ bíní tū az ganj ranj ||
Hamāñ dar jahāñ níz nāmí shaví |
Ba-nizd-i-bazuragāñ garāmí shaví ||

For English translation see the *Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi* by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner Vol. VI. p. 51.

"As there was no one far or near to help,
He wrote to F'ur a humble, flattering letter
In deep distress and, having first of all
Praised God, said; 'Ruler of the men of Hind,
Thou man of wisdom, rede, and ardent soul!
Thou surely must have heard of my misfortune;
Sikander hath led forth a host from Rum;
Nor corps or settlements or kin or children,
Or crown or throne or royal diadem,
Or treasury or host are left to us.

(*continued on the following page*)

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And it came to pass that when Alexander heard these things he straightway commanded his army to make ready for war, and he and all those who were with him rose up, and they pursued Darius the king."[1]

These letters show that Darius had a high opinion of Poros and pinned much hope on his assistance. In the dark hour of distress the prospect of the help of this Indian ally was the only ray of hope for the Achaemenian emperor. Poros made an immediate response to the request of Darius and sent his elephant corps to him. But Alexander came to know the arrangements of Darius and swooped down on his worsted rival with great force and alacrity.[2] Darius collected the remnants of his broken army and tried to withstand the attack of Alexander. But his troops had no heart to fight with the buoyant hosts of Alexander. Hence many of his chiefs deserted him and sided with the enemy.[3] Only three

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(*continued from the previous page*)

Now if thou will help me to keep away
Destruction from myself I will despatch
So many gems to thee out of my treasures
That never shalt thou need to toil for more
Moreover, thou shalt be renowned on earth
And held in honour by the great."

1 E. A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great*, pp. 87-89.

2 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280
chū Iskandar āgāh shud zān-i-sukhan ।
Kih dārābi dārā chah afgand ban ॥
Bafarmūd tā bar-kashidand n'ā ।
Bar-āmad ghaukaus-o-hindi dar'ā ॥
Bayāvurd az iṣṭakhr chandāñ sipāh ।
Kih khurshid bar-charkh gum kard rāh ॥
Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51. "Sikander
On hearing what Darā, son of Darab,
Had done, bade blow the trumpet. There arose
The din of kettledrum and Indian bell.
Sikander from Istakhr led forth such powers
That sol was lost in heaven".

3 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280
chū dārā bayāvurd lashkar barāḥ ।
sipāhi naḥ bar-ārzū razm khvāḥ ॥
Shakistāh dil va gashtāh az razm sīr ।
Sar-bakht-i-irāniāñ gashtāh zīr ॥

(*continued on the following page*)

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hundred cavaliers[1] followed the king in his flight but finding him a broken reed to lean upon his ministers assassinated him[2] and went over to the side of Alexander. Meanwhile, the elephant corps of Poros also arrived but it was too late.[3] The emperor who had staked his all in the expectation of this aid was no more.

(*continued from the previous page*)

Nayāvikhtand hich bā-rūmiāñ ।
chū rūbāh shud āñ narrāh sher-i-ziyāñ ॥
Garāñ māyagāñ zinhāri shudand ।
za-arj-i-bazurgi bakhvāri shudand ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51 "When Dara
Led forth his troops—no army bent on strife
But broken hearted and grown sick of war—
The fortunes of the Iranians drooped its head.
They closed not with the Rúmans hand to hand;
They were the fox, the Rúmans were the lion,
And all the chiefs asked quarter, having come
Down from their pride to deep humility."

[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280
chū dārā chunāñ did bar-gāsht r'ū ।
Garizāñ hami raft bāhā h'ū ॥
Baraftand bāshāh sasad sawār ।
Az-irāñ har-āñkas kih bud nāmdār ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 51
"Dara saw, turned away, and fled lamenting
With him there went three hundred cavaliers
The noblest of Iran."

[2] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1280 ।
chū shab tīrāh gasht az hawā bād khāst ॥
yake dashnāh ba-giraft Janusayār ।
ba-zū barbarū sināh-i-shahryār ॥
Nagūñ shud sarnāmbardār shāh ।
Vazū bāz gashtand yaksu sipāh ॥

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 52
"Night gloomed, a storm arose, Jānūsiyār
Laid hand upon a dagger, stabbed the king
Upon the breast, that famed head reached its fall,
And then the troops deserted, one and all."

Vide the following excerpt from the letter of Poros to Sikander.

[3] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Mecan Vol. III, p. 1305.
Badāñgah kih dārā merā yār khvāst ।
Dil-o-bakht bāvi nadidaim rāst ॥
Hami zindāh pilāñ farastādmash ।

(*continued on the following page*)

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In order to examine the correctness of the account of Firdausi, it is necessary to refer to the history of Darius III, as we know it from reliable sources. Darius fought three battles with Alexander : the first on the banks of the river Granikos in 334 B.C. the second at Issos in 333 B.C. and the third at Gaugamela and Arbela in 330 B.C. In all these battles the vast armies led by Darius crumbled before the onslaughts of the Macedonian forces and he took to flight in panic and confusion. At Issos when his cavalry on the extreme right was just on the verge of victory, his flight from the battle-field broke the morale of his forces and resulted in his crushing defeat. Likewise, at Gaugamela, just as his cavalry on the right side broke the ranks of Parmenion and burst through the gaps to capture the enemy's baggage, his sudden flight gave the signal of his defeat. Firdausi gives a correct account of these three battles. He states that the first two battles were fought on the western side of the Euphrates, that Darius flew from the battle-fields just when the issue of war hung in the balance, that his flights spread such panic in his troops that they either flew or went over to the enemy and that Alexander treated the conquered country with great courtesy and considerateness. He thus avoids the error of the Syriac tradition that there was only one battle between Darius and Alexander,[1] and steers clear of the confusion of the Arabic historian Hisham bin Mohammad, who, as quoted by Tabari, remarks that they fought for one year in Mesopotamia.[2] Firdausi is also correct

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(*continued from the previous page*)

Hamidūn bāyāri zubān dādmash ||
Chū bar-dast āñ bandāḥ bar-kashtāh shud |
Sar-i-bakht irāniāñ gashtāh shud ||
Za-dārā chū rū-i-zamiñ pāk shud |
Tira zahr barind'āh-i-tiryāk shud ||

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 112.

"When Dara asked help.
And I perceived his heart and fortune failing,
I sent him mighty elephants and gave him
Words of encouragement. When he was slain
By that slave's hand the Iranians' fortune fell,
And when earth's face was franchised from Dara
That trenchent bane became thine antidote."

[1] Ernest A. Wallis Budge : *The History of Alexander the Great being the Syriac version of the Pseudo-Kallisthenes* II, 9.

[2] T. Nöldeke: *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Alexanderomans*, p. 42.

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in regard to the murder of Darius at the hands of his ministers. He again escapes the fallacy of the Arabic writers that the murder of Darius was encompassed with the connivance of Alexander.[1] Hence it is clear that Firdausi's account of Darius III rests on a better tradition than that of the Syriac and Arabic writings and his treatment of the episode of the request of Darius to Poros for military assistance, which accords well with the Syriac and even the Greek works, cannot be rejected as merely fictitious.

Greek writers inform us that after the battle of Gaugamela, Darius was making efforts to raise another army. When Alexander had captured Babylon, Susa and Persepolis and was marching against the Mardians, he came to know of the efforts that Darius was making at Ecbatana (Hamadan) to fight once more with him. Hence he lost no time in moving against him to nip his efforts in the bud. But Darius was completely cowed down and fled towards Baktra to get protection under his kinsman Bessos. Firdausi states that he fought a battle with Alexander but was routed. While giving this information, Greek writers omit to mention as to what efforts Darius was making to collect fresh troops. Three times his armies had borne the brunt of the attacks of the Macedonians. His officers and generals were killed or dispersed and their morale was completely crushed. Hence it is unlikely that Darius was dreaming of getting victory over his triumphant rival, who had routed him on three occasions, by means of his broken and disspirited followers. He had some other source of help, which infused some hope of success in his heart. Considering the political conditions of Asia at that time we do not find any king other than Poros who could effectively assist the fallen monarch of Iran against a formidable invader. Therefore, it suits the context of events that Darius sought the assistance of Poros and he readily agreed to give it.

5. *The Indian invasion of Alexander and the attitude of Poros towards it*

As the forces of Poros could not reach Darius betimes and Alexander overtook him before he was able to put up an effective

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[1] T. Nöldeke: *Beiträge zus Geschichte des Alexenderomans*, pp. 44-50.

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resistance, the fate of the Achaemenian empire was sealed. The murder of Darius removed the symbol of the imperial authority and the Greek conqueror felt entitled to wrest the sceptre of the Achaemenians from the usurper Bessos. After achieving this end Alexander thought of invading India, the north-western parts of which constituted the richest satrapies of the Persian empire. The fact that the Indian contingents of troops fought on the side of Darius and especially that Poros tried to help him by sending his elephant corps might have chagrined Alexander and led him to invade India and defeat her warlike peoples. The ethiopic version of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* is explicit on this point. Budge has rendered this passage as follows: "And Alexander heard that Poros, the king of India, had come to the aid of Darius, the king of Persia but when Poros heard that Darius was slain, he returned to his country together with his troops. And Alexander entreated God Almighty to help him against Poros, the king of India, and concerning the armies which he had gathered together to him, and he commanded his soldiers to make ready to march."[1] The peoples living in the north-western parts of India, as seen above, had thrown away the yoke of the Persians long before the advent of Alexander. Poros was also on a look-out for some opportunity to conquer them, as his enmity with Taxiles shows. But they proved a hard nut to crack. When Alexander marched against them, Poros chuckled at the prospect of their annihilation and felt confident that he would repel Alexander, should he enter his territory after defeating them. Hence he kept silent when Alexander struggled with these peoples, but mobilized his resources to guard against a possible attack from him. Alexander defeated the Astakenoi (Hastikāyanas) whose chief Astes (Hastin) ruled at Puṣkalāvati, the capital of Western Gandhāra, reduced the Assakenoi (Aśvakāyanas), who offered him a stiff resistance, stormed the independent citadels of Bazira, Ora and Aronos, the people of which fought him to the last, entered Taxila (Takṣaśilā), the metropolis of Southern Gandhāra, whose king hugged him as a great support against Poros. Meanwhile, Poros was making brisk preparations to accord a warlike welcome to the advancing invader, as is manifest from the arrangements of battle made

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[1] E. A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 107

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by him. We learn from the "Universal History" of al-Makin that Poros sent letters to the neighbouring kings, saying "since Alexander hath come unto me, come ye unto me and help me, and give me your advice, so that we may all be of one mind and one intention, for if we be divided, Alexander will come and will capture our kingdoms, and will conquer us." And the kings consenting made answer unto him, saying, "We will come," and they made ready and came to him with all their armies.[1] There is little substance in this remark. Though Poros might have written to the neighbouring kings his overweening and aggrandizing attitude had antagonized them and none of them was ready to help him in right earnest, Even the king of Abhisāra on whose assistance he counted much was playing a dual game. Thus Poros had to bear the brunt of Alexander's onslaught single-handed.

6. *The battle of the Jhelum between Alexander and Poros* B.C. 326[2]

From Taxila Alexander sent an envoy named Cleochares to Poros to demand tribute from him and ask him to come to meet him on the frontiers of his kingdom.[3] Poros replied to this ultimatum in a stern and provocative tone and promised to meet

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[1] E. A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 369.

[2] Arrian states that the battle of the Jhelum was fought in the month of Mounychion *i. e.*, between the 18th of April and 18th of May 326 B.C. and E. R. Bevan accepts this view [*Camb. Hist. India*, Vol. I pp. 361-362]. But at another place Arrian observes that at the time of the battle the rivers were swollen, "for the sun is then wont to turn towards the summer tropic". Thus, he makes the battle take place after the solstice of June 21st. Strabo states that the rains had set in. In India it usually happens towards the end of June. The description of the river and the weather clearly suggests that the rainy season had come. Under these circumstances, there is much to be said in favour of V. A. Smith's view that the battle was fought in July. [*Early History of India* 3rd edition, p. 85 f]. But the matter is unsettled. All we can say with certainty is that the battle was fought between May and July.

[3] Curtius in J. W. M'crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 203. (Henceforth, this work will be referred to as "*Invasion*" for brevity's sake).

See also *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1304.

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him at the appointed place in arms. The correspondence that passed between these two monarchs has been given in detail in the *Shāh-Nāmāh*.[1] This left no alternative to Alexander but to march aganist Poros. He also learnt that the king of Abhisāra, who had sent him envoys, was advancing with an army for the help of Poros. Hence he made haste in order to prevent Abhisares from meeting with Poros. He took the lower route, which proceeded with an inclination to the south, to Dundhial and thence by Asanot and Vang to Jalalpur, as we gather from the account of Strabo (XV, I, 32), and encamped on a six-mile long expanse on the bank of the Jhelum from Shāh-Kabir, two miles to the north-east of Jalalpur, to Syadpur,[2] four miles to the west-south-west of it. In the way he had an encounter with Spitaces or Pittacus, the governor of the territory, in which the battle was fought. [Arrian "*Invasion*" p. 107] He sought to stem the advance of Alexander at the instance of Poros. But he could not withstand the onset of the Macedonian forces and had to fall back and join the main army of Poros. In the battle he was killed [Polyaenois IV, 3, 21]

Alexander's army consisted of the Companions, who were mounted and armed, the Hypaspists (the bearers of round shields), who acted as heavy infantry, but were lighter in equipment and more rapid in movement than the Hoplites (the bearers of oval shields), who wore heavy armour, carried a sword and a spear and formed the backbone of the famous Spartan infantry, the phalanx, which was six rows deep, each soldier standing three feet behind another, wearing full defensive armour consisting of a helmet, breast-plate and two long curved plates protecting the thighs and

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[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, pp. 1304-5.

[2] Sir Alexander Cunningham : *Geography of Ancient India* pp. 157-179. V. A. Smith, on the other hand, holds that the site of the battle is represented by the modern town of Jhelum. [*Early History of India* 3rd edition, p. 78]. E. R. Bevan holds that a point in favour of Jhelum is that it is higher up and Alexander seems to have kept close to the hills. [*Camb. Hist. India* Vol. I, p. 361]. Broeler also argues that Alexander's camp was at Jhelum. [*Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros* (1933)]. Tarn agrees with this view. [*Alexander the Great*, Vol. II, p. 198] Aurel Stein holds that the camp lay at Jalalpur. [*Archaeological Reconnaissances in North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran* (1937)]. As a matter of fact, it is impossible to ascertain the site of the battle with precision with our defective documents.

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carrying long swords, long shields and 24 feet long spears called *sarissa* so as to have the appearance of a gigantic porcupine or a moving forest of glittering steel points, the archers mounted on horse-back comprising the Scythians and Agrianians and making lightning movements and skirmishing and harassing the enemy ranks from a distance, and the engines called balists and catapults, which were meant for darting stones. Tarn has shown that Alexander had 5300 cavalry, 15,000 infantry and at least 14,500 archers. The cavalry consisted of two regiments under Koinos. The battalions of the phalanx were 7, those of Klitos the White and Antigones crossing with Alexander, the other three of Meleager, Attalus and Gorgias remaining on the opposite bank of the river strung out in different places, and subsequently crossing and joining Alexander, and the remaining two under Polyparchon and Alketas staying with Krateros in Alexander's camp and reinforcing the fighting ranks at the concluding stage of the battle. Besides these forces, the mounted light cavalry of the Thracians and Scythians was posted in the right wing. The right wing consisted of the cavalry with the Scythian regiment forming the vanguard. Then, there was the unit of the foot archers and the light infantry, then the five battalions of the phalanx were posted in a straight line and again on the extreme left were the units of the light infantry and the archers skirted by a regiment of javelin-men.[1]

The army of Poros consisted of elephants, chariots, cavalry and infantry. Bröler has shown that this army was drawn up according to the rules of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya.[2] Kauṭilya prescribed that the elephants should be posted at the van of the army and that they are particularly effective in plashy, marshy and watery terrain in rainy season. He stressed their role in breaking up compact formations by spreading terror and confusion.[3] Accordingly Poros placed his elephants in the front of his army, each

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[1] W. W. Tarn: *Alexander the Great* Vol. II, pp. 190-191

[2] Bernhard Bröler: *Alexanders Kampf gegen Poros; Ein Beitrag zur Indischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart) (1933)

[3] *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* X, 4 (Shamasastris' edition), p. 371
पुरोयानमकृतमार्गवासतीर्थकर्म बाहूत्सारस्तोयतरणावतरणे
स्थानगमनावतरणं विषमसंबाधप्रवेशाग्निदानशमनमेकाङ्गविजयः
भिन्नसंधानमभिन्नभेदनं व्यसनेत्राणमभिघातो विभीषिकात्रासनौदार्यं गृहणं
मोक्षणं इति हस्तिकर्माणि ।

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animal being not less than a plethrum (101 English feet) apart. But Tarn thinks that the elephants were divided into two shorter lines inclined right and left towards his rear from the ends of the front line making the face look like a huge redout. Behind the elephants was the infantry of 50,000 foot according to Diodoros or 30,000 according to Arrian, which protruded to fill the gaps between the towering beasts. On each end of the array he posted his cavalry,[1] 4000 according to Arrian or 2000 according to plutarch, and near it were the chariots, 300 according to Arrian and 1000 according to Diodoros. Thus the Indian army presented the spectacle of a mobile fortress. As for the armaments, each chariot was drawn by four horses and carried six men, namely a shield-bearer and an archer on each side and two drivers armed with javelins. The infantry carried the bow of the size of a man, one end of which was pressed under foot and the other was held by one hand while the arrow was mounted on the string and shot forth by the other;[2] some carried javelins and some were equipped with swords and wicker-shields only. These shields were made of buffalo-hide and were no match for the long metallic shields of the Macedonians. They were also handicapped for want of long pikes. The cavalry was not armoured and had no section of mounted archers. Thus the Greeks had a marked technological superiority over the Indians which increased the drive and vigour of their numerically larger cavalry.

On the other side of the Jhelum was the army of Poros. It was the rainy season and the river had swollen to immense proportions.[3] Hence it was very difficult for Alexander to cross over to the other side, for the armies of Poros were there to pounce upon him and frustrate his attempt at landing.

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[1] Kauṭilya provides that horses and bodyguards should be placed on the sides of the army, *Arthaśāstra* X, 2, p. 364 पार्श्वयोरश्वा बाहूत्सारः

[2] According to Kauṭilya a bow was equal to five cubits or seven and a half feet. *Arthaśāstra* X, 5 p. 372 पञ्चारत्नि धनुः Such bows are called by Pāṇini and the author of the *Mahābhārata* *Maheśvāsa*. The arrows were fitted with barbs (*patra*) which made their blows deadly. [V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 422

[3] Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 206.
Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 95.

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Small bodies of soldiers, however, used to swim to the rocky islands in the middle of the river with their weapons on their heads and fight there with the soldiers of the other side, while the rest of the troops gazed at their duals from the banks and guessed the issue of the struggle from there. One day a party of bold youths led by two adventurous chiefs, Symmachus and Nicanor, swam to an island occupied by the Indians and wrought havoc in their ranks. But fresh reinforcements arrived from the bank and hemmed them on all sides. Most of them were killed in the rain of missiles that poured from all sides and such as escaped were swept by the fast current or swallowed by the whirring eddies.[1] Such incidents resulted in the alternation of joy and grief in the hearts of the belligerents.

Many days passed in this state of suspense. The banks of the Jhelum were covered with horse and foot, echoed with the cries of war-slogans and were made picturesque by towering elephants and sparkling chariots. Each side was extremely cautious of the other. The Greeks were on a look-out to steal a passage across the river and the Indians were bent on checking their landing by swooping upon them. Hence each side had spread the chains of sentinels to keep a strict eye on the movements of the forces of the other and communicate the news and orders, that were frequently passed. The Greeks made several shows of crossing the river but when the Indians assembled on the opposite positions to stop their landing, they gave up the attempt and dispersed. With these feintes they induced a belief in the minds of the Indians that they were not serious about crossing the river. In course of time the Indians relaxed their vigilance.

Meanwhile, Alexander found a suitable place for crossing the river 150 stadia (about 17 miles) away from his camp. There the river made a remarkable bend and from its bank rose a bluff densely covered with trees. Near this bluff was a deep ravine which served to screen the cavalry and the infantry. This place is, according to Cunningham, identical with the bed of the Kandar Nala to the north of Jalalpur. Tarn objects to this view on the ground that the bend of the river at that place is slight and not 'notable' as Arrian states. Facing this bluff was an untrodden island overspread with dense forest. Alexander moved thither with

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[1] Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 205.

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his army, 31,000 men according to Arrian, and prepared the galleys and hides for crossing the river.[1] In order to divert the attention of the Indians at another point, he ordered Attlos, who resembled him in shape and appearance, to make a show of guarding the bank without any intention of crossing the river and asked Krateros, with whom were the battalions of Polyperchon and Alketas, to remain on that side till he had crossed the river and engaged the elephants of Poros in war, which terrified the horses by their roars and forms and impeded their orderly landing. He also left another body of troops consisting of the battalions of Attalus, Gorgias and Meleager at a point half-way between the camp and the place of embarkation. The three battalions were not together but were strung out along the bank in different places, obviously to meet Poros if he tried to slip a force across the river between the camp and Alexander's crossing-place. They were to cross one by one whenever they should see the Indian army fully engaged. The battalions of Cleitus the White and Antigones crossed with Alexander. Kauṭilya also provided that having detached the flower of the army and kept it on a favourable position not visible to the enemy the commander-in-chief should array the rest of the army, *Arthaśāstra* X, 5, p. 372. भूमिवशेन वा विभक्तमुख्यामचक्षुर्विषये मोक्षयित्वा सेनां सेनापतिनायकौ व्यहेयाताम् ।

It was a stormy night. The heavens were thundering, rain was pouring and a blizzard was howling. In that dismal hour the daring leader of the Macedonians ordered his troops to cross the roaring river.[2] The howl of the blizzard drowned the rattle of the arms and the noise of the army and concealed the design of Alexander from the Indian forces. When the storm ceased, a pall of pitched darkness muffled the face of the sky and made sight inoperative. Hence he landed on an island mistaking it to be the mainland and drew his armies in battle-order. But finding that a channel of the river, which was immensely swollen by the rains of the night, rushed between the island and the mainland, he searched a ford and waded through neck-deep water with difficulty. Meanwhile,

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[1] Kauṭilya provides that when the crossing of a river is obstructed by an enemy the invader may cross it elsewhere, *Arthaśāstra* X, 2, p. 365 तीर्थाभिग्राहे हस्त्यश्वैरन्यतो रात्रावुत्तार्यं सत्रं गृह्णीयात् ।

[2] Kauṭilya also prescribes crossing the river at night, op. cit. X, 2, p. 365.

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news of the attempted landing spread in the Indian camp.[1] Poros did not believe in it because he saw the other bank full of the armies of Krateros and thought that it was the real force of Alexander. He conjectured that his ally, the king of Abhisāra, was approaching for his assistance.[2] But a reconnaissance party,[3] led by a son of Poros overtook the Greek armies while they were landing on the mainland. He was in command of 60 chariots, according to Aristoboulus, or 2000 men and 120 chariots, according to Ptolemy.[4] Curtius states that this army consisted of 100 chariots and 4000 horse and was commanded by Hages, the brother of Poros.[5] An encounter took place between the two forces and there was a severe contest. Arrian states on the basis of old authorities that in this battle Alexander himself was wounded and his horse Boukephalas was killed.[6] Justin writes that he fell headlong on the ground but his attendants rushed to his help and saved his life.[7] For sometime

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[1] Tarn observes, "after Alexander had crossed, he turned downstream towards Poros' position; he would thus pass in turn the three battalions strung out on the other bank. Each of them, as he came level, became useless where it was, as Poros could no longer attempt to cross there even if he wished to, and would cross in its turn and join Alexander. He had more than ample transport and would have sent some of his boats back for them. [*Alexander the Great* II p. 191]

[2] Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 207.

[3] Poros does not appear to have taken the report of Alexander's landing seriously. Had be done so he ought to have despatched a better force, for there was no better opportunity to overcome the Greek armies than at the time when they were emerging from the river, wet and exhausted. A. E. Anspach [*De Alexandri Magni Expeditione Indica* (London 1903)] supposes that the son of Poros was already near the spot when Alexander landed and that finding a larger body than he could engage with, he sent for help to Spitaces, who was holding a post opposite Meleager. Spitaces brought 60 chariots and 1000 horse.

Whatever the position may be, it is clear that the Elder Poros had no knowledge of the landing of Alexander till then and his son met the Greek force just by accident.

[4] Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 101.

[5] Curtius : *Invasion*" p. 207.

[6] Arrian: "*Invasion*" p. 101.; *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (Branch A) also states that Boukephalas was killed in the battle of Jhelum.

[7] Justin : "*Invasion*" p. 323.

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the issue of the battle hung in the balance. It was difficult to say which side suffered more, for the Macedonians were trampled down in the first charge of the chariots.[1] But the chariots stuck in the mud caused by heavy rains and the mobile cavalry of the Greeks soon overpowered them. The whole bank was so flooded with water that there was little to distinguish it from the current of the river. Hence many horses plunged in the river with the chariots and the drivers.[2] In this state of panic 400 horsemen including the son of Poros fell[3] and the rest of the forces were eventually routed.

It was, as a matter of fact, on hearing from the soldiers, who escaped from the initial encounter, that Poros was really aware of the landing of Alexander. He was labouring under the delusion that the regiments of Krateros represented the main armies of Alexander. But when he became sure of the advent of the enemy he proceeded to draw up his army in order of battle. He left some of his army (four or five hundred men and thirty-five elephants) at the opposite position of Krateros to keep an eye on his movements and led the rest to a flat field, where the ground was less plashy and undulated.[4] According to Arrian,[5] he took with him 4000 horse, 300 chariots, 200 elephants and 30,000 foot. Diodoros[6] gives a bigger figure, 50,000 foot and 1000 chariots, but he lessens the number of the elephants to 130. Plutarch[7] gives a smaller figure, 20,000 infantry and 2000 cavalry. Curtius[8] reduces the number of elephants still further to 85. It appears that the havoc wrought by the elephants in the Greek forces was so appalling that they were driven to magnify their menace by exaggerating their number. The menace of the elephants led some later writers to invent the myth of iron steeds which Alexander made to counteract

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1 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 208.

2 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 102.

3 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 102.

4 According to V. A. Smith the hostile forces met in the Karri plain marked by the villages Sirwal and Pakral (*Oxford History of India*, p. 62).

5 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 102.

6 Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 274.

7 Plutarch : "*Invasion*" p. 310.

8 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 204.

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their attack.[1] The figures of Alexander's army were not very much different from those of the army of Poros. He had no elephant corps but had a numerical superiority in cavalry. [*Camb. Hist. India* Vol. I, p. 361]. He had four hipparchies in the battle, those of Hephaestion, Perdiccas, Coenes and Demetrius besides the *agema* [*Alexander the Great* Vol. II, p. 196]. A force of 5000 Indians commanded by Taxiles was also with him. [Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 93]. Poros took some time to draw his army on the battle-field and was attacked by the enemy just when he was finishing his arrangements. He placed his elephants in the front at the intervals of $33\frac{1}{3}$ yards, according to Arrian,[2] and 50 yards according to Polyaenois,[3] and drew his infantry behind them in a compact line, which protruded to fill the gaps between the towering beasts.[4] Tarn holds that the elephants covered the infantry only in the centre; on the left of Poros his infantry extended far enough

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[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Mecan Vol. III, p. 1308.

Ba-asp o ba-naft ātish andar zadand
Hamāh lashkar-i-Fūr bar-sar-zadand
Az ātish bar-afrokht naft-i-siyāh
ba-junbīd azāñ k-āhanīñ bud sipāh

Warners' translation, Vol. p. 116.

"They lit the naptha in the steeds';
Fur's troops were in dismay. The naphtha blazed;
Fur's troops recoiled because those steeds were iron."

The problem of the iron-steeds has been recently discussed in detail by a German scholar [Han von Mzik: "Die Schilderung der Schlacht zwischen Alexander dem Grossen und dem InderKoenig Poros in Firdousis' 'Koenigsbuch'", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 104 (1954) pp. 357-361]. He traces this legend to ancient Hebrew sources. "Nach der Rabbinischen Theologie sind ueberhaupt die Engelscharen Gottes feuriger Natur, sie gleichen, gluehendem Erz" [p. 361]

[2] Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 103.

[3] Polyaenois : "*Invasion*" p. 346.

[4] Kauṭilya prescribes that an array in which the front is occupied by elephants, the flanks by chariots and the wings by horse is an array which can break the centre of the enemy—*Arthaśāstra* X, 5 p. 373.

हस्तिनामुरस्यं रथानां कक्षावश्वानां पक्षाविति मध्यभेदी ।

The array of the army of Poros exactly resembles that described by Kauṭilya above. Kauṭilya terms this array *Vijaya* (ibid X, 6)

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beyond the elephants for horse-archers to be able to attack them. On each end of the array he posted his cavalry and in front of it his chariots.[1] Alexander adopted a simple and handy plan of operations. The battle line was very much like that of Issus and Gaugamela : from right to left, first Alexander's own cavalry, then the hypaspists, then the phalanx, with the light-armed troops on either flank, the only difference being that he massed his cavalry on the right. He divided his cavalry into two units, one he took under his own command to attack the left wing of Poros and the other under Koinos he kept to his right to fall on the rear of the enemy's cavalry as it moved from the right[2] to meet his attack on the left or to attack the horsemen under the command of Alexander. Tarn thinks that Koinos was to move away from Alexander leftward so that the Indians might suppose that he was going to support the horse-archers. The order was that when the Indian cavalry should see the body of cavalry facing themselves and should attack it, Koinos was to swing round (to his own right) and take them in the rear. The order shows that Alexander was certain that the Indian cavalry, a weaker force than his own, would attack him. The only way he could be certain was if he knew that he could make them do so. And he made them do so by showing them that all he had with him after sending off Koinos was the agima and two hipparchies, a weaker force than their own. It is wrong that Koinos attacked Poros' right wing [*Alexander the Great* II, pp. 196-197]. As for the phalanx he ordered it to wait till he had thrown the Indian ranks into confusion by the cavalry charges. Thus Alexander completed his arrangements very briskly and was the first to launch a fierce attack on the left wing of Poros with an advance squadron of 1000 mounted archers under Tauron.[3] Seeing this the Indian cavalry

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[1] According to Kauṭilya the elephants were enshrouded with cotton and leather dress *Arthaśāstra* X, 3, p. 367 सपाटचर्मकोशैः हस्तिभिः

[2] Droysen, Thirwall and Moberly held that Koinos was ordered to station himself opposite the enemy's right. [Moberly: *Alexander in the Punjab*, p. 610]. But Köchly and Rustow in their *History of the Greek Military System* point out that Koinos was placed at the exterme right wing of the Greek forces. Had he been detached to oppose the right wing of Poros he would have been too far from the operations.

[3] Justin ("*Invasion*" pp. 322-323) states that Poros was the first to attack the Macedonians and he demanded from them their

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galloped forward. As they moved Koinos pounced on their rear, according to the preconceived plan. Caught between the two attacks the Indian cavalry hastily broke into two sections, one facing the attack in the front and the other resisting the charge in the rear. While they were busy changing their lines, Alexander fell upon them and threw them in utter confusion. Koinos also battered vehemently on the rear. The Indian cavalry took refuge behind the elephants.

Meanwhile, Poros made a dashing charge on the enemy with his elephants. His original plan was to move under cover of his elephants, first to frighten the enemy with the fiery assaults of these beasts and then to make a heavy carnage of them with the compact ranks of the infantry. This plan was analogous to the modern method of moving the infantry under cover of tank-fire. But the hasty attack of Alexander had somewhat upset his plan by routing the cavalry. Yet he strained his nerves to launch the elephant-attack betimes. As the drivers goaded the furious animals towards the enemy, the infantry followed closely behind them. The elephants frightened the horses by loud trumpeting and trampled the regiments of the phalanx under their massive feet. They crushed the armours and bones of the soldiers and gored them through and through with their tusks. Usually they lifted the soldiers in their trunks and dashed them violently to the ground.[1] Sometimes, they grasped the men, arms and all, with their trunks and hoisting them above their heads delivered them unto the drivers who cut their heads in a trice.[2] Thus, they

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king. This statement is incorrect because it is unsupported by other authorities. Curtius ("*Invasion*" p. 207) writes that when the news of Alexander's landing reached him he thought that Abhisares came to his help. He became conscious of the real situation only when the routed soldiers of the party of his son gave the full report to him. Arrian ("*Invasion*" p. 102) says that he was in a dilemma because Krateros appeared to be undertaking the passage on the opposite side. But at last he decided to find a flat field and draw his army on it. All this took much time. It appears that he was just completing his arrangements when the enemy began the action. Diodoros clearly says that the Macedonian cavalry began the action ["*Invasion*" p. 275].

[1] Diodoros: "*Invasion*" p. 275.

[2] Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 211.

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went crushing through the Macedonian phalanx and spread great terror and disaster in it.[1] All day long, the battle remained doubtful, the Greeks sometimes pursuing and sometimes fleeing from the elephants.[2] Towards the end the Greek cavalry drew together in course of battle and fell upon the Indians with great vigour.[3] The Greek infantry also, being more mobile and light, attacked the elephants on all sides with sickle-like choppers, javelins and axes, wounded them badly and killed their drivers. Indian archers were also at a great disadvantage. Their long bows which were about the size of man and were pressed under foot at one end and held by the left hand in the middle, while the arrow was fixed on the string and discharged with the other, did not fix firmly in the slippery ground.[4] Hence the soldiers could not acquit themselves as they could on any other day. The chariots also got stuck in the mud and became useless for the action.[5] In the result, the Indian forces fell back on the defensive.

Seeing the elephants of Poros in disorder, Krateros crossed the Jhelum and reinforced the embattled armies of Alexander. The arrival of fresh forces redoubled the vigour of the Greek offensive and spread panic in Indian troops. Poros himself was wounded particularly in the right shoulder and turned his elephant back[6] to marshal as much forces as possible. Diodoros states that he gathered around him forty of the elephants that were still under control and falling on the enemy with all the weight of these animals made a great slaughter with his own hand.[7] The javelins, he flung with his hand, flew like the shots of a catapult.[8] The elephant of Poros showed remarkable saga-

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1 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 106.

2 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 211.

3 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 106.

4 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 210.

5 Kauṭilya held that the terrain which is even and firm and not wet is fit for chariots. *Arthaśāstra* X, 4, p. 370, तोयाशयाश्रयवती निरुत्खातिनी केदारहीना व्यावर्तनसमर्थेति रथानामतिशयः

6 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 108.

7 Kauṭilya prescribes that when the enemy's army is in a compact body he should break it by means of his elephants. *Arthaśāstra* X, 3. संहतानीकं हस्तिभिर्भेदयेत्

8 Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 276.

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city and care for his royal master and defended him against the assailants by constantly repelling them.[1] This charge of the Indian elephants led by Poros himself spread great terror and destruction in the Greek armies. If the Ethiopic texts are to be believed most of the Greek cavalry was destroyed in the attack and the soldiers were filled with great agony and grief. Some of them threw off their weapons and thought of going over to the enemy's side. Viewing this state, Alexander, who was himself in great distress, ordered a cease-fire and approached Poros with the proposals of peace.[2] Budge has translated the relevant passage of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* as follows:

"And Poros continued to fight with Alexander for 20 days, and many of Alexander's horses were slain, and by reason of this there was such great sorrow among them that they wept and howled like dogs, and they wished to throw down the arms, which were in their hands, and to forsake Alexander and go over to the enemy..... When Alexander saw this he drew nigh into their midst, being himself in great tribulation and he wished to stop the fight. And having commanded the soldiers to cease fighting, he cried out saying, 'O Poros, King of India, behold, I perceive and know thy strength and might, and moreover, what thou doest lieth hard upon me, and my heart is weary; and I have considered the fatigue whereby we are all perishing. Now, although I may wish to destroy my own life, I would not that these men (who are with me) should perish, for it is I who have brought them nigh unto death here, and it is not a right thing for a king to deliver his soldiers unto death and to save his own life. Now I would that we command our armies to cease fighting for a little and that we two go down and do battle with each other.' "

Joseph Ben-Gorion in his "*History of the Jews*" furnishes the following information about the battle between Alexander and Poros :

"Now the war between the Macedonians and the Indians was prolonged until a great number of Alexander's soldiers were destroyed and those (that remained) took counsel together to lay hold of Alexander and to deliver him over to the king of India. And

[1] Plutarch: "*Invasion*" p. 308.

[2] Ernest A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great being a series of translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander*, p. 123.

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when Alexander knew this thing he sent message to the king of India, saying, "Behold, the war between us hath been prolonged and many of our men have perished, let us now make a first agreement together and let us two leave our armies behind us and meet in combat with each other."[1]

Firdausi also states that when the intensity of the war reached a high pitch, Alexander addressed Poros as follows:

"O! noble man!
Our two hosts have been shattered by the fight,
The wild beasts batten on the brains of men,
The horses' hoofs are trampling on their bones
Now both of us are heroes, brave and young
Both paladins of eloquence and brain,
Why then slaughter be the soldiers' lot.
Or bare survival after combating?....."[2]

Arrian remarks that Alexander sent his friend Taxiles to persuade Poros to make peace with him. But as this messenger of peace reached near Poros, his blood boiled at the sight of his old enemy and he threw a javelin at him with such force that it would have broken his bones had not he galloped his horse back very quickly.[3] According to Curtius, this messenger was the brother of Taxiles and was killed with the javelin of Poros.[4] But Alexander was so solicitous and desirous of peace with Poros that instead of feeling slighted by the disrespect shown for his envoy be sent messenger after messenger to Poros and at last commissioned Meroes to persuade him to come to terms with him.[5] This person Meroes is described as an Indian and a friend

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1 Ernest A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great being a series of translations of the Ethiopic Histories of Alexander*, pp. 420-421.

2 Warner's translation of the *Shāh-Nāmāh* Vol VI, p. 117. *Shāh-Nāmāh* ed. Macan, Vol. III, p. 1309.
Sikandar badū guft k'ai nāmdār
Do lashkar shakistah shud az kār-i-zār ॥
Hami dām-o-dad maghz-i-mardum khurad ।
Hami nāl-i-asp istakhvāñ ba-spurad ॥
Do Mardaim har do dilair-o-javāñ ।
Sukhan-go va bā-maghz do pahlavāñ ॥
Charā ba-har lashkar hami kushtan ast ।
Vagar zindāh az-razm bar- gashtan ast

3 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 108.

4 Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 212.

5 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 108.

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of Poros. He brought his influence to bear on Poros and made him ready to meet Alexander. Meroes is identified with Candragupta Maurya in a study of this collection. There it is shown that he had entered into an alliance with Alexander for the invasion of Magadha and was keenly desirous of fostering friendship between him and Poros so that his plan may not fizzle out. When he found Alexander unable to overcome Poros, he felt that his programme had come to a standstill. Hence he went to persuade Poros to make friends with Alexander. Poros agreed to the proposal of Meroes and entered into a treaty of peace with Alexander at his instance.

Greek writers tried to throw a veil on the issue of the battle of the Jhelum. Justin and Plutarch hold that Poros was taken prisoner at the end and V. A. Smith takes the same view;[1] Diodoros suggests that he fell into the hands of Alexander who gave him to the Indians to be cured of his wounds;[2] Curtius observes that when the elephant of Poros was stabbed to death and he was placed on a waggon in the shower of missiles, Alexander was struck by his valour and made a gesture of peace to him.[3] Arrian says that as Poros was retiring from the field of battle Alexander perceived that he was a great man and valiant in fight and was anxious to save his life and for this purpose sent him the messengers of peace referred to above. The Ethiopic and Syriac texts, including the *Shah-Nāmā of* Firdausi state that Poros was killed in the dual that took place between him and Alexander after the cessation of hostilities. This statement is manifestly wrong and seems to be based on a misunderstanding of facts. It is well-known that a son of Poros, who was also called Poros, fell in the initial skirmish, that took place at the time of the landing of Alexander on the right bank of the Jhelum and it is also a fact that Poros was assassinated not long after the departure of Alexander from India at the instance of Cāṇakya and Candragupta, as we shall presently see. These facts seem to have given birth to the legend of the death of Poros at the hands of Alexander in course of a dual, which lies at the basis of the Ethiopic and Syriac traditions.

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[1] Justin: "*Invasion*" p. 323; Plutarch: "*Invasion*" p. 308; V. A. Smith: *The Oxford History of India* p. 63.

[2] Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 276.

[3] Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 213, Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 108.

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All Greek authorities agree that Poros was reinstated in his state and that the territories conquered by Alexander in India were added to his dominions. This sounds strange and incredible that a victor gave his own conquered territory to a defeated enemy instead of annexing his dominions to his own state. History affords no paralled to this event in the light of which we may judge how far it is believable. All that we know about the treatment that is meted out by a victorious king to his vanquished rival goes against the reality of this event. It is said that Alexander wanted to make friends with Poros in consideration of the valour displayed by him on the field of battle.[1] This remark scarcely applies to a person who got such a gallant fighter as Bessos whipped, mutilated and executed, who flung a lance at Kleitos who was the brother of his nurse and the saviour of his life in the battle of the Granikos, simply because he praised his father Philip on an occasion, who ordered his most trusted generals Parmenion and his son to be put to death on account of a flimsy rumour of conspiracy, who imprisoned and tortured to death Kallisthenes, the nephew of his preceptor Aristotle, because he made an unsavoury comment on his adoption of oriental manners, who made a wholesale massacre of the fugitives from Massaga, whom he had promised shelter and safety, in the dead of night, who put innocent men, women and children to death in course of his homeward expedition through lower Panjab and Sindh and who burnt Persepolis and destroyed many cities of his defeated enemies like Sangala. In fact, Alexander's heart was full of such pugnacious vindictiveness and unbridled impulsiveness that he brooked no affront or resistance and went all-out to eliminate everyone that came in his way. Hence it passes comprehension that he was so lenient towards his most redoubtable enemy, who inflicted a heavy loss[2] on him, as to add to his power and prestige, even after

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1 Cicero in his *Pro-Marcello* and Seneca in his *de Clementia* praise Alexander in the highest terms for his magnanimous behaviour towards Poros.

2 Arrian states that on Alexander's side there fell 80 of the infantry, who took part in the first attack, 10 of the horse-archers who began the action, 20 of the companion cavalry and 200 of the other cavalry. Diodoros gives a bigger figure of the losses of Alex-

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defeating him with great difficulty. What was then the issue of the battle?

Old historians like V. A. Smith[1] agree with the Greek writers that Alexander was victorious in the battle of the Jhelum and some Indian scholars like H. C. Seth[2] hold that it was Poros who won the battle. S. Chattopādhyāya[3] has shown that the war was evidently a drawn game and Poros was able to maintain his own position and that it is doubtful if Alexander advanced beyond the Jhelum. All that we know of the battle of the Jhelum leads us to the conclusion that this battle was not fought to a finish. When Poros retired from the battle-field to rally as much forces as remained on the battle-field and led a desperate elephant charge on the Greek armies, Alexander thought discretion to be the better part of valour and opened the overtures of peace with him. Likewise, Poros was prevailed upon by his friend Meroes or Candragupta Maurya to come to terms with Alexander and make him an instrument of invading Magadha. Therefore, both the belligerents patched up an honourable peace before the outcome of the battle could be specified.

7. *The friendship of Alexander and Poros and the subjugation of the states of the Panjab by them*

The treaty of Alexander with Poros strengthened the anti-Magadha movement that was launched by Cāṇakya and Candragupta in the Panjab. Henceforth the aim of Alexander and Poros was to liquidate the small states of the Panjab and then to advance

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ander. He says that 280 horsemen and 700 foot soldiers fell on Alexander's side. But the description of the battle given by them shows that the casualties on his side were much more than mentioned by these writers and that they deliberately belittled the losses of their hero and exaggerated those of his antagonist. (For a like view see *Cambridge Ancient History* Vol. IV, p. 409).

[1] *The Oxford History of India*, p. 63.

[2] 'Was Poros the victor of the battle of Jhelum ?' *Proceedings of the Second Indian History Congress* 1938.

[3] 'The rule of the Achaemenids in India', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXV, No. 3, p. 201.

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against Magadha. Therefore, Alexander stayed in the dominion of Poros for thirty days to recruit his troops[1] and then proceeded to reduce the states of the Kaśmira valley. He defeated the Glausai or Glaukanikai (Glaucukāyanas) and received the submission of the king of Abhisāra. This king was following a policy of running with the hare and hunting with the hound from the outset. First, he went to the help of the Aśvakas but when they were defeated by Alexander he sent an embassy to him at Taxila. Meanwhile, learning that his colleague Poros was preparing himself for war with the Macedonian invader, he thought of joining him with an army. But again he tarried, probably awaiting the outcome of the battle of the Jhelum, and arrived too late for his assistance.[2] When the treaty of Alexander and Poros was concluded, he sent another embassy to the former offering his submission. According to Arrian[3] he pretended illness to conceal his vacillaion. Thus the states of Kaśmira accepted the vassalage of Alexander and hence of Poros.

Alexander, then, advanced towards the interior of India. "In fact, the battle with Poros depressed the spirits of the Macedonians and made them very unwilling to advance further into India."[4] But Poros promised him full assistance and himself went up to the Chenab with him.[5] From there he returned to his capital to recruit a large army and organise his elephant corps for his help.

Alexander easily occupied the territory between the Chenab (Akesines) and the Rāvi (Hydraotes) which was ruled over by the younger Poros who was the nephew of the Elder Poros. The relations between these two scions of the same family were far from good. Hence when Alexander marched against the Elder Poros the younger Poros was glad at the prospect of his rival's defeat and sent envoys to the invader offering to surrender his person and country to him. But when Alexander made friends with the Elder Poros and enhanced his power and prestige, he was over-

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1 Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 277.
2 Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 278.
3 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 129.
4 Plutarch : "*Invasion*" p. 310.
5 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 113.

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come with the fear of his namesake,[1] and fled from his dominions to Magadha for refuge.[2] Alexander took possession of his territories and handed them over to the Elder Poros.

After crossing the Rāvi and receiving the submission of the Adraistai, Alexander marched against the Kathaians, who were determined to offer a stiff resistance to the invading armies. The defenders had made great preparations of war in their capital Śangala, which was situated either near Fatehgarh in the Gurdaspur district or near Jandiala to the east of Amritsar.[3] They had drawn up their forces behind three rows of waggons, which formed a kind of Śakatavyūha. Alexander had to contend with tremendous odds in the battle with the Kathaians, but Poros arrived at the eleventh hour with his army and elephants[4] and turned the scales of war in favour of Alexander. He sent Poros with his own forces to the cities, which had submitted, to introduce garrisons within them and himself advanced to the river Beas (Hyphasis).[5] His object was to make his rear secure and he thought none better than Poros to accomplish this task. Poros finished this work soon and joined Alexander on the Beas, where his troops were alarmed by the reports of the strength of the people living beyond the Ganges and he sought their confirmation from Poros, who testified to their correctness but emphasized the unpopularity of Nanda kings, which was their weakest point.[6] But the armies of Alexander totally refused to advance forward and he was forced to retrace his steps. First he went to the capital of Poros and there conferred the sovereignty of the territories conquered by him in India on him in the presence of the Companions and the ambassadors.[7] Then he set sail down the Indus and marching through lower Panjab, Sindh and the Gedrosian desert crossed back the frontiers of India.

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1 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 114.
2 Diodoros "*Invasion*" p. 279.
3 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 371.
4 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 119.
5 Arrian : "*Invasion*"p. 120.
6 Diodoros : "*Invasion*" p. 282; Curtius : "*Invasion*" p. 222.
7 Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 133.

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8. *The aftermath of Alexander's Indian invasion and the alliance of Poros and Candragupta Maurya* .

Meanwhile, a terrible storm was brewing in the Panjab. The Brāhmaṇas had launched a crusade against Greek rule,[1]; the worsted tribes and peoples were smarting under foreign domination.; the clans and corps of mercenary soldiers were thrown out of employment as a result of the extinction of small states and the establishment of paramount authority over them; and the people, as a whole, were conscious of the need of a stable government, strong enough to withstand foreign invasions and internal disruptions. This new spirit led the people to rise against Greek generals and governors. Candragupta and Poros sensed the situation and became the leaders of the revolution which was spreading in the North-West. They began by overthrowing the remnants of Greek rule and attacking the Greek prefects which were its nominal symbols. When Alexander was in Karmania the news of the murder of Philippos reached him and he commissioned Taxiles and Eudamos to assume the administration of the province governed by him.[2] But the wave of revolution swept away the last remnants of Greek rule in no time and Poros and Candragupta emerged as the undisputed leaders of the people, under whom the liberation of the country was accomplished.

9. *The conquest of Magadha and the murder of Poros*

After liberating the Panjab from the yoke of the Greeks, Candragupta proceeded to conquer Magadha. The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (*Mahāvaṁsa Ṭīkā*), the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna known as the *Cambodian Mahāvaṁsa*, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra and the Cūrṇī and Ṭīkā of the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*, on which Hemacandra based his narrative, and other Jain works like the commentary on the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra named '*Sukhabodhā*' by Devendraganin alias Nemicandra Sūri and the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇācārya, state that Candragupta had an important colleague and collaborator in Parvataka

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[1] Plutarch : "*Invasion*" p. 306, Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 159.

[2] Arrian : "*Invasion*" p. 177.

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or Parvateśvara in his conquest of Magadha[1]. There are very strong grounds for holding that Parvateśvara is identical with Poros, as

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1 *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (ed. G. P. Malalasekera) P. T. S. Vol. I p. 183 सो पन रत्तिं अन्तोराजनिवेसने पदुमसरट्ठानसदिसं मनुस्सूपट्ठानं गन्त्वा तस्मिं एव ठाने वसन्तस्स राजपुत्तस्स पब्बतस्स नाम कुमारस्स उपट्ठाकमनुस्से दिस्वा तेहि सद्धिं मित्तसन्थवं कत्वा तेहि पटिलद्धपक्खो राजकुमारं दिस्वा तं हत्थगतं कत्वा रज्जेन तं उपलालेत्वा तेन विस्सत्थो हुत्वा···see also pp.184-185 एवं ते तस्स सन्तिके वसन्ता.....etc.

Mahāvaṁsa of Moggallāna V 86-94 G. P. Malalasekera. *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* pp. 59-60. (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon branch)

तस्स रञ्ञो तु पब्बतकुमार-अव्हयो (कुमाराव्हयो) सुतो
कुमारस्स उपट्ठाके पभाते ते वुदिक्खिय ।।
सन्थवञ्च करित्वान तेहि सद्धिं अनेकधा ।
पटिलद्धपक्खो दिस्वा राजसुतं पसीदिय ।।

Ibid V, 123 p. 62

पब्बतराजकुमारं सो वसापेत्वान एकतो ।
सतसहस्सग्घनिकं हेमपानाळियावुतम् ।

These traditions relate that when Cāṇakya was distressed by the order of arrest passed against him by King Dhanananda, for his insolent conduct at the session of the Alms Committee, he approached prince Parvata (Pabbato), who lived with his mother in the outskirt of the city, and sought exit from there with his help. These traditions state that Parvata was the son of the Nanda King [See G. P. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* Vol. I p. 860 ; C. D. Chatterji: *Early Life of Candragupta Maurya*, B. C. Law Volume I p. 590] This appears to be a mistake for no other source connects Parvata with the Nanda family. Only Diodoros writes that the younger Poros, who ruled between the Akisenes and the Hydraotes, fled from his kingdom to Magadha to take refuge under the Nandas when the joint forces of Alexander and the Elder Poros threatened to attack him. But this remark does not in the least imply any blood relationship between Poros and the Nanda family. The account of the Ceylonese chronicles in this respect is based on a misunderstanding of facts. Equally fictitious is the story of the living together of Candragupta and Parvataka (Parvata) as fellow-students under Cāṇakya and Takṣaśilā at the assasssination of the latter by the former at the instigation of Cāṇakya after the discovery of his inferiority as a ruler.

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shown in the earlier part of this chapter. Dr. Hermann Jacobi identifies Parvata with Parva, alias Panchen, the eleventh king of the Kirāta dynasty of Nepal, mentioned in the *Buddhaparvatīya-vamśāvali*, on the ground that in the reign of the seventh king Jitedāsti, the Buddha visited Nepal, and in that of the fourteenth king Sthuṇka, Aśoka also visited that country [*Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (2nd edition) *Introduction* pp. LXXV-LXXVI; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII p. 90]. Hence it is likely that Parva was contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. About this view Mr. C. D. Chatterji pertinently observes as follows : "while we do not question the historicity of Parva alias Panchen, the eleventh Kirāta King of Gokarṇa, it passes comprehension how an astute politician and strategist like Cāṇakya could count so much on the military assistance of a barbarous Mongoloid ruler of a hill state for overthrowing the last Nanda King, when the war-veterans of Alexander, who had brought under their heels the vast tract of Asia stretching from the Hellespont to the Hyphais, wavered for want of confidence in their success against the most powerful Xandramas, King of the Prasioi and the Gangaridai and ultimately retired almost from the frontier of his kindgom." [C. D. Chatterji. *Early Life* of *Candragupta Maurya* B. C. Law Volume I p. 602] It appears that Cāṇakya and Candragupta were discussing a treaty of alliance with Poros for the invasion of Magadha when Alexander appeared on the scene, for Arrian says that they were old friends.[1] On the advent of Alexander Candragupta tried to make peace with him in order to make him an instrument of his policy of conquering the Nanda empire and when his plan was impeded by the uncertain verdict of the battle of the Jhelum, he brought about a reconciliation between him and Poros and thus established a triple entente against Magadha. But when Alexander retraced his steps he and his ally Poros changed their policy, wiped out the vestiges of Greek rule from India and led an expedition against Magadha. Hemacandra[2]

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[1] Arrian's remark applies to Meroes, who has been identified by me with Candragupta Maurya.

[2] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 290-299 ed. Jacobi

चाणक्यो हिमवत्कूटं ततोऽगात्सन्निवेशनम् ।
यत्र पर्वतकाख्येन नृपेण सह सौहृदम् ।।

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and Viśākhadatta[1] state that it was agreed upon between them that they would equally divide the empire of the Nandas between themselves like two brothers.

We know that Poros was appointed by Alexander to govern the territories between the Jhelum and the Beas. Alexander had also founded two cities Nikaia and Boukephala in his kingdom which were peopled by Greek settlers, who were mainly soldiers. Poros had under him a contingent of Greek soliders, who were partly enlisted from the Greek settlements and partly drawn from the regiments that Alexander left in India to keep watch on his interests. Besides the Greeks, the Persian, Baktrian and Scythian

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(*continued from the previous page*)

चन्द्रगुप्तगुरुश्चक्रे तत्साहायककाम्यया ।
तमन्यदोचे चाणक्यो नन्दमुन्मूल्य पार्थिवम् ।।
तद्राज्यं संविभज्यावां गृह्णीव भ्रातराविव ।
ततः पर्वतकेनापि प्रत्यपद्यत तद्वचः ।।
स हि चाणक्ययुक्तोऽभूत् सन्नद्ध इव केसरी ।

[7] *Mudrārākṣasa* ed. Telang Act. II, p. 126-127.

विराधगुप्तः—ततश्चाणक्यहृतकेन ... ... पर्वतेश्वरभ्रातरं वैरोचकमेकासने चन्द्रगुप्तेन सहोपवेश्य कृतः पृथ्वीराजविभागः ।

राक्षसः—किं वातिसृष्टः पर्वतकभ्रात्रे वैरोचकाय पूर्वप्रतिश्रुतो राज्यार्धविभागः ।

Sukhabodhā of Devendraganin, see H. Jacobi: *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* Appendices pp. 15-16.

हिमवन्तकूडं.....पव्वओ राया.....मेत्तिकया...
नन्दरज्जं समं समेण विभंजयामो ।

A reference to 'Parvata' is found in the following verses of the *Bṛhatkathākośa* of Hariṣeṇācarya (931-32 A.D.).

प्रत्यन्तवासिभूपोऽपि निशम्यास्य वचः परम् ।
निनाय तं निजस्थानं चाणक्यं मतिशालिनम् ।।
पर्वतान्तं परिप्राप्य भूपैः प्रत्यन्तवासिभिः ।
भक्तं प्रवेशयामासुर्धनं च सकलं तदा ।।

—*Bṛhatkathākośa* ed. A. N. Upadhye (S. J. G.) 143, 66-67 p. 338.

The account of the *Brhatkathakośa* is mixed with fable and romance. There is no sense of historical accuracy in it. Only the name 'Parvata' is of historical import.

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soldiers, who came to India with Alexander, swelled his ranks[1] and his neighbours, the kings of Kulūta, Kāśmīra, Sindh and Mālava (Malaya) joined him with their armies, if the *Mudrārākṣasa* is to be believed.

With these forces Poros moved towards Pāṭaliputra and conquered it. But just as he reached the pinnacle of power, his life was cut short by the conspiracy of Cāṇakya and Candragupta. We learn that the Greek official Eudamos murdered an Indian king just as Alexander turned his back on India and that Poros was the king who was murdered after his departure. Hence it is plausible to conclude that Eudamos murdered Poros at the instance of Cāṇakya and Candragupta. It appears that Eudamos was at the head of the Greek regiments that accompanied Poros in his Magadhan expedition. When he had victory within his grasp and was going to ascend the imperial throne, Cāṇakya tipped Eudamos to murder Poros. According to the *Mudrārākṣasa* Parvataka was murdered by poisoning,[3] (physical contact with poison girl).

According to the *Mudrārākṣasa*, after the murder of Parvataka his son Malayaketu tried to avenge the death of his father on the conspirators. But his plans were foiled by the conspiracies of Cāṇakya. We shall refer to Malayaketu in another study of this collection. The fortune of the Purus declined and their dominions were annexed to the Maurya empire. Only a legend of the feats of Poros survived and was rendered into form and colour by sculptors and painters. Philostratos of Lemnos states that outside the walls of Taxila was a temple of shell-marble, round which were hung pictures on copper plates representing the feats of Alexander and Poros.[4]

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[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* Act II, p. 122

अस्ति तावच्छकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिश्चाणक्य-मतिपरिगृहीतैश्चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेश्वरबलैरुदधिभिरिव प्रलयोच्चलितसलिलैः समन्तादुपरुद्धं कुसुमपुरं ।

[2] *Ibid*, Act V, p. 240

सिद्धार्थकः—एदे मह वअस्सा पचं राआणो तुए सह समुप्पण्णसिणेहा । ते जहा कुलूदाहिवो चित्तवम्मो मलअणअराहिवो सिंहणादो कम्हीरदेसणाहो पुक्खरक्खो सिन्धुराओ सिन्धुसेणो पारसीओ मेहणादो त्ति ।

[3] *Mudārākṣasa*, II, 16

कन्या तस्य वधाय या विषमयी गूढं प्रयुक्ता मया ।
दैवात्पर्वतकस्तया स निहतो यस्तस्य राज्यार्धहृत् ।।

[4] Translated by J. W. M'Crindle: *Ancient India as described in classical literature*. R. C. Majumdar : *Classical Accounts of India* p. 388

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CHAPTER III

The Home of the Mauryas

1. *Buddhist traditions about the Mauryas*

Ceylonese Buddhist traditions connect the Mauryas (Pālí Moriya) with the Śākyas. The commentary on the *Mahāvaṁsa*, known as *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, states that a body of the Śākyas, frightened by the persecution of Viḍuḍabha, the King of Kosala, fled to the mountainous regions and finding there a tract of land having adequate water supply and overgrown with forest-trees like Pippali, (ficus religiosa) founded a beautiful city on it, which was adorned with various attractions such as orchards and rest-houses and protected by strong ramparts and moats. This city was built with bricks coloured like peacocks' necks and echoed with the cries of the peacocks. Hence the Śākyas who resided there came to be known as Moriyas in the whole country.[1] The *Tīkā* suggests another explanation of the word 'moriya' : the residents of the aforesaid city rejoiced at its beauty (modāpíti) and came to be known by the word for 'rejoicing', '*moda*', the 'd' of which was changed into 'r' so as to form the word '*moriya*'.[2] Exactly like this is the account of the origin of the Moriyas given in the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna known as the *Extended or Cambodian Mahāvaṁsa*. This work refers to the migration of the Śākyas following the attack and persecution of Viḍuḍabha to the mountainous regions where they founded the city known as

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[1] *Vaṁsatthappākasinī* ed. G. P. Malalasekera (P.T.S.) vol. I, p 180

तेन हि पन धरमाने येव भगवति विडुडभेन उपद्दुता केचि साकिया हिमवन्तं पविसित्वा अञ्ञातरं सलिलासयसम्पन्नं उस्सन्नपिप्पलीवनादिपादपवनेहि उपसोभितं रमणीयं भूमिभागं दिस्वा तत्थाभिनिविट्ठपेमहृदया तस्मिँ ठाने सुविभत्तमहापथद्वारकोट्ठकं थिरपाकारपरिखापरिक्खित्तमारामउय्यानादिविविधरामणेय्यसम्पन्नं नगरवरं मापेसुँ । अपि च, तं मयूरगीवसकासछदानिट्ठकपासादपंतिकं च मयूरकेकानादेहि पूरितमुग्घोसितं च अहोसि । तेन तस्स नगरस्स सामिनो साकिया च तेसं पुत्तपपुत्ता च सकलजंबुदीपे मोरिया नामा ति पाकटा जाता ।

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 180 मोरियानं ति अत्तानं नगरसिरिया मोदापीति एत्थ संजाता ति, दुकारस्स च रकारं कत्वा मोरिया ति लद्धवोहारानं खत्तियानं ति अत्थो ।

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Moriyanagara in the very language of the *Vaṁstthappakāsinī*.[1] With the details given in these works agrees the version of the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*.[2] All these versions of the origin of the Moriyas (Mauryas) are based on the *Uttaravihāra-aṭṭhakathā* as the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* lets us know.[3] This work is relegated to the first century A.D. and the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*, the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna and the *Mahābodhivaṁsa* have been assigned to the 8th-9th., 9th-10th. and 10th-11th. centuries respectively by G. P. Malalasekera.[4] Thus, we find that the tradition of the Śākyan origin of the Mauryas

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1 *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* ed. G. P. Malalasekera (Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch) V 95-101, p. 60

यदा सत्था तु अम्हाकं निब्बानं न पवीसति ।
साक्यराजा बहू येव तेनेव मित्तदुब्भिना ।।
घातिता अनुसारेन यथावुत्तेन विधिना ।
सेसा अञ्ञं पविसित्वा हिमवन्तप्पदेसकम् ।।
एमं छायुदकूपेतं ठानं एकं वुदिक्खिय ।
मापेसुँ नगरं तत्थ इद्धं फीतं मनोरमम् ।।
छादिता इट्ठिकाहेव पासादपन्तियो अहू ।
मयूरगीवसंकासा सुविभत्तामहापथम् ।।
द्वारकोट्ठकपाकारपरिक्खित्तं समन्ततो ।
मयूरकोंचसद्देहिऽभिरुदं नगरं सदा ।।
तेनेव पाकटं आसि मोरियनगराव्हयम् ।
रज्जं तत्थेव कारेसुँ साक्यराजा तदा पन ।
सहेव पुत्तनत्तेहि मोरियनगरे वरे ।
जम्बूदीपे नरा सब्बे मोरराजेन अव्हययुं ।।

In this passage the reading of the word 'mittadubbhinā' is very doubtful. Malalasekera gives three more variants of it, 'Vittaga bbitā', 'Vitatubbhena' and 'Vitatubbhinā'. But the fact that Viḍuḍabha is intended here admits of no doubt. In VII, 19 the author clearly mentions Viḍuḍabha and his massacre of the śākyas. Vide *Extended Mahāvaṁsa*, p. 102

परिस्सयो च अम्हाकं भविस्सति इतो परम ।
सब्बे साक्यराजानो विडूडभो हनिस्सति ।।

2 *Mahābodhivaṁsa* ed. Strong (P.T.S.) p. 98.

3 *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* I p. 180.

यो चन्दगुत्तस्स अभिसिञ्चितकालो च अनभिसिञ्चितकालो च तेसं उभिन्नं अधिकारो च सो सब्बाकारेन उत्तरविहारअट्ठकथायं वुत्तो ।

4 G. P. Malalasekera: *Pāli Literature Of Ceylon*, p. 256; *Extended Mahāvamsa* (Introduction) p. 52.

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was current in Ceylon since the dawn of the Christian era. It is, however, noteworthy that this tradition is not mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa in his commentary on the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya*, which is the earliest Buddhist text to refer to the Moriyas.

In some Ceylonese works the Moriyas are mentioned as a Singhalese clan.[1]

In Burmese traditions the foundation of the Maurya city (Moriya-nagara) is ascribed to the princes of Vaiśāli who had escaped from the massacre of Adzatathat (Ajātaśatru).[2] In these traditions the princes of Vaiśāli and Ajātaśatru have been substituted for the Śākyas and Viḍuḍabha respectively.

2. *Jaina traditions about the Mauryas.*

Jaina traditions connect the Mauryas with the Mayūraposakas or peacock-tamers who lived in the kingdom of the Nandas.[3] These Mayūraposakas may be connected with a tribe named Mayūraka, which is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*[4] among the peoples living in the southern part of the Uttarāpatha division lying to the west of the Midland.[5] This tribe is described in this text as warlike and frenzied. Modern scholars have found the confirmation of the traditional association of the Mauryas with the peacock in the monuments of their period. The figure of a peacock has been found at the bottom of the pillar of Aśoka at Nandaṅgarh. In the sculptures on the Great Stūpa at Sāñci also, which are ascribed to Aśoka on the basis of the stories of his life that they represent, the peacock figures

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[1] G. P. Malalasekera: *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 673.

[2] Bigandet: *Life and Legend of Gautama*, II, p. 126.

[3] Hemacandra: *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 229 ff. (ed. Jacobi)

चणेश्वरीकुक्षिजन्मा द्विजन्मा सोऽन्यदा ययौ ।
मयूरपोषका यत्रावात्सुर्नन्दमहीपतेः ।।

Devendraganin *alias* Nemicandra Sūri *Sukhabodhā* on *Uttarādyayana-Sūtra* III, i ed. by Vijayomanga Sūri, Nirṇaya Sāgar Press edition (1937), p. 57.

नन्दस्स मोरपोसगा तेसिं गामे गओ परिवायगलिंगेण । तेसिं च मयहरधूयाए चंदपियणम्मि दोहलो

[4] *Mahābhārata*, II, 35.

[5] R. K. Mookerji *Candragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 24.

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prominently.[1] An indication of the importance of the peacock in the age of Mauryas is elicited from the remarks of Aelian that peacocks were kept in the parks of the Maurya palace at Pāṭaliputra.[2] But the evidence of Aśoka's Rock Edict I leads to the conclusion that the Mauryas were peacock-eaters rather than peacock-tamers.[3] In the light of this internal testimony of Maurya records, the explanation of the surname 'maurya' through 'mayūra' has only a superficial plausibility.

3. *Brāhmanical traditions about the Mauryas*

Brāhamanical traditions connect the Mauryas with the Nanda family. Ratnagrabha, the commentator of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* suggests that Candragupta was the son of King Nanda by a wife named Murā, and Dhuṇḍhirāja, the commentator of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, adds that she was a śūdra by caste. Her son was named Maurya, who was the father of Candragupta. Mahādeva in his *Mudrārākṣasa-kathā* (ed. V. Raghavan, Madras), Ravinartaka in his *Cāṇakya-kathā* (ed. S. C. Law, Calcutta) and the author of the *Pūrvapīṭhikā* which forms a part of the commentary of Dhuṇḍhirāja (ed. Dasharatha Sharma, Bikaner) agree with him in this respect. Kṣemendra in his *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* call Candragupta the son of Pūrvananda, whom they do not describe as a king. Viśākhadatta in his *Mudrārākṣasa*, which is the earliest among the works noted above, no doubt, describes Candragupta as *Nandānvayah* (V,5) but draws a clear distinction between his family

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[1] J. Marshall: *A Guide to Sāñci*, pp. 44, 62; A Foucher: *Monuments of Sāñci*, p. 231.

[2] J. W. M'Crindle : *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, pp. 141-142.

[3] The meaning of the word '*mora*' occurring in R.E.I. of Aśoka is not quite certain. Buddhaghosa in his commentary on the *Bhayabheravasutta* of the *Majjhimanikāya* states that 'mora' signifies a bird in general [मोरगहणेन इध सब्ब पक्खी गहणं अधिप्पेतम्]. Hence it cannot be said with certainty that 'mora' in R.E.I. stands for a peacock in particular. However, the absence of the peacock from the list of protected creatures in P.E. V is remarkable.

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and that of the Nandas (II,7; VI,6).[1] The import of the apparently contradictory statements of Viśākhadatta is that though Candragupta was so intimately associated with the Nanda sovereigns as to merit the epithet *nandānvayah* he belonged to a separate family that had nothing to do whatsoever with the Nandas. The opinion of H. C. Ray Choudhury that the *Mudrārākṣasa* "claims a Nanda origin for the first Maurya" is manifestly erroneous.[2] The aforesaid view which lies at the basis of the *Mudrārākṣasa* constitutes a sufficient repudiation of the theories of the origin of the Mauryas from the Nanda family advanced by later Brahmanical writers.[3]

4. *The theories of the north-western origin of the Mauryas.*

Some scholars hold that the Mauryas hailed from the north-western regions, now included in Pakistan. H. C. Seth and B. M. Barua have shown scepticism for the traditions connecting the Mauryas with Magadha.[4] The former has identified Candragupta with Śaśigupta, who was the chief of the Aśvakas and played an important part in the doings of Alexander the Great in India according to him. He bases his theory on the similarity of the careers and characters of these two persons. But a careful perusal of the account of the Greek writers conclusively shows that Śaśigupta was not the governor of the Assakenians or Aśvakas but was only an agent of Alexander, that he was powerless to quell the revolt of these

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[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 7 Telang's edition, p. 112

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः ।
पतिं पापे मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती ।।

Ibid, VI, 6, Telang's edition, p. 271

पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनम् ।
गता-छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ।।

[2] K. A. Nilakanta Sastri and others: *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 141.

[3] The grammatical error involved in deriving the word 'Maurya' from Murā has been exposed by C. D. Chatterji : 'Early Life of Candragupta Maurya, B. C. Law Volume, I, p. 590 ff.

[4] H. C. Seth : 'Candragupta and Śaśigupta' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. VIII, pt. 2; 'Did Candragupta Mauyra belong to North-Western India?' *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. VIII part 2; *Candragupta Maurya aur Bhārat me Alexander ki Parājaya* (in Hindi), pp. 87 et seq.

B. M. Barua : 'Social Status of Mauryas,' *Indian Culture*, vol. X, part I; *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, I, p. 51.

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people and that far from being on the side of the rebels he served the cause of Alexander by informing him through envoys of the state of affairs in that province. There is no evidence to prove that Śaśigupta ever espoused the cause of the Indians against Alexander. All that we know about him is that first he went over from the Indians to Bessos, the Persian Governor of Baktra, and, when the latter was defeated by Alexander, he went over to his side and served him faithfully so as to command his confidence. These traits of the career of Śaśigupta have nothing in common with the events of the early life of Candragupta.

H. C. Seth supports his theory of the north-western origin of the Mauryas with some traditions which relate that the Mauryas went into exile as a result of the persecution of King Viḍuḍabha and founded a city that came to be known as Moriyanagar. The Ceylonese texts, which record these traditions and are cited above, say nothing to indicate that Moriyanagar was situated in the western parts of the Himalayas. But Hiuen-Tsang states on the basis of hearsay information that "in old days Pi-lu-tse-kia (Virūdhakarāja) having led his army to attack the Śākyas, four of the tribes resisted the advance. These were driven away by their own clansmen, and each fled in a different direction."[1] One of these Śākyas went to the North-West and founded a state in Udyāna on the bank of the river Swat. This person married the daughter of Nāgarāja, who lived there, and with his help killed the king of Udyāna and seized his throne. After the death of this perosn, his son U-ta-lo-si-na (Uttarasena) ascended the throne and once, when he was out for hunting, Buddha came to his house and told his mother that her son belonged to his family and that he should take a part of his ashes after his death amidst the Sāla trees of Kuśinagar. On returning home Uttarasena proceeded to Kuśinagar and succeeded in getting a portion of Buddha's relics with difficulty. "The kings of other countries treated him scornfully and were unwilling to give him a share of the much prized relics they were taking to their own countries. On this a great assembly of Devas acquainted them with Buddha's wishes, on which the kings divided the relics equally, beginning with him."[2]

This tradition nowhere says that the person who founded the state in Udyāna was of Maurya family. But if it is assumed that he

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[1] S. Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 128.
[2] *Ibid*, vol. I, p. 133.

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did belong to that family, since the account of his exile as a result of the persecution of Pi-lu-tse-kia agrees with that of the Mauryas given in the Ceylonese texts, cited above, it is unsafe to place implicit reliance on these traditions in view of their being very late in origin. Besides this, there are glaring discrepancies in the account of the apportionment of the relics of Buddha in the narrative of Hiuen-Tsang and the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*. In the former the Śākya exiles were the first to receive the relics, whereas, according to the latter, they came too late to get the relics and had to content themselves with the ashes. Hence the evidence of Hiuen-Tsang cannot be relied upon in this matter. We know for certain that the Maurya empire embraced the whole of north-western regions and that the branches of the Maurya family ruled over some states of these territories, notably Kāśmīra, Khotan and the Indus-valley even after the decline of the central authority at Pāṭaliputra. After the adoption of Buddhism by Aśoka the entire resources of this vast empire were harnessed to the drive of Buddhist propaganda in the North-West. In the wake of Buddhist bhikṣus and Maurya Mahāmātras, the legends and traditions current in the Buddhist world travelled in the North-West and got a local colouring there. It is, therefore, necessary to determine the original forms of these north-western versions before drawing any conclusion from them. In this particular case, we find that the bulk of authentic historical evidence militates against the legend recorded by Hiuen-Tsang.[1]

As regards the argument of H. C. Seth that Śakuni, whom the *Rājatarangiṇī* represents as the great-grandfather of Aśoka, is the same as Śakuni of Gandhāra mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, it is manifestly untenable in view of the fact that Śakuni is not an exclusive designation of Gandharian princes and occurs in the Purāṇic list of Videhan kings as well.[2]

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[1] Fa-hien refers to the visit paid by Buddha to Puruṣapura. He states that when Buddha was travelling in this country with his disciples, he said to Ānanda, 'after my parinirvāṇa, there will be a king named Kaniṣka, who shall on the spot build a tope.' [James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 33]. Writing about Woo-chang or Udyāna Fa-hien states : "there is a tradition that when Buddha came to North-India, he came at once to this country and that here he left a print of his foot, which is long or short according to the ideas of the beholder." (*Ibid*, p.29). But Fa-hien does not say anything about the tradition of the meeting of Buddha with Uttarasena.

[2] *Vāyu-Purāṇa*, 89, 29.

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B. M. Barua bases his theory of the north-western origin of Candragupta Maurya on the fact that his education, military training and alliances were all in that part of India and that some of Aśoka's scribes were habituated to Kharoṣṭhi and a few of his artists were versed in the traditions of Persepolis. He lays emphasis on the fact that the Greek writers did not connect Candragupta with the Maurya family.

These arguments are so lightly developed that we need not discuss them in detail. The trend of the history of Candragupta was such that he had to leave his birth-place and seek his fortune hundreds of miles away. His activities in the North-West by no means disprove his eastern origin. Likewise the influence of Persian art and Kharoṣṭhi script on the art and writing of the Maurya period does not suggest that the founder of the Maurya dynasty hailed from the North-West. As for the evidence of Greek writers, it is too meagre and scanty to warrant any conclusion regarding the origin of the Mauryas.

R. K. Mookerji[1] holds that the Moeres or Mories, mentioned by Greek writers, correspond to the Mauryas. Should this view be correct, it would not only cut at the root of his own theories, but would also amount to locating the Mauryas in the delta of the Sindh. But Curtius, who refers to Moeres, describes it as the name or title of the king of the territory of Patala and says nothing to suggest that it was the name of a tribe. J. W. M'Crindle[2] equates this word with 'mahārāja'. Thus no theory of the non-Magadhan origin of the Mauryas can be woven on this word.

The aforesaid discussion of the theories of the origin of the Mauryas shows that those of the north-western origin of these people are baseless, those connecting them with the family of the Nandas are fallacious and those associating them with the tribe of the peacock-tamers are superficial. Thus we are left with the theory of the Śākyan origin given in the Ceylonese Buddhist texts that have been cited at the beginning. Let us, therefore, examine how far it is historically correct and acceptable.

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[1] R. K. Mookerji : *Candragupta Maurya and His Times*, p. 24.

[2] J. W. M'Crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 256.

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5. *The Mauryas and Moriya Sannivesa*

The *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabāhu informs us that Mahāvira had eleven gaṇadharas. The eldest was Indabhūi (Indrabhūti), then followed Aggibhūi (Agnibhūti), Vāubhūi (Vāyubhūti), Viyatta (Vyakta), Suhamma (Sudharman), Maṇḍiya (Maṇḍita), Moriyaputta (Mauryaputra), Akampiya (Akampita), Ayalabhāyā (Acalabhrātṛi), Meijja (Metārya) and Pabhāsa (Prabhāsa). These gaṇadharas were all Brāhmaṇa teachers and all except Indrabhūti and Sudharman died during the life-time of Mahāvira. The sixth gaṇadhara Maṇḍita belonged to the Vāśiṣṭha gotra and the seventh Mauryaputra was of the Kāśyapa gotra. Both of these gaṇadharas were the residents of Moriya sannivesa,[1] which was situated in Magadha.[2]

Early Buddhist literature refers to a place Moliyagāma, which evidently represents 'Moriyagāma' or the Moriya sannivesa of Jaina texts. In the commentary on the *Anguttaranikāya* mention is made of a monk who went to Moliyagāma for alms.[3] In the *Anguttaranikāya* and the *Saṁyuttanikāya* a paribbājaka (parivrājaka) named Moliyasivaka is mentioned.[4] He is stated to have visited Buddha at Veluvana and questioned him regarding predestination after which he became a convert to Buddhism. The name Moliyasivaka perhaps suggests that this monk was a resident of the place known as Moliyagāma or Moriya sannivesa.

Thus we observe that Moriya, Moliya (Maurya) was the name of a place in Magadha, which roughly corresponds to the modern Patna district of Bihar. As B. C. Law observes : "the kingdom or country roughly corresponding to the modern Patna and Gaya districts of Behar was broadly divided into two khettas: Gayā and Magadha, from a religious and may be also from a fiscal point of view. In the *Jambudīva-paṇṇatti* the latter is distinctly called *Māgaha-titthakhetta.*"[5] In the west and north Magadha was bounded by the

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[1] *Kalpasūtra* VIII, 1.4; *Sacred Books of the East*, XXII, p. 286.

[2] *Āvassaya-nijjbhutti* (Āvaśyaka-Niryukti) (Āgamodaya Samiti edition), p. 645.

[3] *Manorathapūrani* (P.T.S.), vol. I, p. 398.

[4] *Anguttaranikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. III, p. 356; *Saṁyuttanikāya* (P.T.S.), vol. IV, p. 230.

[5] B. C. Law: *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 46.

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Gangā and in the east it was bordered by the river Campā. Near Rājagṛha, the ancient capital of Magadha, there was a place called 'Moranivāpa', which may be reminiscent of a name connected with Moriya.[1]

Moriya is described as a *sannivesa*, which, according to the commentator of the *Kalpasūtra*, means a halting place for the caravans.[2] Hence Moriya must have been situated along a route of Magadha by which caravans used to pass. Being thus situated it was the place of residence of many wealthy traders and merchants. The *Bhagavatisūtra* refers to a rich merchant named Tāmali Moriya-putta.[3] B.C. Law holds that he was apparently a citizen of Tāmalitti (Tāmralipti).[4] But his surname suggests that originally he belonged to Moriya in Magadha and later on settled in Tāmralipti for purposes of trade, which perhaps gave him his name Tāmali. In this way, we find that the place named Moriya was peopled by men of all castes and callings including Brāhmaṇas, parivrājakas and Vaiśyas. Was it founded by the Śākyas, who branched off from their parent body to escape the persecution of Viḍuḍabha?

6. *A critical estimate of the theory of the separation of the Moriyas from the Śākyas following the persecution of Viḍuḍabha.*

We know that Buddha passed away at the age of eighty. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (II, 3) he is said to have told Subhadra just before his death that he took *pravrajyā* at the age of twentynine and fiftyone years had passed since then. In his eightieth year he had an interview with king Pasendi (Prasenajit) of Kośala, in course of which the latter remarked that both of them were eighty years old, as the *Dhamma-cetīya-sutta* of the *Majjhima-nikāya* (II, 2, 9) states. At that time Prasenajit was the reigning king of Kośala aud Dīgha(Dīrgha)cārāyaṇa was his chief-minister. The king took Dīrghacārāyaṇa with him to Medalumpa(?),the town of the Śākyas, where Buddha was staying and before entering the monastery handed over his sword and crown to him

[1] B. C. Law: *Rājagṛha in Ancient Literature* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 58), pp. I ff.

[2] H. Jacobi: *Jaina Sūtras* (*Sacred Books of the East*) vol. 22, introduction, p. 22.

[3] *Bhagavatisūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition), III, 1.

[4] B. C. Law: *Some Jaina Canonical Sūtras*, p. 37.

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and walked inside alone. This minister was the son of the sister of Bandhula, at first the commander-in-chief and then the chief Justice of Kośala, whom Prasenajit had got treacherously assassinated on the gound of a flimsy rumour of conspiracy. Hence he was full of malice for that king and had entered into a secret pact with his son Viḍuḍabha with the object of avenging the death of his maternal uncle on him. Therefore leaving the king in conversation with Buddha, he rushed back to Śrāvasti with the insignia of royalty to coronate Viḍuḍabha. When the king came out and learnt of the revolt, he proceeded towards Rājagṛha to seek succour from his son-in-law Ajātaśatru and punish the rebels. But in the way he had an attack of diarrhoea and expired at the gate of Rājagṛha. Viḍuḍabha ascended the throne and instantly marched on Kapilavastu to punish the Śākyas for marrying Vāsabhakhattiyā, born of a slave girl, to his father and thus debasing his maternal descent. On learning of the expedition Buddha went to Kapilavastu and his presence deterred the invader from attacking the Śākyas and forced him to retrace his steps. Thrice did the king lead the expedition against the Śākyas but everytime he was overwhelmed by the presence of Buddha near Kapilavastu and retreated to his capital, as we learn from the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* (IV, 3). Fa-hien also refers to the intervention of Buddha in the invasion of the Śākyas by Viḍuḍabha: "Four li south-east from the city of Śrāvasti, a tope has been erected at the place where the world-honoured one encountered king Virūdhaka (Viḍuḍabha) when he wished to attack the kingdom of Shay-e and took his stand before him at the side of the road."[1] But the fourth time when Viḍuḍabha launched the attack, Buddha was no more to dissuade him from his bloody design. Hence he fell upon the Śākyas and wrought terrible havoc among them. All these events took place in the eightieth year of the life of Buddha, since in that year he received Prasenajit as a king, after whose deposition and death Viḍuḍabha attacked the Śākyas, and in the same year he passed away at Kuśinagar. If the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*,[2] on which the above

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[1] James Legge: *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 62-63

[2] *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā*, Book IV, Story III, English translation by E. W. Burlingame, *Buddhist Legends* (Harvard Oriental Series), vol. 29, pp. 30-46; Hindi translation by Rāhula Sānkrityāyana, *Buddhacaryā*, pp. 473-480.

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account is based, is to be trusted, the absence of Buddha from the land of the Śākyas, when Viḍuḍabha launched his attack fourth time, was due to his incapacity to go there. It appears that his intervention led Viḍuḍabha to give up his plan of invading Kapilavastu for the time being. But when he had passed away, Viḍuḍabha found the field free to invade and exterminate the Śākyas. Had he done so in the life-time of Buddha, the latter should have referred to it in his last discourses recorded in the *Mahāparinibbāna-suttanta* for this was a subject in which he was particularly interested. Besides this, the Śākyas appear as the claimants of a portion of the last remains of Buddha after his death. Thus the conclusion becomes irresistible that Viḍuḍabha invaded the Śākyas after the demise of Buddha. But just after the Great Decease we find the Moriyas of Pipphalivana among the claimants of the remains of Buddha on the basis of a common Kṣatriya caste along with the Śākyas. Hence it is quite impossible that the Moriyas came into existence as a result of the separation of a body of the Śākyas from the main clan and their migration to the sub-montane tract known as Pipphalivana, with a view to escaping the persecution of Viḍuḍabha.

The evidence of the Pali texts, cited above, clearly shows that Viḍuḍabha's three expeditions against the Śākyas were launched in the same year in which Buddha passed away. Is it not likely that the fourth expedition, on the eve of which Buddha could not be present at Kapilavastu, occurred before his death, though in the same year, so as to allow the necessary time to the Moriyas to separate from the Śākyas and make their apperance at the last rites of their illustrious kinsman? It has been shown above that the *Dhammapada-aṭṭhakathā* leads us to a conclusion that runs counter to such an argument. Besides this, there are some more weighty considerations which make this reasoning quite untenable. It has been stated above that two of the Gaṇadharas of Mahāvīra, Maṇḍita and Mauryaputra, belonged to Moriya (Maurya) sanniveśa. Both of them are said to have died during the life-time of Mahāvīra. Buddha and Mahāvīra were contemporaries. Though scholars differ as to who of them predeceased whom, the fact that a major part of their lives was spent in the same period goes without doubt. Hence these two Gaṇadharas lived in the life-time of Buddha also. That is to say, the residents of Moriya sanniveśa, who are apparently the same as Mauryaputras or Mauryas lived more than one

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year before the death of Buddha. Hence the hypothesis of their coming into existence in the year of the death of Buddha is out of the question.

7. *The location of Moriya Sanniveśa, the home of the Mauryas*

We have seen that Moriya sanniveśa was inhabited by people of all castes and classes. Brāhmaṇas of different gotras and merchants lived there. They used the surname Mauryaputra irrespective of the differences of their callings. It is no wonder that the Kṣatriyas belonging to that place set up their claim to a share of Buddha's ashes on the basis of a common caste.

As regards the location of Maurya (Moriya) we know that it was in Magadha. Hence we should search for its site in the Patna district. The *Gazetteer* of the Patna district informs us that 287 miles from Calcutta on the East-Indian Railway is a station named More (Mor).[1] Professor Syed Hasan Askari of Patna college has let me know that this place was visited by the Englishman John Marshall in the third week of April 1670 and he referred to it as Mohore in his diary that has been edited by Sir Shafaat Ahmad Khan. This place is near Mokameh, which is mentioned by Marshall as Mokoia. Prof. Askari writes that More is an important place abounding in old mounds. My friend Prof. Ram Charitra Prasad Singh of the department of Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Patna University, who recently visited this site at my instance, reported that More station is 58 miles to the east of Patna. The old site is represented by More dih. From this place have come a large number of icons, Buddhist and Brahmanical, that are now placed in front of a modern temple of Durgā, Devisthāna, situated nearby, which is surrounded by peepul and imli trees. Two of these icons represent Buddha in *Parinirvāṇa mudrā*. Important among these finds is a beautiful Neolithic celt showing that the place has been inhabited from almost the very dawn of history. There are two more mounds, dihs, in the same locality at a distance of two miles south of the present village. They are called *badki dih* and *chotkī dih*. Prof. Singh found that *chotki dih* is a horse-shoe type of mound with a depression in the north, which probably represents a tank. The mound is strewn with red ware potshreds.

[1] *Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteer (Patna)*, by L.S.S. O' Malley revised by J.F.W. James, p. 237.

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Some of these shreds have a black interior. Grey-ware shreds are also found there in abundance. They are made of fine grained paste and appear to be well-finished. He also found there two terra-cotta collared beads. At *baḍki dih* also which is a rectangular mound, situated half a mile west of *choṭki dih*, Prof. Singh collected many northern-black-polished and grey-ware shreds. The N. B. P. ware have a silvery appearance and the grey-ware shreds are comparable to those found at *choṭki dih*. Whereas the discovery of a Neolithic find shows that the site was populated in Rare Neolithic times, the abundant finds of N. B. P. and grey-ware shreds indicate that it was well inhabited in the Maurya and Post-Maurya periods. Prof. Singh gathered some legends about these mounds. He was told that the owner of the two mounds, *choṭki* and *baḍki dihs*, was a wealthy dosada (a member of law caste). He wanted to establish marriage relation with the residents of More Dih who were Brāhmaṇas. But these Brāhmaṇas were poor people and they could not resist the pressure exerted on them by the Dosada rājā. Therefore they planned a conspiracy and invited the whole family of the Dosāda rājā for the marriage. When the Dosada rājā arrived with his family they offered them poisoned food resulting in the death of the whole family. Only one pregnant woman escaped and gave birth to a son who was the ancestor of the Monghyr rājā Sir Kamleshwar Prasad Singh. This legend is of course a later concoction and is of the nature of folk lore of cock and bull type. Prof. Singh observes that "it is an area which is very rich in archaeological finds. The famous sites of Rajora, Chawki and others fall in straight east of More and your Pāṭaliputra would he straight west of More." This chain of sites may point to the existence of an ancient route through this region. (I am very grateful to Prof. Singh for taking the trouble of visiting More and sending me a detailed report of his observations.) This region is also notable for peepul trees which might explain the name of Pipphalivana. In fact, peepul trees grow so abundantly in Patna district that many sites bear names based on Peepul or Pipphali. At the southern foot of the Baibhar hill is a place named peepul stone house.[1] Behind it is a cavern that has been identified by Cunningham with Asura's cave.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 229. Samuel Beal: *Buddhist Records of the Western World* vol. II, p. 156.

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The Pipphali cave is also mentioned in *Udāna* and *Dīghanikāya* and the travels of Fa-hien.[1]

This place 'More' represents the Moriya town of Jaina and Buddhist literature, which was the home of the Mauryas.

Modern scholars have sought to identify the site of Moriyanagar by locating Pipphalivana. B. C. Law finds an echo of the name Pippalivana in Piprāvā, a village in the Birdpur estate in the district of Basti,[2] and Rāhula Sānkrityāyana identifies it with the place called Piparia, near Rampurva at the Narkatiyaganj station in Champaran district.[3] H. C. Raychoudhury takes a clue to the identification of Pipphalivana from the site of the Embers Tope, which the Mauryas are stated to have built over the ashes of Buddha, according to the *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*. Fa-hien says that four yojanas to the east of the Tope of Rāma was the place where the heir-apparent sent back Chandaka with his white horse and four yojanas to the east from this place was the Charcoal Tope (Ashes Tope) where there was also a monastery. Going on 12 yojanas still to the east, one came to the city of Kuśanagar, which is identical with Kasia in the Gorakhpur district.[4] Fa-hien says nothing to indicate that the Charcoal Tope represented the site of the Maurya capital. Hiuen-Tsang specifically gives the lie to such an assumption. "To the south-east of the head shaving stūpa," he writes, "in the middle of a desert, going 180 or 190 li, we come to a Nyagrodha grove in which there is a stūpa about 30 feet high. Formerly when Tathāgata had died and his remains had been divided, the Brāhmaṇas who had obtained none, came to the place of cremation, and taking the remnant of coal and cinders to their native country, built this stūpa over them and offered their religious services to it. Since then wonderful signs have occurred in this place, sick persons who pray and worship here are mostly cured."[5] Thus, it is clear that, according to Hiuen-T'sang

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[1] *Udāna* 1, 6; III, 7 ; *Dīghanikāya* II, p. 116. James Legge, : *Travels of Fa-hien*, p. 85.

[2] B. C. Law : *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 29 ; *India as described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 56 ; *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 111-112.

[3] Rāhula Sānkrityāna : *Buddhacaryā* (in Hindi), p. 596.

[4] James Legge : *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 69-70.

[5] Samuel Beal : *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. II p. 31.

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the so-called Ashes Tope was constructed by the Brāhmaṇas rather than the Moriyas. Besides this, Hiuen-Tsang locates this tope in the Nyagrodhavana rather than the Pipphalivana. There is no suggestion, whatsoever, that the site of this tope abounded in peepul trees. Therefore, the assumption of H. C. Raychoudhury that this tope was identical with that constructed by the Moriyas over the ashes of Buddha has no leg to stand upon and his identification, on this ground, of the city of the Moriyas with some place between Rummindei in the Nepalese Tarai and Kasia in the Gorakhpur district[1] is very doubtful.

The upshot of the above discussion is that the identifications of Pipphalivana proposed by the aforesaid scholars are conjectural. There is nothing to show that Piprava and Piparia areas were noted for peepul groves, and there is no topographical or monumental evidence to connect them with the Mauryas. Likewise the location of the city of the Mauryas near Gorakhpur is doubtful. In fact, the Mauryas hailed from the place which is now represented by the town More in Patna district. This town existed before the death of Buddha and produced eminent teachers and traders mentioned in Jaina and Buddhist literature. The Kṣatriyas[2] of this place were destined to rule over almost the whole of the country and produce men like Candragupta and Aśoka. They immortalised the name of their parent town by using it as their surname. But they had no connection, whatsoever, with the Śākyas of Kapilavastu. The tradition of their being a branch of the Śākyas is the fabrication of later Buddhist monks who were out to invent some connection between their Dharmāśoka and their great Master.

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[1] H. C. Raychoudhury : *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th edition pp. 194, 267.

[2] That the Mauryas were Kṣatriyas is conclusively proved by the evidence of Buddhist and Brahmanical texts. The *Mahāparinibbānasuttanta*, the Ceylonese Chronicles, the *Divyāvadāna* etc. state that the Mauryas were मूर्धाभिषिक्त क्षत्रिय । Even the Brāhmaṇical writer Kṣemendra connects Aśoka, the Maurya King, with the solar family of the Kṣatriyas. Cf. *Avadānakalpalatā* V, 2 सौर्य-मौर्य-महावंश-पंचानन श्रीमदशोकदेवः ।

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CHAPTER IV

Candragupta Maurya in the Shāh-Nāmā of Firdausi

1. *The sources of the history of Alexander and Candragupta Maurya.*

The contemporaneity and association of Candragupta Maurya with Alexander the Great have in many cases resulted in shedding light on his history. Alexander was such a notable figure of ancient times that the accounts of his life and achievements assumed various forms and spread in numerous countries. All these accounts were based, in one way or the other, on the memoirs and histories prepared by the contemporaries of Alexander who accompanied him on his expeditions. These original accounts are now lost and we have their later versions, redactions and quotations for reconstructing the history of Alexander. These later works differ among themselves on many vital points and, barring a few exceptions, their historical value is open to question. Professor Freeman has observed that among the five authors of the life of Alexander, Diodoros is impenetrably stupid inspite of being perfectly honest ; Plutarch is a compiler of anecdotes rather than a writer of a formal narrative of political and military events ; Justin is a feeble and careless expitomizer and Quintus Curtius is little better than a romance writer and is liable to the suspicion of wilful departure from the truth. Arrian alone seems to have had at once the will and the power to exercise a discreet judgment upon the statements of those who went before him.[1] But in some cases the authority of Arrian is manifestly dubious as, for instance, in the explanation of Alexander's attack on the evacuees of Massaga and the number of casualties on his side in the battle of the Hydaspes. In the opinion of a modern historian he has skilfully thrown the veil on the losses of Alexander in this battle.[2] Arrian notes some striking differences among the original sources and though he usually

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[1] Freeman : *Historical Essays*, second series. 3rd eddition, pp. 183-184.

[2] W. W. Tarn: *Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. VI, p. 409.

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follows the accounts of Ptolemy of Lagos and Aristoboulos of Potidaia or Kassandreia, he is at times at a loss to decide as to which account is closer to the truth. He also gives us to understand that some of the information given by these first-hand authorities is rank nonsense. For instance, Onesicritus' reference to two dragons of 80 and 140 cubits respectively and whales half a stadia long and the remark of other writers about the natives of mount Imaus, who had backward-pointing feet, pass all comprehension. In some cases, these writers merely jotted down the rumours current among the people without examining their correctness, *e.g.*, the barber-ancestry of king Nanda (Xandramas) and the marriage of Cleophis, the queen of Massaga, with Alexander, as we shall see later on. These writers were not free to give their independent judgment on the events they recorded. We know that Callisthenes of Olynthos, a kinsman of Aristotle, was imprisoned for making some unsavoury comments on the Asiatic expedition of Alexander. Thus, we observe that the writings of the companions of Alexander were tendencious attempts to elevate his exploits at all costs. They were informed with the Aristotelian idea that the superiority of the Greeks to the rest of mankind gave them a natural right to attack, plunder and enslave all barbarians who did not acknowledge their sway.[1]

Hence while writing the history of Alexander or of Candragupta Maurya we cannot close the door on the light that comes from other sources which lie embedded in the legends, traditions and anecdotes current in Asiatic countries overrun by Alexander. Most of these legends are obviously of the nature of romance and have poor claims as reliable materials of history. But, sometimes, we do get some corn in this vast mass of chaff and considering the scarcity of materials the attempt is well worth making. Here I am going to examine some traditions contained in the famous storehouse of Persian legends, the *Shāh-Nāmā* of Firdausi.

2. *Firdausi and his Shāh-Nāmā.*

Abu'l Qāsim Firdausi was born about A D. 920 or a little later in a family of village esquires or Dihqāns at Tus. A taste for anti-

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 92, F. N. 2.

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quarian research and folk-lore fostered by the perusal of the prose "Book of Kings" compiled in Persian from older sources by Abu Mansur al Mamari in A.D. 957-58 led him about A.D. 974 to undertake the versification of the national epic, the first edition of which was completed in A.D. 999 and dedicated to Ahmad bin Muhammad bin Abu-Bakr of Khalanjan. About A.D. 1010 he prepared the second edition of the Shāh-nāmā and dedicated it to Sultan Mahmood of Ghaznā. But a quarrel took place between him and the Sultan and he had to leave Ghaznā and live for some time with a prince of the House of Buwayh. After that he returned to his native town, an old man of ninety or more, and died about A.D. 1020.[1]

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[1] E. G. Browne : *A Literary History of Persia* (from Firdausi to Sādi) Vol. II, p. 141. According to T. Nöldeke, Firdausi was born in A H. 323-324 corresponding to A.D. 935-36. [T. Nöldeke : *Das Iranische Nationalepos* (Trubner 1896) pp. 22-23].

Recently it has been shown that the whole theory of the writing of the *Shāh-nāmā* by Firdausi in response to the invitation of Sultan Mahmood and the promise of gold coins made by him is a myth. The actual fact is that Firdausi was 58 years old when he came to Gaznā and had been working on the epic for nearly 25 years and had written half of it. Professor Mahmood Sheerani of Lahore in one of his masterly essays '*Firdausi par cār Maqāle*' has proved that Fridausi never wrote a single couplet of the said satire on Sultan Mahmood or a single line of *Yusuf-o-zulaikha*, wrongly attributed to him. Sheerani's views have been endorsed by J.E. Sanjana in his paper *Firdausi and Sultan Mahmood : Who wrote the satire* ? pp. 1-10. But it is patent that the old age of Firdausi was full of deep disappointment and misery. He lost his health ; his teeth had decayed ; his eyesight had gone; he had become deaf and suffered from tremor of the hand. His monetary difficulties capped his poor health. At the end of the *Shāh-nāmā* Firdausi expresses regret that the Sultan has not cared to look at the great epic and solicits the help of the Sultan's favourite brother Amin Nasr who was favourably inclined towards him. In the epilogue of the Great Epic he requests Amin Nasr to remind the Sultan about his case. This shows that Firdausi's merit was not recognized or recompensed by the Sultan and posterity wrote the spurious satire to condemn the Sultan in the name of the great poet.

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Firdausi based his *Shāh-nāmā* on the historical traditions current among the Persian Dihqāns who were the lower landed gentry and the actual preservers of the national traditions and legends, as Nöldeke has shown. As early as the fifth century A. D. we find a reference to these historical traditions in the work of an Armenian author Moses of Khorene. During the reign of Naushirwan, the contemporary of Muhammad, and by the order of that monarch an attempt was made to collect from various parts of the kingdom all the popular tales and legends ralating to the ancient kings and the results were deposited in the royal library. Under the last sovereign of the Sassainian dynasty, Yezdegird, the work was resumed, the former collection was revised and greatly enlarged by the Dihqān Dansihwar aided by several learned mobeds. His work was called the *Khudāi-Nāmā* which in old dialect also meant the "Book of Kings." After the Arab invasion this work was in great danger of perishing at the hands of the iconoclastic Caliph Umar but it was fortunately saved and in the second century of the Hejirā was paraphrased into Arabic by Abdullāh-ibn-al Mukaffā, a learned Persian converted to Islam. Other Gebrs (fire worshipping Persians) occupied themselves privately with the collection of these traditions and when a prince of Persian origin, Yaqub-ibn-Leith, the founder of the Saffarid dynasty, succeeded in throwing off the Caliph's yoke, he set about continuing the work of his predecessors. In his reign the "Book of Kings" was translated from Pahlvi into Persian by Abu-al-Mansūr-al-M'amāri for Abu Mansur Abdur-Razzāq bin Abdullāh Farrukh, the governor of Tus. His "Book of Kings" was freely circulated in Khurassan and Irāq. After the downfall of Yāqub's family the Samanian princes applied themselves zealously to the same work and Nūh II entrusted it to the poet Daqīqī, whose work was cut short by his assassination and the overthrow of his patron by the Turks. It is Daqīqī who composed the account of the advent of Zarathustra in the reign of King Gushtāsp and the religious wars with the Turanian Arjāsp and this account was incorporated by Firdausi in his *Shāh-Nāmā*.[1] The Samanians were succeeded by the Ghaznavids, whose famous king Sultan Mahmood-ibn-Subaktgin (967-1030 A.D.) extended his patronage to Persian literature and culture in an attempt to make himself independent of the Caliph. We are told that seven poets of his court were en-

[1] P. B. Vachha: *Firdausi and the Shāh-Nāmā*, p. 61 (Bombay 1950).

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trusted with the composition of the *Shāh-Nāmā* and ultimately Firdausi embarked on the collection and completion of the Persian national epic which his predecessors had begun.[1]

Firdausi was well versed in Pahlvi lore and his knowledge of the legendary and historical tradition of his country was very deep. Professor E. G. Browne has shown that he followed his sources very closely and presented the traditions of his country very correctly and faithfully.[2] But it would be a mistake to suppose that Firdausi's work is a genuine history of Persia. It is primarily an epic poem describing the wars, ways and manners of the ancient heroes of Persia. Its only use to a historian consists in the fact that it preserves some ancient traditions intact which can be searched for some historical material.

3. *Firdausi's treatment of the history of Alexander.*

Firdausi deals at length with Alexander or Sikander in his *Shāh-Nāmā* and it is with some sections of his account of this monarch that I am directly concerned here. Hence it would not be out of place to mention in a nut-shell the growth of the legends of Alexander in Iran. We have seen how the accounts of the contemporaries of Alexander contained seeds of romance which grew in the fertile soil of Egypt. About the third century we come across a work at Alexandria, which is said to have been based on the history of Callisthenes, and is named by Isaac Casanbon as the *Pseudo-Callisthenes*. In the seventh century A.D. a Greek text of this romance was translated into Pahlvi and this pahlvi version was rendered into Syriac verse by Jacob of Sarug in 521 A.D. The subject-matter of this legend became known to the Prophet Muhammad who made use of it in the Qur'ān and referred to Alexander under the title of Dhu-'l-Karnayn or "the two-horned". After the Muslim conquest of Persia there was a change in the angle of vision of the Persians regarding Alexander. In Sassanian times he was looked down upon as a persecutor of the Zoroastrians and was classed with Zah'hak and Afrasiab. But after the Muslim invasion, since the

[1] *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Vol. IX, p. 225.

[2] E. G. Browne: *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. II, pp. 140-142, 144-145, 147-150.

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Arabs held him in esteem, the Persians changed their view and regarded him as their own national emperor. Tabari (died A.D. 922) and Dināwari (died A.D. 896) refer to the Persian ancestry of Alexander but do not accept it. It appears that this story was invented by Ibn-Mukaffā while translating the Persian epic into Arabic. From there Firdausi incorporated it in his *Shāh-Nāmā*. In this way, the romance of Alexander reached Firdausi in a mingled stream and he accepted it as such. Hence though there is an unmistakable Arab element in his account, which is unknown to Pahlvi writers, the nucleus is the same as in Pahlvi traditions, which grew independently on the soil of Persia. From the eleventh century onwards Alexander becomes a legendary figure and appears sometimes as an ideal sovereign and often as a prophet encircled by a group of philosophers. In two Arabic works of the eleventh century the legend of Alexander assumes a purely didactic character. Nizāmi not only depicts him as a just king engrossed in the service of the people but also adumbrates through him the ideal of an egalitarian society. On the other hand Amir Khusrau presents through him a magnificent picture of a brilliant feudal monarch of the thirteenth century. Two centuries later, the mystic writer Jāmi makes him the mouthpiece of his moral precepts and throws the narrative aspect of his legend into the background. But the famous Uzbek author Mir 'Ali Shīr Navāi in his *Sadd-i-Iskandar* again emphasizes the political wisdom which this legend embodies and bases his utopia on it. This sketch of the growth of Alexander's legend shows that Firdausi occupies a midway position. While he is keenly conscious of the old Iranian tradition he engrafts the new Arabic elements on it and does not entirely lose sight of the historical aspect of the legend. [Y. E. Bertels: *Roman ob Aleksandre I yego glavnye versio na vostoke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1948) in Russian.]

4. *The reference to Kand or Kaid by Muslim historians.*

Muslim historians refer to Alexander's meeting with a wise Indian king in course of his Indian expedition. This king is called 'Kaihan' by Yāqūbi[1] (9th cent. A.D.), 'Kand' by

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[1] T. Nöldeke : *Beitrage Zur Geschichte der Alexanderromans*, p. 47.

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Ma'sūdi[1] (died 956 A.D.), 'Kafand' by the author of the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh*[2], 'Kaid' by Firdausi[3] and Amir Khusrau,[4] 'Kandāros' in the syriac version of the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* and 'Kanderos' in the Ethiopic version of the same, the Greek form being 'Candaules'.[5] All these variants refer to the Indian word 'Cand'[6] which is the Prakrit form of 'Candra'. In order to

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[1] Abu'l Hasan 'Ali bin al Husain al Mas'udi: *Kitab Muruj ah-Dhahab wa Ma'adin al-Fauhar Les Prairies d' Or* Vol. II, p. 260 (French translation by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille).

[2] Elliot and Dawson : *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol. I, p. 108.

[3] Firdausi : *Shāh-Nāmā* edited by Turner Macan Vol. III, p. 1290.

Firdausi has based his account of 'Kaid' on the Pahlvi sources. He states that he has simply recapitulated the Pahlvi traditions. [Chunāñ guft gu'indā-e-Pahlvi]. This is how he opens his account of Kaid.

[4] Amir Khusrau, *Khazāin-al-Futūh* ed. by Dr. Wahid Mirza (Asiatic Society, Calcutta) p. 69.

"Kaide hindi rā chu bakhte Kīnāvar bi-kinā gasht
Tegh-i-iskander ba-pīsh-e-rū-i-ū ā'inā gasht."

[When the adverse (lit. revengeful) fortune of Kaid the Indian became propitious (lit. unrevengeful) the sword of Iskander became for him a mirror].

In this verse Amir Khusrau compares Kaid with rājā Ramdeo of Deogir and Alexander with 'Alāuddin Khalji and refers to the meeting of the said rājā with him at Delhi which was reminiscent of the meeting and alliance of Kaid and Sikandar.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge: *The History of Alexander the Great*, p. 191. It is said that Kanderos sought the assistance of Alexander to overcome and defeat his adversary.

[6] In Arabic characters there is no letter to denote the sound '*c*' (च). Hence it is expressed by the letter '*K*' (kāf) or '*j*' (jeem). Thus the transcription of '*Cand*' in Arabic would naturally be '*Kand*'. It appears that as a result of the inadvertence of some scribe a curve (shoshā) was inserted in this word and it was read as '*Kafand*'. It is in this form that we get it in the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh*. A similar misreading resulted in its form '*Kaid*' used in the *Shāh-Nāmā* and other works. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that the author of the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh* expressly states that '*Kafand*' is identical with '*Kaid*' of the *Shāh-Nāmā*. (Elliot

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ascertain and establish the identity of this king "Candra" we have to bear in mind the following considerations.

5. *The contemporaneity of Kaid and Alexander*

According to all authorities 'Candra' or 'Kaid', to use the form given by Firdausi, was a contemporary of Alexander. We know for certain, that Candragupta Maurya, the famous founder of the Maurya empire, lived in the time of Alexander. Plutarch and Justin refer to an Indian King, Androcottos or Sandrocottos who overthrew the Greek rule after the departure of Alexander from India and laid the foundation of his empire at Pāṭaliputra. Seleucos sent Megasthenes on an embassy to his court. Sir William Jones identified Sandrocottos with Candra-Gupta Maurya and this identification has been accepted by historians as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology.

6. *The Milād of Kaid and Taxila*

Kaid is called an Indian King (*Shāh-i-Hind*) and his capital is named as Milād. From Milād Alexander entered straight into the territory of Fūr[1] who is identical with Poros. We

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(*continued from the previous page*)

and Dawson *op. cit.* p. 108), Some scholars have identified Kafand with Kadphises. [R. N. Dandekar : *History of the Guptas* p. 77]. But this identification is quite untenable in view of the fact that Kadphises was not a contemporary of Alexander but flourished many centuries after him, whereas Kafand is clearly stated to be his contemporary.

[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1304

Za-milād chūn bād lashkar barānd
Ba-qannoj shud ganjash āṅjā bamānd
Chu āvurd lashkar ba- nazdik-i-Fūr
Yaki nāmā farmūd pur jang-u-shūr.

For translation vide, *Shāh-Nāmā* by Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner Vol. IV p. 110,

"Sikander swift as wind marched from Milad
Abandoning his treasures, reached Kanuj
And having led his army near to Fūr
Bade write to him a harsh and hostile letter."

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learn from Greek writers that the kingdom of Poros lay on the eastern side of the Jhelum and the realm of Taxiles lay on its western side. Arrian states that after leaving a garrison at Taxilā and appointing Philip satrap of the Indians of that district Alexander moved on towards the river Hydaspes, for he had learnt that Poros with the whole of his army lay on the other side of that river resolved to contest his passage.[1] This position of Taxila agrees with that of Milad and we are not wide of the mark if we identify these two places.

We have some evidence to show that Candragupta was at Taxilā at the time of Alexander's invasion. We learn from the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* and the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna that Cāṇakya or Kauṭilya, the reputed preceptor of Candragupta, was a resident of Takṣaśilā (*Takkasilānagaravāsi*) and that he brought Candragupta with him and had him educated for seven or eight years in all humanities and practical and technical arts.[2] Jaina traditions represent Cāṇakya as a resident of a village named Caṇaya in Golla Viṣaya.[3] This Viṣaya is probably identical with Golā mentioned in a votive label found at Barhut.[4] Hariṣeṇa

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 92.

[2] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (*Mahāvaṁsa-Ṭīkā*) ed. G. P. Malalasekera (Pāli Text Society edition) Vol. I, p. 184.

कुमारं गहेत्वा अत्तनो वसनटठानं नेत्वा सतसहस्सग्घनिकं सुवण्णपणालियावुतं कम्बलसुत्तवट्टि तस्स कण्ठे पिलन्धापेसि । *Ibid*, p. 185 सत्तट्ठवस्सिकं एव उग्गहितसिप्पकञ्च बाहुसच्चभावञ्च अकासि ।

The Mahāvaṁsa of Moggallāna, is edited G. P. Malalasekera under the name *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* (Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch) V. 122 page 61.

याचित्वा चन्दगुत्तं तं उद्दिसापयितुं ततो ।
गहेत्वान कुमारं सो उद्दिसापिय सिक्खति ।।

[3] *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti--Chūrṇi* (Jaina Bandhu Printing Press, Indore) p. 563; Haribhadra Sūri *Āvaśyaka-sūtra-Vṛtti* (Āgamodaya Samiti, Bombay) p. 433; Hemacandra *Parśiṣṭa parvan* (ed. H. Jacobi) VIII, 189-199 p. 231 ; Devendra Gaṇin's *Sukhabodhā* on *Utttarādhyayana-sūtra* (III, 1) in H. Jacobi, *Parśiṣṭa parvan* (Appendices) p. 13. The *Sukhabodhā* has been edited by Vijayomanga Sūri and published by the Niraṇaya Sāgara Press in 1937 vide pp. 57 *ets eq* of this edition.

[4] Barua and Sinha : *Barhut Inscriptions*, p. 21; Cunningham: *Stūpa of Barhut*, p. 140.

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in his *Bṛhatkathākośa*[1] calls Cāṇakya, son of Kapila, a resident of Pāṭaliputra. This author is here mistaking Kapila, the father of Kalpaka, who became the chief minister of the first Nanda, for the father of Cāṇakya. In later literature there is a confusion about Avanti and Takṣaśilā. The lexicons identify these two place names. In the *Vaijayantikośa* (p. 159) we read अवन्ती स्याच्तक्षशिला. Hence it is probable that the Jaina traditions took Takṣaśilā, the place of residence of Cāṇakya, to mean Avanti which included the Golā Viṣaya. The *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta leaves the impression that he hailed from the North. This view is supported and to some extent corroborated by the fact that Kauṭilya in his *Arthaśātra*[2] prescribes a fine for a person who slanders or vilifies Gandhāra of which Takṣaśilā was an important city.

Takṣaśilā was a famous seat of learning in ancient times. We hear of it colleges and academies in Buddhist literature. Jīvaka, the famous physician of the age of Buddha, studied there for seven years,[3] and Angulimāla, the notorious robber, who had spread terror in the kingdom of king Prasenajit of Kośala, received his education at that place.[4] There was a special college in this town, where the three Vedas and the eighteen arts including archery, hunting and elephant-lore were taught to the princes. At one time 101 princes were on the rolls of this college. Another centre of princes in this town was the military academy in which 103 students received education.[5] It is very likely that Candragupta lived in one of these colleges and matured his plans of conquering the kingdom of the Nandas there. When Alexander invaded India these colleges were humming with fervent political

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[1] Harīṣeṇa's *Bṛhatkathākośa* ed. A. N. Upādhye (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā) p. 336.

[2] *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* ed. R. Shamshastri III, 18 p. 194

[3] *Manoratha-pūraṇī* (Aṅguttara-Nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā) on II, 4, 5.

[4] *Papañchasūdanī* (Majjhima-Nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā) on Angulimālasutta II, 4, 6.

[5] R. K. Mookerji : *Ancient Indian Education from the Jātakas* in B. C. Law : *Buddhistic Studies*, pp. 236 ff. That Gandhāra was a famous seat of learning is manifest from Brāhmaṇa sources also [Vide *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI, 14: *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* XI, 4, 1, 1; *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* VII, 6].

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activity which reached its climax in the movement organized by Candragupta.[1]

7. *Mihran, the guide of Kaid*

Kaid worked under the guidance of a sage named Mihrān whose description shows that he was a learned Brāhmaṇa leading an ascetic life. The word 'Mihrān' is obviously a Persian transcription of the Indian word 'Brāhmaṇa' whose Prākṛit form 'Māhaṇa' occurs in the *Sukhabodhā* of Devendra-Gaṇin. He read the dreams of Kaid and chalked out the course of his conduct following which he attained his objectives.[2] The *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh* also states that Kafand was blessed by a Brāhmaṇa who foretold that the sovereignty of the land would devolve upon him. Firdausi's description of the sage is based on

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[1] Plutarch (J. W. M'Crindle, *op. cit.* p. 306) refers to the discontent of the Brāhmaṇas in the North and the *Mudrārākṣasa* (p. 69) states that some of the colleagues of Cāṇakya, *e. g.*, Induśarman took part in the intrigues at Pāṭaliputra. Some pupils of Cāṇakya also helped him in his devices and strategems. Hence, we conclude that the movement initiated by Cāṇakya had its origin in the Schools and Colleges of Takṣaśilā.

[2] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1290

Yakī nāmadār'ast mihrān ba-nām
Za-gitī ba-dānish rasideh bakām
Ba-shahr andarash khvāb-ū-ārām nīst
Nashistanash juz bā dad-u-dām nist
Za-barg-i-gayāhai-kohī Khurad
Chu mā rā bamardum hamī nashamrad
Nashistanash bā gur-u-āhu buwad
Za-ārām-u-mardum bayaksū buwad

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 91:

"Memorial of the great and man of wisdom
There is a famous one by name Mihran,
Who had attained his fill of earthly lore
He will not sleep or rest him in a city,
And liveth but with cattle of the field
Subsisting on the herbs upon the mountains,
And not accounting us as fellow men
His home is with the onager and deer,
Apart from habitation and mankind."

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the accounts of Dandamis and other ascetics given by Onesicritus, Nearchus, Chares of Mytilene and others. These accounts were freely used by later writers. Palladius, the bishop of Hellenopolis, at the beginning of the fifth century A.D. wrote a treatise on the peoples of India and the Brāhmaṇas on the basis of older authorities. This work was interpolated into codex A of the *Pseudo-Callisthenes* and was included by Julius Valerius in his Latin translation of the romance. But it is missing in the Syriac version. The first Oriental mention of Indian sages is found in a Pahlvi treatise known as *Kārnamāk-i-Ardshīr-i-Pāpakān*. But the account given in this work closely agrees with that contained in Greek treatises. This shows that both of them drew on a common source. Hence Firdausi's description of Mihrān closely resembles that of Dandamis given by Megasthenes.[1] Firdausi calls the Indian sages, to whose class Mihrān belonged, 'Brahmans'[2] (Brāhmaṇas) but he knows no distinction between ascetics and household Brāhmaṇas and in his eyes every Brāhmaṇa is an ascetic. This explains his account of the guide of Kaid.

We know for certain that Candragupta won the throne of Magadha under the guidance and inspiration of Viṣṇugupta Cāṇakya. From the time he fell under the influence of Cāṇakya until his death he followed his advice and acknowledged his authority. His association with Cāṇakya is borne out by the unanimous evidence of Indian records.[3]

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle: *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* pp. 124-126.

[2] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1327

Wazāñ jaygāḥ lashkar andar kashīd
Ravāñ tā ba-shahr-ī-birahman rasīd
Badāñ tāzi Kardārhā-i-kuhun
Bapursīd parhizgārāñ sukhun.

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 143

"He marched thence to the country of the brāhmans
To make enquiry of their ancient rites
From those abstemious men."

[3] All Indian sources bearing on the life of Candragupta refer to his association with Cāṇakya. Only typical sources need be cited here.

(i) *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24

कौटिल्य एव चन्द्रगुप्तं राज्येऽभिषेक्ष्यति ।

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8. *The dreams of Kaid*

Kaid was encouraged to assume the sovereignty of India by his dreams.[1] The *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh* also says that "Kafand had visions of which he asked the interpretation from a Brāhmaṇa."[2] The fact that Candragupta was encouraged to obtain the sovereignty of India by some supernatural omens is borne out by Justin. "When he (Sandrocottos)," he remarks, "lay down overcome with fatigue and had fallen into a deep sleep, a lion of enormous size approaching the slumberer licked with its tongue the sweat, which oozed profusely from his body, and when he awoke, quietly took his departure. It was this prodigy which first inspired him with the hope of winning the throne. .....When he was, thereafter, preparing to attack Alexander's prefects, a wild elephant of monstrous size approached him and kneeling submissively like a tame elephant received him on to

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(*continued from the previous page*)

(ii) *Mahāvaṁsa* V. 16-17

मोरियानं खत्तियानं वंसे जातं सिरीधरं ।
चन्दगुत्तो ति पञ्ञातं चाणक्को ब्राह्मणो ततो ।।
नवमं धननन्दं तं घातेत्वा चण्डकोधसा (वा) ।
सकले जम्बुदीपस्मिं रज्जे समभिसिञ्चसि ।।

(iii) Hemacandra : *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 376

चक्रे समर्थमर्घेन तेन मौर्यं चणिप्रसूः ।
धियां निधिरमात्यो हि कामधेनुर्महीभुजाम् ।।

(iv) Viśākhadatta : *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 2

कौटिल्यधीरज्जुनिबद्धमूर्तिं ।
मन्ये स्थिरां मौर्यनृपस्य लक्ष्मीम् ।।

(v) Kāmandaka : *Nītisāra* (introduction)

एकाकी मंत्रशक्त्या यश्शक्त्या शक्तिधरोपमः ।
आजहार नृचन्द्राय चन्द्रगुप्ताय मेदिनीम् ।।

[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1290

Damādam badah shab pas-i-yakdigar
Hami Khvāb dīdīñ shagufti-nagar.

Warners' translation *ibid* p. 91

"He dreamt a dream ten days successively."

[2] Elliot and Dawson: *History of India* Vol. I, p. 108.

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its back and fought vigorously in front of the army."[1] Indian sources also refer to the supernatural signs which presaged the future greatness of Candragupta. The *Vaṁsatthappakasinī*[2] states that he was protected by a bull named 'Cand', when he was exposed by his mother in a cattle-shed, and refers to a moot-court held by him, in which the hands of the boys acting as thieves separated from their bodies and again joined with them at his behest.

The Mahāvaṁsa of Moggallāna known as the Cambodian or Extended Mahāvaṁsa[3] describes the king's game (राजकीला) which he used to play with his friends in his childhood and the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*[4] and the *Sukhabodhā*[5] inform us that he always acted as king

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 328.

[2] *Vaṁsatthappakāsini* I pp. 183-184.

तं देवताहि गहिताख्खं घोसककुमारं दिस्वा ठितउसभो विय चन्दो नाम उसभोरक्खन्तो अट्ठासि। ... ... तेसु तथेव कत्वा फरसुना पहरितमत्ते व तेसं पादा छिज्जित्वा गता पुनदेव "सन्धियन्तू" ति आणत्ते ते पाकतिका जाता।

[3] *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* ed. by G. P. Malalasekera [published by the Ceylon branch of the Royal Asiatic Society] V, 110-112 p. 61.

दारकेहेव निक्खम्म चन्दगुत्तो कुमारको।
गोपालदारका दिस्वा नायकं अकरुं ततो॥
राजकीळाह्वयं कीळं कीळन्तो कुमारको।
सेनापती अमच्चे च कत्वा गोपालदारके॥
केहिचि उपराजादि अधिकारं अकारयि।
मज्झे तेसं सयं एव खत्तियो व निसीदति॥

[4] Hemacandra : *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VIII, 242-250 p. 236.

इतश्च चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभैर्रममाणे दिने दिने।
विलेभे भूपतिरिव तेभ्यो ग्रामादिकं सदा॥
हस्तीकृत्य हयीकृत्य चारुरोह स बालकान्।
प्रायो हि भाविनी लक्ष्मीरिङ्गितैरपि सूच्यते॥
चाणक्यतत्परीक्षार्थमेवमाभाषते स्म तम्।
हे राजन्मह्यमपि हि किंचनापि प्रदीयताम्॥
जगाद चन्द्रगुप्तोऽपि मा भैषीर्ननु ते मया।
गावः प्रदत्ता गृह्यन्तां वीरभोज्या वसुन्धरा॥

[5] *Sukhabodhā* on *Uttarādhyayana sūtra* III, 1 H. Jacobi, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* (Appendices) p. 15. Vijayo Manga Sūri's edition p. 57.

सो य दारएहिं समं रमइ। रायनीईए वि भासा। चाणक्को य पडिएइ। तेण वि मग्गिओ। अम्ह वि दिज्जउ। भणइ गावीओ लेहि। मा मारेज्जा कोइ। वीरभोज्जा पुहई। नायं जहा विणाणं पि से आत्थि।

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among his playmates and taking them as horses and elephants used to mount them. Once Cāṇakya accosted him as king and begged some alms, whereupon he pointed to a herd of cows and directed Cāṇakya to take them off, without fear, for "the earth is meant for the enjoyment of the brave." These legends cropped up to explain the meteoric rise of Candragupta and got a firm hold on the people's minds.

9. *The tyrant king.*

The dreams of Kaid, as interpreted by Mihrān, refer to a king, his extortionate policy, his overthrow and the end of his dynasty. This king had mighty troops which won him great fame.[1] He was very wealthy and the people of his kingdom rolled in prosperity.[2] He amassed his wealth by exploiting and tyrannizing over his subjects. His grinding taxes and exorbitant exactions crushed the people and rendered the fate of the poor miserable.[3] Hence he was hated and despised by the people and

1 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan vol. III, p. 1295

Hamī har zamāñ nū kunad lashkarī
Ki sāzad az-ū nāmdār afsarī.

Warners' tr. vol. VI, p. 97

"He will be gathering fresh hosts
To win his crown new fame."

2 *Shāh-Nāmā* Vol. III, p. 1294

Zamānī bayāyad ki mardum ba-chīz
Shavad shād-u-sīrī nayāyadsh nīz.

Warners' tr. Vol. VI, p. 96-97

"A time will come when men
Will joy in wealth and never have enough."

3 *Shāh-Nāmā* Vol. III, p. 1294

Chū Kaivāñ ba-burj-i-tarāzū shavad
Jahāñ zīr-i-nīrū-i-bāzū shavad
Shavad kār-i-darvīsh-u-bīmār sust
Vazu chīz khvāhad hamī tandarust
na hargiz Kashāyad sar-i-ganj-i-Khish
na zū bāzdārad hamī ranj-i-Khish.

Warners tr. Vol. VI, p. 97 "When Saturn entereth Libra
The World will be beneath the strong arm, poor
And sick fare ill, and yet the well-to-do
Will still exact from them, will never open
Their own hoards, nor abate the others' travail."

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was regarded as "thankless, unjust and false". His "mean heart, insatiable greed and gloomy soul" resulted in the overthrow of his dynasty.

In the reign of this king holymen were despised, merit was not recognized and learning was not rewarded. Sages and scholars roamed like paupers and begged from door to door to keep body and soul together. Such persons as received royal bounty misused their faculties in flattery and sycophancy and employed their wits

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1 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1294

Azīñ pas yakī rūzgārī buwad
Ki andar jahāñ shahryārī burwad
Ki dānish na-bāshad ba-nazdīk-i-ū
Pur az ġham buvad jān-i-tārīk-i-u
Jahāñ sar-ba-sar tirā az ranj-i-u
Za-naikī tahi sāl-u-mah ganj-i-ū.

× × × ×

Tu āñ khānārā hamchū gītī shanās
Hamāñ pīl-i-shāhi buvad nā-sipās
Ki bidādgar bāshad ū kathrg'o
juz az nām shāhi na bāshad daro,
ba-dil siflā bāshad ba-tan nā-tavāñ
ba-az andarūñ tīz-u-tirā ravāñ
Sar-anjām chūñ ba-guzard nām-i-ū
hazishtī bamānad ba-farjām-i-ū.

Warners' tr. Vol. VI, p. 97

"A time is coming when the world will have
A king that is devoid of understanding.
A king whose dark soul will be full of dudgeon
The whole world gloom beneath his tyranny."

ibid, p. 94

"The elephant a thankless king, unjust
False in his words, and royal but in name,
A man of mean heart and of feeble body
Keen in his greed and gloomy in his soul,
At length when he shall pass away, his name
Abideth in dishonour in the end."

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for praising and commending their worthless masters.[1] The ascetics and mendicants did not fare better. They roamed from

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[1] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1293

Zamānī bayāyad ki pākizā mard
shavad khvār chūñ āb i-dānish bakhurd
Bakardār māhī ba-daryā shavad
Sar-i-bad-kunash bar thurayyā shavad
Hamī tishnagāñ rā ba-khvānad ba-āb
Kas ū rā-z dānish nayārad javāb
Gurizand azāñ mard dānish puzhūh
Kashāyand labhā ba-bad hamgiroh.

× × × ×

Zamānī bayāyad ki zinsāñ buvad
Ki dānā parastār-i-nādāñ buvad
Bar-īshān buvad dānishumand khvār
Darakht-i-khirad shān nayāyad babār
satāind'a mard nādāñ shavand
Satāyash-kunāñ pish-e-ishāñ shavand
Hamī dānad āñkas ki goyad darūgh
Hamī zāñ parastish na-gīrad farūgh.

Warners' tr. Vol. VI, p. 95

"A time will come when holy men will be
Just like that fish, despised as having drunk
Of wisdom's stream ; but evil-doers' heads
Will be exalted to the Pleiades
When one shall call the thirsty to the water
None wisely will respond, but all will shun
The wisdom-seeker and combine to curse him."

ibid p. 96

"When wisemen will be slaves to ignorant,
Who will despise the erudite and those,
Their tree of wisdom fruiting not for them,
Will laud and openly commend, the witless,
Though conscious of their own hypocrisy,
And that such service is inglorious."

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door to door and not getting anything acted like slaves and serfs.[1] To sum up, the people as a whole grew weak and wretched and misery and indigence stalked the land. Their life became devoid of all charm and pleasure.[2]

10. *The tyrant king and the Nandas*

The description of this king, given by Firdausi, agrees very closely with the account of the nine Nandas that we get from Greek and Indian sources. Nanda and his eight sons, collectively known as 'Navanandāh' (nine Nandas), were very powerful monarchs. They brought the whole country east of the Beas including a large part of the Deccan under their rule. The

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[1] *Shāh-Nāma* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1294

Zamānī bayāyad ki darvīsh zār
Shavad khvār bar-chashm dīnārdār
Ba-bīchāragī gard-i-dārā-i-chīz
Hamī gardad u chīz nadīhand nīz
Shavad rāigānī parastind'ā
Va yābi bahāi yakī band'ā

Warners' translation p. 96 "A time
Will come when the wretched mendicant
Will be misprized in the rich man's eyes
And turn in his resourcelessness to any
Possessed of goods who will not give him aught
So that he will become a wageless servant
Or else a slave without the purchasing."

[2] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1943

Azīñ pas nayāyad yaki rūzgār
Ki darvīsh gardad chunāñ sust-u-khvār
Ki gar z-abr gardad bahārāñ pur-āb
Za-darvīsh pinhāñ kunad āftāb
na-bārad barū nīzbārān-i-khish
Dil-i-mard darvīsh azu gashtā rīsh

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 96

"A time will come
Wherein the poor will grow so weak and wretched
That, though the clouds of springtide, charged with showers,
Shall hide the sunshine from the mendicant
Those very showers not even then will descend
On him, and he will be heart-stricken."

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Purāṇas call Mahā-padma Nanda, the first of the Nine Nanda kings, "the destroyer of all the Kṣatriyas and the paramount sovereign whose writ ran unchallenged throughout the earth".[1]

The Purāṇic account of the unification of a large part of India under the sceptre of the Nandas is corroborated by Curtius and Diodoros who relate that the reports of the military strength of the people living beyond the Beas unnerved the armies of Alexander and forced them to retrace their steps. According to these writers, the Nandas kept an army of 20,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 2000 four-horsed chariots and 4000 elephants (3000, according to Curtius) at the border of their kingdom for guarding the approaches to it. This appalling report sounded incredible to Alexander and he sought its confirmation from Poros who testified to its correctness. Echoes of the campaigns and conquests of Mahāpadma Nanda are found in inscriptions and legends. The Hathigumphā inscription of Khāravela refers to the waterways constructed by Nanda in Kalinga and the seat of the Jina carried away by him from there as a trophy of his triumph.[2] The

[1] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24

महापद्मो नन्दः परशुराम इवापरोऽखिलक्षत्रान्तकारी भविता । स चैकच्छत्रामनुल्लंघितशासनो महापद्मः पृथिवीं भोक्ष्यति ।

Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* IV, 11 देवस्य येन पृथिवीतलवासवस्य ।

[2] Hathigumphā inscription edited by B. M. Barua : *Old Brāhmi Inscriptions in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, pp. 31-33.

line 6 नन्दराज—तिवससत–ओघाटित तनसुलियवाटा पनाडि नगरं पवेसयति; सतसहसेहि च खनापयति ।

line 13 नन्दराजनीतं—कलिगं–जिनासनं–अंगमगधतो कलिगं आनेति ।

The reading and interpretation of the Hathigumphā inscription are so uncertain that there is a sharp difference of opinion among scholars as to the identification of king Nanda mentioned in it. Considering Khāravela to be a contemporary of Puṣyamitra Śunga and taking the expression *ti-vasa-sata* as meaning three hundred years, K. P. Jayaswal identified Nandarāja with Nandivardhana (cir. 453 B. C.). (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* vol. III parts III-IV p. 240). But, arguing that Nandivardhana is not credited with extensive conquests in any historical account and that Mahāpadma Nanda is acclaimed in the Purāṇas as a mighty conqueror, R. P. Chanda and H. C. Raychoudhury identified Nandarāja with the latter. (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of*

(*continued on the following page*)

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war of Nanda with the king of Kalinga in also referred to in a Sanskrit work from which a few verses are quoted in an Oriya manuscript.[1] But the outcome of the war is reversed in this work. Some inscriptions of the twelfth century discovered in Mysore state that Kuntala which comprised the southern part of the Bombay Presidency and the northern part of Mysore was included in the kingdom of the Nandas.[2] The Jaina *Bhagavatī-sūtra*[3] (XV, 1)

(*continued from the previous page*)

India Vol. I pp. 10, 11, 14-15: *Political History of Ancient India* 5th ed. p. 377). Basing himself on the statement in the inscriptions of Aśoka that Kalinga was not conquered by anybody before him, B. M. Barua held that if the expression *ti-vasa-sata* is taken to mean 300 years then Nandarāja can be no other than Aśoka himself, but, if it is interpreted as signifying 103 years, then he is some king of the neo-Nanda dynasty of Vidiśā, Śisunaudin or Yaśonandin, referred to in the Purāṇas (*Old Brāhmi Inscriptions* p. 282).

[1] K. P. Jayaswal: *Hathigumpha inscription of the emperor Kharavela* 'in' *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol. III (1917) p. 482.

Sten Konow, *Some Problems raised by the Khāravela Inscription* in *Acta Orientalia* Vol. I (1923) pp. 12-42

नन्दराजसुविख्यातः मगधे विद्यते तदा ।
साकारपाशको नन्दः वेदधर्मपरायणः ।।
नन्दस्य सहितो युद्धे ऐरो जितवान् भवेत् ।

[2] L. Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions* p. 3.

[3] *Bhagavatī sūtra* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition) XV, 1

According to an alternative reading of this text, as used by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, this city named Śatadvāra is to be located in the land of the Puṇḍas beneath the Vaitāḍhya mountain. (*Uvāsagadasāo* (Bib. Ind.) Vol. II Appendix I p. II) Puṇḍa or Puṇḍra (North Bengal) was not far distant from Magadha and may have formed part of the dominions of the Nandas. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. Durgāprasād and Parab III, 18 pp. 268 ff) mentions a king Devasena of Puṇḍravardhana and makes him say : "it is impossible to bar the course of fate, whose dispensations are wonderful" गति शक्या परिच्छेतुं न ह्यद्भुद्विधेर्विधेः a statement which sums up the Ājivika creed. B. M. Barua identifies Mahāpadma of the *Bhagavatī* with Mahāpadma Nanda (*Ājivikas* in *Journal of the Department of Letters* Vol. II (1920) p. 67) though A. L. Basham doubts this identification (*History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas* (London 1951) pp. 142-45).

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speaks of a powerful king Devasena Vimalavāhana Mahāpadma (Mahāpauma) reigning in the city of Śatadvāra at the foot of the Vindhya mountain long after the demise of Mankhalin Gośāla. This sūtra calls him the embodiment or incarnation of Gośāla. This remark assumes importance in view of the fact that in the reign of the Nandas the Ājivikas, the followers of Gośāla, were so well off that Cāṇakya disguised himself as an Ājivika to ensure a safe flight from Pāṭaliputra.[1] An indication of Nanda rule in the South is provided by a city named "Nav Nand Dehra" (Nander) which is situated on the Godāvarī.[2] The *Kathāsarit Sāgara*[3] refers to the camp of king Nanda at Ayodhyā and the *Mahābhārata*[4] mentions a city on the Ganges named Mahāpadma-pura which may have been founded by Mahāpadma Nanda in token of some victory. In Pāli literature[5] Nanda is described as a king of Kāśī. From these references it appears that the whole of the Gangetic Valley together with a large part of the Deccan was included in the Nanda empire.

Tradition imputes a base origin to this great conqueror. The Jaina writers Haribhadra Sūri,[5] Hemacandra[6] and Jinaprabha Sūri[7] state that he was born of a courtezan by a barber named Divākīrti. Greek writers have made some remarks which some

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[1] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* Vol. I p. 138

सो पन निक्खन्तो व नग्गो हुत्वा आजविकवेसं गहेत्वा पलायन्तो अन्तोराज-वत्थुम्हि येव गतपच्चागतिका किरणटठानं निलीयि ।

The *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna, however, says that Cāṇakya fled in the form of a naked ascetic without specifying that he was an Ājivika [V, 83, p. 59] नग्गाचरियवेसेन गन्त्वा तुरितं ब्राह्मणो ।

[2] MaCauliffe: *Sikh Religion* V, p. 236.

[3] Tr. by Tawney Vol. I, p. 21 ; 49, XII, 353, 1.

[4] *Apadāna* II, 583; *Theragāthā-Aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*) (Singhalese edition) II, 139 ff.; *Samyutta-Nikāya-Aṭṭhakathā* (*Sāratthappakāsinī*) (P.T.S.) II, 140ff.; *Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā* (*Paramatthadīpanī*) p.73 ff.

[5] *Āvāśyaka-Sūtra—Vṛtti* (Āgamodaya Samiti edition) p. 690 नापितदास·····राजा जात:

[6] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* Canto VI, 231-232

इतश्च तत्रैव पुरे दिवाकीर्तेरभूत्सुत: ।
एकस्य गणिकाकुक्षिजन्मा नन्दोऽभिधानत: ।।
स नापितकुमारस्तु प्रभातसमये तदा ।

[7] *Vividha-Tīrtha-Kalpa* ed. Jina Vijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā) p. 6 नापितगणिकासुत.

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scholars have interpreted to mean that Mahāpadma Nanda was the son of a barber. In order to assess the historical value of these remarks let us study them in detail. Writing about Nanda king who was reigning at the time of Alexander's invasion Curtius observes that "his father was, in fact, a barber, scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earnings, but, who, from his being not uncomely in person, has gained the affections of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered his sovereign; and, then, under the pretence of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority and, having put the young princes to death, begot the present king, who was detested and held cheap by his subjects, as he rather took after his father than conducted himself as the occupant of a throne."[1] This report was based on the rumours that were current in the Panjab about the Nandas and were calculated to exaggerate the excesses which made them unpopular in the estimation of the people. This is clear from the version of Diodoros who does not appear to be sure of the veracity of this rumour. He makes Poros remark to Alexander that "the king of the Gangaridae was a man of quite worthless character, and held in no respect, as he was *thought* to be the son of a barber. This man, the king's father, was of a comely person and of him the queen had become deeply enamoured. The old king having been treacherously murdered by his wife, the succession had devolved on him who now reigned."[2]

There are marked discrepancies in the aforesaid accounts of Curtius and Diodoros. Besides stating non-commitally that the king's father was thought to be the son of a barber, Diodoros clearly observes that the Magadhan predecessor of the Nandas was murdered by the queen and not by her barber paramour, whereas Curtius states that it was he who assassinated him. Diodoros does not refer to the sons of the Magadhan king and to their assassination by that barber paramour of the queen—facts to which Curtius draws pointed attention. Diodoros seems to imply

[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *The Invasion of India by Alexandar the Great*, p. 222.

[2] J. W. M'Crindle : *ibid*, p. 282.

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that the said king was issueless and on his death the succession devolved on that paramour ; Curtius negatives this statement by referring to the sons of the said king.

That the aforesaid accounts of the Greek writers are entirely false and baseless is conclusively established by the fact that in them the Nanda king, who was a contemporary of Poros and Alexander, is said to be the son of a barber, whereas, according to all historical sources including the Jaina traditions, he was one of the eight successors of the first Nanda called Mahāpadma in the Purāṇas. According to the Jaina traditions, the odium of being the son of a barber attached to the name of the first Nanda only. His eight successors were his legitimate heirs. [*Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* VIII, 2-3 p. 913].

नन्दस्य वंशे कालेन नन्दाः सप्ताभवन्नृपाः ।
तेषां च मंत्रिणोऽभुवन्भूयांसः कल्पकान्वयाः ।।
ततस्त्रिखण्डपृथिवीपतिः पतिरिव श्रियः ।
समुत्खातद्विषत्कन्दो नन्दोऽभून्नवमो नृपः ।।

According to the Purāṇas and Jaina traditions, these eight successors of the first Nanda were his sons, but, according to the Buddhist works, the nine and not eight Nandas were his brothers and he died just after his coronation. Thus, there were ten Nandas. [*Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (P. T. S.) p. 179 ; *Extended Mahā-vaṁsa* V, 49 p. 57). The fact is that the Buddhist account is based on a misunderstanding as it is not corroborated by any other source.

Greek accounts lead us to assume that the first Nanda, the father of the last Nanda Xandramas or Agrammes, was himself a barber, a fact which no source even remotely suggests. [H. C. Raychoudhury in *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* ed. by K. A. Nilakanta Shāstri p. 14).

Besides this, there is also a world of difference between the accounts of the aforesaid classical writers and the traditions preserved in Jaina literature. According to the former, the Nanda king, who was a contemporary of Alexander the Great, was maternally connected with the ruling family of Magadha, while the Jaina texts describe the first Nanda as the son of a courtezan by a barber paramour having nothing to do with the ruling house. Hemacandra states that the boy Nanda dreamt of Pāṭaliputra as encircled by his entrails and related it to his teacher who read signs

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of future greatness in it and, accordingly, married his daughter to him. When his marriage procession was passing through the streets, the procession of the royal insignia, following the assassination of the issueless King Udāyin at the hands of an enemy's son disguised as a Jaina monk, met it and the state elephant put Nanda on his back, the horse neighed and other supernatural signs appeared in response to which the people and the officers anointed Nanda as their sovereign.[1] This story knows nothing of the complicity of the father of Nanda in the murder of the king and attributes his accession to a lucky fluke.

The Buddhist tradition contained in the *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*[2] states that Nanda hailed from an unknown family, put himself at the head of a band of robbers and went plundering through the neighbourhood of Malaya, till he gathered so much money and power as to invade Magadha, defeat its king and declare himself as the sovereign. This account shows that Nanda rose to power somewhere in the Panjab, Malaya being in the North-West according to the *Mudrārākṣasa*[3], and the robbers signifying the Āraṭṭas of the Panjab, as manifest from the *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra* (I, 1, 2, 13-15) and the *Mahābhārata* (VIII, 44, 2070). Thus, according to these sources, the career of Nanda was similar to that of Candragupta Maurya.

Some other Buddhist traditions scattered in Pāli works describe Nanda as a pious king of Kāśi. According to them, he belonged to a poor family, covered Kassapa Buddha's caitya with

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[1] Hemacandra : *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* Canto VI, 231-243 Jacobi's edition pp. 196-197. Cf. *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti-Chūrṇi* XVII, 11, 30

[2] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (P. T. S.) Vol. I, pp. 178-179.

[3] In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Act V, (Telang's edition) p. 240, Singhanāda, the king of the city of Malaya, is classed with the kings of Kulūta, Kaśmīra, Sindhu and Persia. Hence it is evident that Malaya was situated in the vicinity of these states. H. C. Seth adduces good grounds for holding that Malaya stands for the Malloi, mentioned by classical writers among the peoples of the Panjab. (*Indian Historical Quarterly* June 1941 Vol. XVIII, p. 173 ff). But the *Mudrā.* (III p. 170)distinctly mentions Lohitākṣa, the son of the king of the Mālavas मालवराजपुत्रो लोहिताक्षः–This shows that there is some difference between Malaya and Mālava in the eyes of the author of the Mudrārākṣasa. But it is undeniable that Malaya was somewhere in the North-West.

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a golden sheet and in recompense of this act became king. After his accession to the throne, he held a great function of giving alms to 500 peccaka Buddhas led by Mahāpaduma and entertained them up to the time of their death. At the time of their death he was busy quelling a rebellion at the frontier of his state. When he returned home he gave his kingdom to his eldest son and became an ascetic. Echoes of the association of Mahāpadma Nanda with Kāsi are also found in the *Suttanipāta-Commentary*[1] which relates that Peccaka Buddha Mahāpaduma was born as a treasurer of Benaras (Kāśi) in a former life, committed adultery and was born in hell, as a result.

A careful and critical comparison of these traditions shows that they diverge very widely on many vital points and are mainly based on floating rumours and hearsay reports which carry little conviction. Hence it is risky to place reliance on these traditions in view of the fact that the *Purāṇas*, the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* do not support them but definitely go against them. The Purāṇas, which usually represent genuine historical traditions, call Mahāpadma Nanda the son of Mahānandin by a woman of low caste.[2] But his maternal descent

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[1] I, 76

[2] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24 महानन्दिसुतः शूद्रागर्भोद्भवो ; *Matsyapurāṇa* ch. 272, v. 12 महानन्दिसुतश्चापि शूद्रायां कलिकांशजः । उत्पत्स्यते महापद्मः सर्वक्षत्रान्तको नृपः ।।

It is highly significant to note that Cāṇakya calls the Nanda king 'Nandin' while pronouncing his curse in the session of the alms-house (दानग्ग) [cf. *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* I, p. 182 'इमाय च चातुरन्ताय पठविया नन्दिनो वड्ढि नामा मा होतु' ति ।

The *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna states that one of the ten sons of Kālāśoka was called 'Nandin'. (*Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V, 14-15, p. 55-56].

कालासोकस्य पुत्ता पु अहेसुं दस भातिका ।
भद्दसेनो च कोरण्डवण्णो चेवापि संकुरो (भंगरो) ।।
सब्बजहो च जालिको संजयो च उभको तथा ।
कोरव्यो चेव नन्दी च भण्डुनो चापि दसमो ।।

But this work distinguishes between Nandin and the first Nanda who started his career as a robber. It is likely that being the son of the Śūdra wife, he was not counted among the ten sons of the reigning king and after usurping the throne he began to call himself *Nanda* and not *Nandin* to distinguish himself from the previous line and to show himself as the founder of a new dynasty. This is clear

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did not detract from his high birth. In a patriarchal society it is mainly the caste of the father that determines the position of a

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from the fact that inspite of the currency of the surname *Nanda* of the first Nanda and his successors, their connection with the *Nandins* could not be concealed and the *Vaṁsatthappkāsinī* (op. cit.) made Cāṇakya call Dhana Nanda, '*Nandin*'. It is illuminating to note in this connection that, according to the Tibetan historian Tāranātha, the second Buddhist council was held at Vaiśāli in the reign of *Nandin*, while, according to the *Mahāvaṁsa* (ch. 4), it was held in the reign of Kālāśoka. J. Filliozat has proposed to identify Nandin of Tāranātha with Kālāśoka of the Singhalese works. [Jean Filliozat, 'Les deux Asoka et les conciles Bouddhiques,' *Journal Asitiaque* Vol. CCXLI (1953) pp. 48-49]. It may be noted in this connection that while enumerating the kings of Avanti the Purāṇas give Śiśunāga as a name of Nandivardhana.

एकविंशत् समा राज्यं अजकस्य भविष्यति ।
शिशुनाकः समा विंशत् तत्सुतो नन्दिवर्धनः ।।

(F. F. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 19 N. 35)

In the Purāṇas this Nandivardhana (Śiśunāka) son of Aja is counted among the kings of Magadha.

चतुर्विंशत् सभा भाव्यो आजेय नन्दिवर्धनः ।

Quoting a verse from Jaina sources to the effect that the king of Avanti would become the lord of Pāṭaliputra after the death of Udāyin, Shantilal Shah holds that Nandivardhana, king of Avanti, conquered Magadha after the death of Udāyin and became its ruler. [Santilal Shāh, *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas* (Stuttgart) (1935) pp. 31-32]. Śiśunāga's son is called Kākavarṇa in the Purāṇas and Kālāśoka in the chronicles of Ceylon; whereas Nandivardhana's son is called Mahānandin in the Purāṇas and the Jaina works. Comparing and squaring up both these sets of traditions, there remains no doubt that Nandivardhana is identical with Śiśunāga and Mahānandin is the same as Kālāśoka Kākavarṇa [*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* I p. 73] Mahāpadma Nanda was a son of this Mahānandin alias Kālāśoka Kākavarṇa. After him his sons collectively known as the Nandas came to the throne. Thus the so-called Nine Nandas or Neo-Nandas were connected with the Nandins, Nandivardhana and Mahānandin, of Pāṭaliputra, who succeeded the line of Bimbisāra, Ajātaśatru and Udāyin.

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person.[1] It is certain that the father of Mahāpadma belonged to the ruling family. Hence the author of the *Mudrārākṣasa* had no hesitation in assigning a high birth to him.[2] Firdausi also does not impute any bad origin to this king though he refers to his mean character.

The accession of Mahāpadma to the throne has a semblance of usurpation. The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* states that he was at first a minister and implies that he rose to the throne by staging a coūp d' état by means of his wealth.[3] But the *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* avers that the reigning king died issueless and the officers and people anointed Nanda as their king.[4]

It appears that, not being the son of the queen-consort, Nanda had no right to the throne in preference to the lawful heirs. Hence he was given the post of a minister. Availing himself of the opportunity, that he got by his association with the government, he encompassed the murder of the lawful heirs and ingratiated himself with the officers and the people who accepted him as their king in view of the fact that there was no lawful heir of the late king to take charge of the state. It is certain that Mahāpadma made extensive conquests and his successors maintained them. They also kept intact the military system of Mahāpadma. The reports of the Greek writers indicate that the army of the last Nanda king was very big and his hold over the territory east of the Beas was also firm.

The wealth and affluence of the Nandas passed into the realm of proverbs. The Tamil writer Māmulnār refers to the wealth of the Nandas, which "having accumulated first in Pāṭali hid itself

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1 *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 10, 12 ; *Arthaśāstra* III, 7.

2 *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 4 नीतिविक्रमगुणव्यापारशान्तद्विषां नन्दानां विपुले कुले *ibid* VI 6 पतिं व्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुक्च्चैरभिजनम् ।

3 *Arya-mañjusrī-mūla-kalpa* ed. K. P. Jayaswal in *The Imperial History of India* p. 31 तद्धनं प्राप्य मंत्रीसौ लोके पार्थिवतां गतः ।

4 *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* VI, 242 p. 197

ततः प्रधानपुरुषैः पौरैर्जनपदेन च ।
चक्रे नन्दस्य सानन्दमभिषेकमहोत्सवः ।।

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in the floods of the Ganges,"[1] Xenophon (d. after 355 B. C.) in his *Cyropaedia*[2] refers to the Indian king, a very wealthy man, who can be no other than Nanda, and Hiuen-Tsang mentions "the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substances". The *Kathā-saritsāgara* and the *Mudrārākṣasa* state that the Nandas possessed 990 crores of gold pieces.[3] The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* calls Mahāpadma very prosperous (महाभोगी) and the *Petavatthu* cites an adage which alludes to the kingdom of King Nanda abounding in the wealth of all sorts of apparels.[4] Several Pāli works state that Nanda had a tree of desires (*kapparukkha*) which provided him and his subjects with divine robes.

The liking of the Nandas for wealth, born probably of the needs of a vast military organization and a gigantic system of administra-

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[1] S. K. Aiyangar : *Beginnings of South Indian History* p. 87; K. A. Nilakanta Shastri, *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas* p. 254.

Vaṁsatthappakāsinī (P. T. S.) 1, p. 180 अन्तोगंगाय पासाणततले महन्तं आवाटं कारापेत्वा तत्थ धनं निदाहित्वा ततोपरि पासाणे संथरापेत्वा.....तं पकतिपासाणतलं विय जातं गंगं विसज्जापेसि ।

Vide *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V 54-59 p. 58.

The Jaina work *Titthogālī painṇa* (verses 636-639) states that a Nanda king, who was very wealthy, beautiful and renowned, buried a large quantity of gold under five topes and Kalki took it away from there.

नगरे आहिंडंतो पेच्छीहि पंचथूभे उ ।
पुट्ठा य वेंति मणुआ, नन्दो राया चिरं इहं आसि ।।
बलितो अत्थसमिद्धो रूवससिद्धो जससमिद्धो ।
तेण उ इहं हिरण्णं निस्सित्तं, सि बहु (?) बलपमत्तेणम् ।
न य णं तरन्ति अण्णे, रायाणो दाणि घित्तुं जे ।।

[2] Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* (tr. by Walter Miller) III, ii, 25.

[3] *Kathāsaritsāgara* (Tawney's tr.) I, p. 21; *Mudrārākṣasa* III, 27 नवनवतिशतद्रव्यकोटीश्वरास्ते नन्दाः ।

[4] *Petavatthu* II, 2 16 (ed. by Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, Ānand Kausalyāyana and Jagdish Kāśyapa) p. 10.

पाणिमत्तस्स चोळहस्स विपाकं पस्स यादिसं ।
यावता नंदराजस्स विजितस्मिं पटिच्छदा ।।

ibid, III, 2, 18 p. 31

वण्णवा बलवा सुखी यावता नंदराजस्स ।
विजितस्मिं पटिच्छादा ततो बहुतरा भन्ते ।।

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tion, led them to devise ingenious schemes of extorting money from the people. Hence they imposed heavy taxes on the people. The *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* states that they levied taxes even on skins, gums, trees and stones.[1] This made them very unpopular in public and resulted in the circulation of the stories of their greed and extortions.[2] In India greedy kings were usually styled as the sons of barbers. King Bharu of Bharukaccha was considered

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[1] *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* Vol I, p. 180 पुन अत्तनो आणापवत्तनटठाने चम्म-जतुरुक्खपासाणा-पवत्तापन-करणादीहि (करणाहि) धनसंचयं कारापेत्वा तत्थ एव अकासि।

[2] *Viṣṇupurāṇa* VI, 24 अतिलुब्धो ; *Mudrārākṣasa* Act I, p. 93 नन्दस्यैवार्थरुचेरर्थ-संबंधः प्रीतिमुत्पादयति। Such stories seem to form the basis of the *Nanda-Jātaka* (Fausböll, I, 224) which relates the story of a slave named Nanda who was so greedy as to think of misappropriating the treasure entrusted to him by his master for his son and hence hiding it away from him.

We know that the greed of the earlier Nandas was transformed into the generosity of the last Nanda—Dhanananda of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, *Mahābodhivaṁsa* and *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī*. This change lies at the basis of the tale of a Brāhmaṇa who entered into the corpse of the greedy king Nanda and began to lavish his gifts right and left. Vide, Merutuṅga, *Prabandha-Cintāmaṇi* ed. Jinavijaya Muni (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā) p. 136; *Purātana-Prabandha Sangraha* ed. Jinavijaya Muni (S. J. G.) p. 82). According to the Jaina work *Bhattaparinnā paiṇṇa* (Āgamodaya-Samiti ed.) p. 153 there was a king named *Lobhananda* who perished on account of his greed.

The stories of the greed and exploitation of the Nanda king seem to refer to the early career of the last Nanda king, though in his later life he turned very generous and even lavish probably to wipe off the discontent caused by his policy. Greek writers and Ceylonese chroniclers relate these stories with special reference to the last king. The former impute a barber ancestry particularly to him. Hence, it appears that, though wealthy and prosperous, Mahāpadma was not the greedy tyrant of the anecdotes; it was rather his successors who brought the opprobrium on the family.

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a barber's son because of his miserly disposition.[1] Being the offspring of a barber was thought to be a great disgrace to a person. Hence the inmates of the harem of Bindusāra called the daughter of the brāhmaṇa of Campā a barber's daughter in order to divert the attention of the king from her.[2] Thus, it is no wonder that the greedy Nanda king was dubbed as barber's son by the people who bore the brunt of his grinding exactions. Such slanderous rumours lie at the back of the notices of classical writers and the tradition current among the Jainas about the Nandas.

The burden of the taxes imposed by the Nandas crushed the people so much that they heaved a sigh of relief at their down-fall[3] and thought that "the heart-diseases of the earth had been removed."[4]

As seen above, Mahāpadma Nanda rose to sovereignty from the post of a minister with the help of the officers and the people. These officers, who considered him their equal in rank, did not brook his supremacy as a king. Hence he had to deal with them with a hard hand in order to ensure the stability of the state. This repression led to an under-current of resentment among the ministers, which continued to rise under the reign of his successors, and, at last, Candragupta led his forces against Magadha and invested Pāṭaliputra. Many of these ministers were hand-in-

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[1] *Suppāraka-Jātaka* ed. Fausböll No 463

सो चिन्तेसि अयं राजा एवरूपानि पि अच्छरियानि दिस्वा अटठेव कहापणे दापेसि इमस्स दायो नहापितदायो, नहापितस्स जातको भविस्सति, किं मे एवरूपेन राजुपट्ठानेन ।

[2] *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell p. 370

सा नापितकर्म शिक्षापिता.....राजाह त्वं नापिनी अहं राजा क्षत्रियो मूर्धाभिषिक्तो । कथं मया सार्धं समागमो भविष्यति । सा कथयति, देव, नाहं नापिनी अपि ब्राह्मणस्याहं दुहिता । तेन देवस्य पत्यर्थं दत्ता ।

[3] *Mudrārākṣasa* I, 11

दग्ध्वा सम्भ्रान्तपौरद्विजगणरहितान्नन्दवंशप्ररोहान् ।

ibid, III 10

स्वामिनो मुक्तशंका.....पौरमुख्याः ।

[4] *Mudrārākṣasa* I, 13

समुत्खाता नन्दा नव हृदयरोगा इव भुवः ।

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glove with the invaders and gave them all possible help and guidance.[1]

The high-handedness and overweening demeanour of the Nandas spread such disaffection among the people that they looked down upon them as the leading villains[2] of the time and considered their titles to rule utterly false.[3]

There were also some cases in the reign of the Nandas in which merit was not duly rewarded and wise and learned men were not properly respected. A celebrated instance of the bad attitude of King Dhanananda towards the learned men is that of Cāṇakya, who was dragged from the high seat by reason of his uncomely features. This episode forms the plot of the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta and the *Pratijñā-Cāṇakya* of Bhīma, which now survives in some quotations in the *Abhinava-bhāratī* of Abhinavagupta[4], and is repeatedly referred to in all branches of Indian literature. After the accession of Candragupta to the throne the vices of the Nandas were grossly exaggerated with a view to emphasizing the virtues of the Mauryas.

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[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* I, 23

विक्रान्तैर्नयशालिभिः सुसचिवैः श्रीवक्रनणासादिभि- ।
र्नन्दे जीवति या तदा न गमिता स्थैर्यं चलन्ती मुहुः ॥

Pariśiṣṭaparvan VI, 244 p. 197 ed. Jacobi

ततश्च केचित्सामन्ता मदेनान्धम्भविष्णवः ।
नन्दस्य न नतिं चक्रुरसौ नापितसूरिति ॥

Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa ed. Jayaswal p. 31

नन्दोऽपि नृपतिः श्रीमान् पूर्वकर्मापराण्धतः ।
विरागयामास मंत्रीणां नगरे पाटलाह्वये ॥
विरक्तमन्त्रवर्गस्तु सत्यसंधो महाबलः ।
पूर्वकर्मापराधेन महारोगी भविष्यति ॥
(according to the Tibetan Text)

[2] *Ibid*, p. 31

नीचमुख्य समाख्यातो ततो लोके भविष्यति ।

[3] *Mudrārākṣasa* III, 18 नन्दैः·····अनपेक्षितराजवृत्तैः । In the *Matsyapurāṇa* Nanda is called "the product of kali" कलिकांशज(*op. cit*). According to the Purāṇas, the advent of the Nandas is heralded as an age of śūdra-rule.

[4] R. Ramamurti, *Journal of Oriental Research* (Madras) III, (1929) p. 80.

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Thus, we observe that Firdausi's picture of the king with his power, armies, wealth, greed, tyranny, exactions and disrespect for the wise and learned fits in the framework of the history of the last Nanda king. This king corresponds to the last Nanda sovereign Dhanananda (Agrammes, Xandramas) in all essentials and characteristics to such an extent that it is difficult to doubt their identity.

The second dream of Kaid related to the fall of one king and the rise of another in his place[1]. The real significance of this dream lies in the dethronement of the king referred to in the first dream and the accession of Kaid in his place. This clearly hints at the overthrow of the Nandas and the anointing of Candragupta.

11. *The treaty of Kaid and Alexander*

Kaid entered into an alliance with Alexander under instruction from Mihran "to consort with wisdom and fight him not".[2] We learn from Plutarch that Candragupta saw Alexander and after his retreat used to declare that had he marched against

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1 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1293

Doyam añcha dīdī tū az tāj-u-takht
Kaz-ū shud yakī dīgar āmad za-bakht
Hamāñ-ast kīñ vāzgonā jahāñ
yaki rā burad dīgar ārad ravāñ.

Warners' tr. vol. VI, p. 94

"Thy second dream concerning crown and throne
Which one man voided and another gained
Illustrateth that this inconstant world
Removeth one and speedeth up another."

2 *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan vol. III, p. 1292

Sikandar ba-yārad sipāh-i-garāñ
Za-rūm-ū-z-īrāñ guzidā-sarāñ'
chū Khvāhi ki bāshad tīrā ābrū,
Khirad yār kun jang ū rā majū.

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 94

"Sikander will lead forth a mighty host
The chosen chieftains of Iran and Rome
And, if thou wouldst still rule, consort with wisdom
And fight him not."

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the Nandas he would have been successful for they were hated for their mean origin and wicked disposition.[1] From this remark of Plutarch Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury infers that "Candragupta visited Alexander with the intention of inducing the conqueror to put an end to the rule of the tyrant of Magadha. His conduct may be compared to that of Rana Sangrāma Singh who invited Babur to put an end to the régime of Ibrahim Lodi."[2] This policy of Candragupta must have resulted in the conclusion of a military alliance for the invasion of Magadha between him and Alexander.

12. The character of Kaid

Kaid was a very wise and genial man. His capacity for administration and organization was superb and his bearing was very dignified and graceful.[3] We know that Indian writers hold a very high opinion of the character of Candragupta and the *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa*[4] states that he was "very affluent, true to the duties of kingship and of a high moral character".

13. *The identity of Kaid and Candragupta Maurya*

These points of resemblance between Kaid and Candragupta leave no room for doubt about their identity. The legend of

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 311.

[2] H. C. Raychoudhury : *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) p. 268.

[3] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan vol. III, p. 1290

Yakī shāh bud hind rā nām Kaid
Nakardī juz az dānish-rā-i-ṣaid
Dil ba-Khiradāñ dāsht Maghz-i-ravāñ
Nashisht-i-Kayāñ farr'a-i-mūbidāñ.

Warners' translation vol—VI, p. 91

"There was in Hind a monarch, Kaid by name,
Whose sole pursuit was knowledge and advice
He had a sage's heart, a prince's brain,
King's bearing and the grace of Archimages."

[4] *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* op. cit. p. 22

महाभोगी (महायोगी) सत्यसंधश्च धर्मात्मा स महीपतिः ।

Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* III, 3

मनस्वी दम्यत्वात् स्खलति च न दुःखं वहति च।

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Candragupta travelled far and wide in association with the legend of Alexander and found its way in Persian literature. Ma'sūdi's '*Kand*' is the nearest approach to the name of Candragupta. Later on, it was wrongly written as *Kaid*, as already shown, and Firdausi used it in this form. If we study these legends in correlation with the authentic materials of the history of Candragupta, we are likely to get some precious information about him. Taking my stand on the identification of Kaid and Candragupta, proposed on the basis of the aforesaid considerations, I now proceed to study the fresh information given by the *Shah-Nama*.

According to the *Shāh-Nāmā*, the first letter was written by Alexander, although Candragupta was already prepared to side with him. Alexander wanted Candragupta to ally with him and sent him a call to surrender. This shows that Alexander was aware of the important position of Candragupta. It is well-known that Candragupta was staying in some royal college of Takṣasilā as an exile at the time of Alexander's invasion. He was forging his plans in collaboration with his colleagues under the guidance of Cāṇakya. In order to understand the position of Candragupta at Takṣaśilā, we should bear in mind his early history.

14. *Early life of Candragupta Maurya*

Much ink has been shed on the ancestry of Candragupta. Ratnagarbha, the commentator of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, suggested that he was the son of king Nanda by a wife named Murā[1] and Dhuṇḍhirāja Vyāsa the commentator of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, added that she was a Śūdra by caste.[2] Her son was named Maurya who was the father of Candragupta. Mahādeva in his *Mudrārākṣasa-Kathā* (ed. V. Raghavan, Madras), Ravi Nartaka in his *Cāṇakya-Kathā* (ed. S. C. Law, Calcutta), and the authors of the *Pūrvapīṭhikā*, which forms part of the commentary of Dhuṇḍhirāja (ed. Dasaratha Sharmā, Bikaner) agree with Dhuṇḍhirāja in this respect. But the statement of these later writers is not to be

[1] Commentary of *Viṣṇupurāṇa* IV, 24
चन्द्रगुप्तं नन्दस्यैव पत्न्यन्तरस्य मुरासंज्ञस्य पुत्रं मौर्याणाम् प्रथमम् ।

[2] K. T. Telang's edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* p. 40
राज्ञः पत्नी सुनन्दासीज्ज्येष्ठान्या वृषलात्मजा ।
मुराख्या सा प्रिया भर्तुः शीलला।वण्यसंपदा ।

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trusted in view of the reliable authority of the historical traditions which connect the Mauryas with a Kṣatriya family. The *Mahāparinibbāṇasutanta* of the *Dīghanikya*, our earliest authority, refers to the Moriyas being of the same caste as the Śākyas on the basis of which they claimed a share of the ashes of the Buddha. Some modern scholars have challenged the authority of these traditions and held that Candragupta hailed from Gandhāra in the North-West.[1] To accept the views of these scholars is to reject in toto the unanimous evidence of Indian traditions that Candragupta belonged to the East and became associated with Cāṇakya when he was returning from the capital of the Nandas in a state of great unrest and discontent. But, before we arrive at this conclusion, we must have positive and definite evidence to establish that Candragupta did belong to the North-West and had absolutely nothing to do with any tribe of the East. As has been shown elsewhere, the theory of the north-western origin of Candragupta rests on happy guesses and far-fetched conjectures. Some hearsay traditions recorded by Hiuen-Tsang and the circumstances of the association of Candragupta with the North-West, isolated from their correct context, are the only evidence which is adduced to buttress the conjecture of Candragupta's northern origin. Against this fragile and meagre evidence we have the overwhelming and unanimous testimony of all branches of Indian literature—Buddhist, Brāhmanic and Jaina, legendary, dramatic and historical—to the effect that Candragupta came from the East. To discard the whole of this testimony in preference to vague conjectures is quite unscientific and unhistorical. Hence we should refrain from passing a sweeping judgment on this issue until more reliable evidence comes up to settle it. In the present stage of our knowledge it is safe to fasten our belief on the traditions of India and to hold in accordance with them that Candragupta belonged to the East.

As shown earlier, the Mauryas hailed from a place called More or Mor in the Patna district. It is 287 miles from Calcutta on the East Indian Railway. The residents of this place used the surname

[1] B. M. Barua: *Social Status of the Mauryas* (*Indian Culture* vol. X, part I); *Aśoka and his Inscriptions* part I, pp. 49-51. H.C. Seth: *Did Candragupta belong to North-Western India* (*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XVIII, pt. 2); *Candragupta and Śasigupta* (*Indian Historical Quarterly* vol. XIII, pt. 2).

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Maurya or Mauryaputra. The Imperial Mauryas were the Kṣatriyas hailing from this place. Their main quarter in this locality seems to have borne the name of Pipphalivana or Peepul grove. These Kṣatriyas had nothing to do with the Śākyas and their association with the clan of the Buddha was a later innovation. But being Ksatriyas they were justified in calling the Buddha their kinsman and claiming a share of his ashes like many other Kṣatriya tribes. With the expansion of Magadha as an imperialist power, the Mauryas lost their independence and were engulfed in its realm like many other Ksatriya tribes. As a result of these untoward developments the members of the clan left their home and took service with the leading kings of those times. It appears that some of these Mauryas entered into the service of the kings of Pāṭaliputra and rose to high ranks and eminence there. One Maurya officer became such a favourite of king Mahāpadma Nanda, that he brought up his son Candragupta as one of his own sons. Hence Indian tradition treated him as a dynast of the Nanda family. Kṣemendra and Somadeva called him a son of Pūrvananda. But Viśākhadatta[1], resting on a better authority, clearly kept the distinction between the families of Nanda and Candragupta.[2] Hence his reference to Candragupta as '*Nandānvayah*' (V, 5) implies only that he was regarded by Nanda as his own son.

The *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna gives the name of one of the nine Nanda kings, who are said to be the brothers of the first Nanda, as "Candaguttika Nanda" or 'Candagatika Nanda' (*Extended Mahāvamsa* V, 49--52 pp. 5!-58

कनिट्ठभातरो तस्स अच्चयेनेव होन्ति ते ।
उग्गसेननन्दमेको कनकनन्दमाह्वयो ।।
चन्दगुत्तिक (चन्दगतिक) नन्दो च भूतपालनन्दो तथा ।
रट्ठपालनन्दो चेव गोविसांकनन्दको ।।

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[1] Cf. *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 8

इष्टात्मजः सपदि सान्वय एव देवः ।
शार्दूलपोतमिव यं परिपोष्य नष्टः ।।

[2] *Mudrārākṣasa* II, 7

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः ।
पतिं पापे मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती ।।

Ibid IV, 6

पतिं व्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनम् ।
गता छिद्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ।।

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दससिद्धिकनन्दो च केवट्टनन्दको तथा ।
नुक्कमेनुक्कमेनेव खत्तिया अट्ठ पि जना ।।
पाटलिपुत्तनगरे रज्जं समनुसासयुं ।
कनिटठो धननन्दो च सब्बेसं नवमो ततो ।।
द्वावीसति च वस्सानि रज्जं समनुसासयि ।

The *Mahābodhivaṁsa*, (ed. Strong), however, gives different names for some kings. According to it, the first three were named Uggasena, Pāṇḍuka and Pāṇḍugati. The names of the rest are the same in both the texts. It may also be noted that F. W. Thomas equates the name of the last Nanda King '*Xandramas*' with '*Candramas*' (*Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 469). The name of the second king is Kanaka in the *Mahāvaṁsa*, cited above, and Pāṇḍuka in the *Mahābodhivaṁsa*. This difference is probably due to the fact that the latter word signifies the yellow colour of gold the meaning of *kanaka*. Likewise the colour of the moon (candra or canda) is yellowish. Hence '*Candagatika*' was stated to be '*pāṇḍugatika*.' All this is pure guess-work. But if the above statement of the *Mahāvaṁsa* together with the restoration of *Xandramas* as *Candramas*, proposed by F. W. Thomas, be correct, it would give us a clue to the problem as to why Candragupta was connected with the Nanda family by later writers. If Candragupta was also the name of a Nanda king, the Maurya Candragupta could easily have been confused and identified with him.

We have seen above that the haughty and high-handed attitude of the Nandas antagonized the ministers. It is likely that Candragupta's family was also swept by the wave of discontent that was rising among the officers of the state. When Cāṇakya was wronged at Pāṭaliputra and he pledged to avenge himself on the Nandas he counted on the dissentient elements of the state and won over to his side a group of young enthusiasts headed by Candragupta.[1]

Candragupta was occupying a key-position at Pāṭaliputra. If Mahādeva and Ravi-Nartaka are to be believed, his father

[1] *Ibid* Act I, p. 69.
तत्तत्कारणमुत्पाद्य कृतकृत्यतामापादिताश्चन्द्रगुप्तसहोत्थायिनो भद्रभटप्रभृतयः प्रधानपुरुषाः ।

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was the commander-in-chief of the forces of the Nandas.[1] He himself was a great favourite of the king and was brought up in close proximity with the royal family, as noted above. Hence he knew all the ins and outs of the Nandas.[2] That is why he was especially chosen by Cāṇakya as the instrument of his policies. The envoys and associates of Alexander appear to have apprized him of the position of Candragupta. Therefore, he took the initiative in opening the talks with him, as Firdausi states.

15. *The details of the treaty of Candragupta Maurya and Alexander.*

Candragupta's position at Takṣaśilā was very important. The letter of Alexander gave him the desired opportunity to enter into an alliance with him for the conquest of Magadha. Firdausi states that he offered to send a beautiful girl, a philosopher, a leech and a cup to Alexander in token of his fealty and friendship.[3] The envoy of Alexander communicated the offer of

[1] The *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* (I p. 183), however, states that his father was the king of the Moriyas and he was killed before the birth of Candragupta.

तस्मिं बलवाहनसम्पन्नेन सामन्तरञ्ञा मोरियराजानं घातेत्वा रज्जे गहिते ।

[2] Much romance has gathered round the infancy of Candragupta. He is represented in popular tales and anecdotes, which have found their way in Buddhist and Jaina works and crept into the accounts of Greek and Latin writers, as a miraculous child whose extraordinary acts suggested to Cāṇakya his future greatness. These stories are intended to stress the greatness of Candragupta. It is difficult to take these stories as historical accounts.

[3] *Shāh-Nāmā* ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1299

Chu barkhvānd ū pāsakhnāmā rā
payām-i-jahāñjū-i-khud-kāmā rā
Sipāhdār-i-hindūstāñ shād kasht
Ki az-ranj-i-iskandar āzād gasht
× × × ×
Badah pīl bar-takht zarrīñ nihād
Ba pīlī ki purmāyā tarzīñ nihād
Faghastāñ babārīd Khūnīñ sarashk
Hamī raft bā failsūf-ū-puzashk
Qadaḥ hamchunāñ nāmdārī badast
Hamā sarkushāñ az m'a-i-jām mast

(continued on the next page)

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Candragupta to his master, whereon he deputed ten wise men to inspect the gifts and give him their report. On getting a good report from them, he ordered the gifts to be brought over to him. This cemented his alliance with the Indian king.

The author of the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh* also writes that Kafand sought peace with Alexander "to whom he sent his daughter, a skilful physician, a philosopher and a glass-vase." It is noteworthy that Firdausi does not expressly say that the girl sent by Kaid to Alexander was his daughter. The author of the said Tawārikh was a critical scholar and traveller. He took the passages about Kafand from Abul Hasan's Persian rendering of Abu-Saleh-bin-Sh'aab-bin-Jāmi's Arabic translation of a Sanskrit poem, which, according to M. Reinaud, was an old work existing before the *Rājatarangiṇī* and the *Mahābhārata*. The original is now lost and the extracts from the Persian version are its only remnants. This shows that the tradition recorded in these passages is old and beased on Indian sources which are now lost.[1]

I do not, however, know on what evidence M. Reinaud claims such a high antiquity for the Sanskrit original of this source.

The convention of giving one's daughter to a powerful ally to obtain his assistance is referred to by Kauṭilya.[2]

(*continued from the previous page*)

Warners' translation Vol. VI, p. 103–104

"The King of Hindustan
When he had read the answer to his letter
The message of the imperious world-aspirant
Joyed to be free from trouble with Sikander
.....Kaid placed gold thrones
Upon ten elephants and on another
More splendidly caparisoned, the Beauty
Who was escorted by the sage and leech
And showered tears of blood. A magnate bare
The cup, whose wine made all the chiefs bemused."

[1] Buddha Prakash, '*New Light on the Early History of Candragupta Maurya*' in *New Indian Antiquary* Vol.VII. Nos. 11 and 12 Feb.-March (1944-45) p. 196.

Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya VII, 14

उत्साहयितारमात्मनिसर्गेण स्थितकर्माणं सान्त्वप्रणिपातेन अनुरक्तप्रकृतिं कन्यादान यापनाभ्यां लुब्धमंशद्वैगुण्येन भीतमेभ्यः कोशदण्डानुग्रहेण स्वतो भीतं विश्वासयेत् ।

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16. *The rumours of the marriage of Alexander with an Indian woman.*

The accounts of the Persian writers, summarized above, show that Candragupta entered into a treaty of alliance with Alexander and sent him some presents in token of it. Among the presents these writers mention a girl, whom the author of the *Majmul-ut-Tawārikh* takes to be the daughter of Candragupta, as we have seen above. Matrimonial alliances have been entered into for strengthening military pacts and political treaties from the earliest times. Hence there is nothing unusual in the dealings of Candragupta and Alexander as mentioned by these writers. But, there are some considerations which show that these writers were labouring under some delusion while writing the account of the sending of Candragupta's daughter to Alexander. It appears that Candragupta had no daughter of marriageable age at the time of his alliance with Alexander. Plutarch observes that he was but a youth when he met Alexander and the *Mudrā-rākṣasa* says that he ascended the throne of Magadha in his adolescence.[1] The *Vaṁsatthappakāsinī* also states that Candra Gupta studied at Takṣaśilā for seven or eight years under Cāṇakya and immediately after completing his education invaded Magadha and defeated the Nandas. Hence it is not likely that he had any daughter of marriageable age at the time of entering into the treaty with Alexander. The girl in question was probably attached to royal courts or was some courtezan and Candra-Gupta secured her for presentation to Alexander. At any rate Firdausi does not state that she was the daughter of Kaid. He only says that she was a girl of rare beauty and charm. Hence there was no matrimonial alliance between them. Let us see as to what could be the basis of such a tradition.

Some classical writers suggest that queen Cleophis[2] of Massaga offered her person to Alexander as a mark of capitulation

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[1] *Mudrārakṣasa* III, 3

धुरं तामेवोच्चैर्नवयसि वोढुं व्यवसितो ।
मनस्वी दम्यत्वात् स्खलति च न दुःखं वहति च ।।

ibid VI, 12

बाल एव हि लोकेऽस्मिन् सम्भावितमहोदयः ।
क्रमेणारूढवान् राज्यं यूथैश्वर्यमिव द्विपः ।

[2] R. K. Mookerji : *Chandra Gupta Maurya and his Times* p. 40 equates the name Cleophis with Kṛpā.

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after the storming of her citadel. But there is no agreement, much less unanimity, among these writers on this point. Arrian does not refer to this incident at all. He only observes that after the death of Assakenos, the chief of Massaga, the people sent a herald to Alexander to sue for peace. Alexander agreed to the proposal of peace on the condition that the Indian mercenaries should change their side and take service in his ranks. But, as they were leaving the city and encamping on a hill facing Alexander's camp, he fell upon them and cut them to pieces. "The city now stripped of its defenders he took by storm and captured the mother and daughter of Assakenos."[1] This account nowhere shows that there was any marital connection between Alexander and Cleophis. Diodoros also does not refer to the marriage of the queen of Massaga with Alexander. He states that when the terms of the capitulation were ratified by oaths, "the queen, to show her admiration of Alexander's magnanimity, sent out to him most valuable presents, with an intimation that she would fulfil all the stipulations." But Alexander did not keep the stipulations and attacked the evacuees in violation of them, whereupon the latter defended themselves to the last drop of blood and ultimately their women took up arms and preferred death to dishonour. But they were outnumbered and over-powered by the Macedonians who had a pre-conceived design to attack them. Lastly, Alexander spared the "women that still survived but took them away under charge of the cavalry".[2] This account shows that the queen also fought among the defenders and nobody knows if she fell in the battle or was carried away by the enemy. Plutarch also does not mention the matrimonial allianee of queen Cleophis and Alexander. He simply alludes to the violation of the agreement of safety of the evacuees on the part of Alexander and describes it as a "foul blot on his martial fame".[3] Curtius gives some different touches to this episode, here and there. He says that King Assacanus had died before the invasion of Alexander and that Cleophis was his mother, not wife. When the defence of the citadel became impossible on account of the severe pressure of the enemy's assault, she "sent down envoys to the king to sue for pardon".

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *Alexander's Invasion* (*op. cit*) p. 69.
[2] J. W. M'Crindle : *op. cit.* p. 269–270.
[3] J. W. M'Crindle : *op. cit.* p. 306.

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"The queen herself," Curtius goes on, "having placed her son, still a child, at Alexander's knees, obtained not only pardon, but permission to retain her former dignity, for she was styled queen and *some have believed* that this indulgent treatment was accorded rather to the charms of her person than to pity for her misfortunes. At all events, she afterwards gave birth to a son who received the name of Alexander, *whoever his father may have been*".[1] It is clear from this statement that Curtius was not sure of the veracity of the rumours about the marriage of Cleophis and Alexander. He was aware of these reports and mentioned them in passing without committing himself as to their correctness. Justin[2] alone tersely mentions this event as if he treats it as a proved fact. But he is a very late author and his statement cannot be accepted against the evidence of four historians who have better claims to be relied upon. Moreover, we have had occasion to see that these classical writers often jotted down rumours and slanders afloat among the people. Their remarks about the barber-ancestry of Nanda have been examined in an earlier part of this study. The reports about the wedlock of Cleophis and Alexander are equivalent to the rumours relating to the Nandas and rest on false and futile slanders that become current among the credulous and misinformed people regarding high personages. But it is quite unhistorical to repose any belief in them.

17. *The rumours of the matrimonial alliance of Candragupta Maurya and Seleucos.*

If it is argued that the basis of the matrimonial alliance of Kaid and Alexander was the marital connection established between Candragupta and Seleucos later on, we would observe that the historicity of this latter event does not also rest on any solid foundation. No doubt Appianus states that "Seleucos entered into relations of marriage with him" (Sandrocottos) and Strabo observes that he gave the north-western provinces of India to Candragupta "in consequence of a marriage contract and received in turn five hundred elephants". [*Syriāke* c. 55; Strabo's *Geography* translated by Hamilton and Falconer Vol. III p. 125]. But Justin and Plutarch do not refer to this matrimonial alliance in their accounts of Seleucos. Besides this, we do not

[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *op. cit.* pp. 196–197.
[2] J. W. M'Crindle : *op. cit.* p. 322.

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know for certain if Candragupta had any daughter. Even if it is presumed that he had any, though there is no evidence for it, it is quite unlikely that he married her to Seleucos and got in return from him the north-western provinces, for in that case the marriage would be of *asura* kind, which is one of the unapproved forms of marriage in Hindu law. As regards Seleucos, we know for certain that he had only one daughter, Phila, who was married to Antigonos Gonatas. How can we, therefore, hold that he gave the hand of his daughter to Candragupta ? On this point the best thing is to quote Bouché-Leclercq :

"On ne connait ā Sèleucos d'autres femmes qu'Apama et Stratonice, ni d'autre fille que Phila, l'épouse d' Antigone Gonatas. On ne voit pas comment il aurauit pu devenir ou le gendre ou le beau-père du roi hindou.....

Seleucos only established, according to Bouchè Leclercq, a convention "autorisant les marriages mixtes entre Hellènes et Hindous".

"Dans le système social de l'Inde le seul procédé pour réguliser de telles unions consistait á attribuer théoriquement aux Grècs une caste ; et peut-être avons nous ici la forme Grècque de la tradition indigène qui, comme nous le verrons tout-āl'heure reconnait dans les compagnons d'Alexandre une variété degénéreé de Kshatriya" [*Histoire des Seleucides* pp. 29-30].

Thus Bouché-Leclercq suggests that the allusion to the matrimonial alliance, mentioned above, signifies only a convention of *jus connubii* that was established among the Greeks and Indians implying the admission of the former in the fold of the Kṣatriya caste. Be that as it may, we have no indication here of a marriage which may be taken to be the basis of the information of the Persian writers. Most probably this episode of marriage was based on floating reports and rumours similar to those which gave birth to the story of the marriage of Cleophis with Alexander or that of the daughter of Kaid with him.

18. *The gifts sent by Candragupta Maurya to Alexander.*

It is likely that some such rumour found its way in Persian literature and was implanted on the dealings of Kaid and Alexander by Persian writers. They probably thought that the woman who was sent to Alexander at Massaga was the daughter

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of Kaid who sued for peace with him at Milad. Anyway, there is very much chaos, confusion and misunderstanding in the accounts of Persian writers regarding the marriage of the daughter of Kaid with Alexander and we are at a loss to accept this episode as a historical event.

As for the other gifts sent by Candragupta to Alexander, we know that he had a strong liking for Indian saints and philosophers. During his sojourn at Taxila, he sent Onesicritus, a follower of the School of Diogenes, to see the famous saint Dandamis and request him to pay a visit to the Greek camp. But he declined to go there, whereupon Alexander himself went to see him.[1] Candragupta was probably aware of the interest of Alexander in Indian saints and philosophers. Hence he persuaded a philosopher to go over to him. We learn from Greek writers that a philosopher named Kalanos went to reside in the camp of Alexander at Taxila. For this he was despised by other Brāhmaṇas who used to say that "it had not pleased him to drink the water of wisdom at the river Tiberoboam"[2] (Tabrā-nālā), which flowed near Takṣaśilā. It is possible that Kalanos is identical with the sage whom Candragupta sent to Alexander.

Alexander also liked Indian physicians and astrologers. Firdausi[3] quotes his remark to the following effect:—

> Ne'er may this world lack Hind, for thou wouldst say
> That all the leeches and astrologers flock thither.

Hence it was in the fitness of things that Candragupta chose a physician among his gifts. As for the cup, it was directed to the artistic taste of Alexander. Thus Candragupta showed great skill in the selection of gifts.

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle : *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian* p. 125-127.

[2] *Pseudo-Callisthenes* cited by Sylvain Lèvi in *Journal Asiatique* Vol. XV, p. 236-237.

[3] *Shāh-Nāmā* (Warners' translation) Vol. VI, p. 108
Shāh-Nāmā ed. Macan Vol. III, p. 1303

> Sikandar bakhandīd vaz-u gasht shād
> va-rā guft bi-hind gītī ma-bād
> Puzashkāṇ-u-Akhtar-shanāsāñ hamā
> Tu gufti ba-hindūstāñ shud ramā

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In this chapter we have observed that Firdausi's account of the alliance of Candragupta with Alexander rests on a firm foundation, though the details often partake of the nature of popular legends. It accords well with the probabilities of the situation and fits in the context of events about which we are historically sure. But Firdausi clothes the dry facts of history in an epic garb. Hence it is difficult for us to take his remarks literally. We can only accept the nucleus of fact as substantiated by sound historical evidence.

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CHAPTER V

The Relations of Candragupta Maurya With Alexander the Great

1. *Plutarch on the meeting of Androcottos and Alexander*

Soon after the retreat of Alexander the Great from India Candragupta laid the foundations of the Maurya empire at Pāṭaliputra. It was an unfulfilled ambition of the Macedonian conqueror to capture that famous seat of Indian empire and in the opinion of Candragupta it was not difficult for him to do so because the people groaned under the tyranny of the Nandas despised them for their base origin and atrocious policy and were eager to overthrow them.[1] It appears from a remark of Plutarch that Candragupta paid a visit to Alexander. He states, "Androcottos himself, who was then but a youth, saw Alexander himself and afterwards used to declare that Alexander could have easily taken possession of the whole country since the king was hated and despised by his subjects for the wickedness of his disposition and the meanness of his origin."[2]

This passage throws some light on the purpose for which Candragupta visited Alexander and implies his view that Alexander did not pay any heed to his suggestion and missed a great prize which was so easy to acquire. But the strain of scaling the glacis of the Panjab had unnerved the armies of Alexander to such an extent that all his entreaties failed to egg them on towards the East and Candragupta failed to secure his assistance and had to fall back on his own resources and devices.

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[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* I, II

दग्ध्वा सम्भ्रान्तपौरद्विजगणरहितान्नन्दवंशप्ररोहान्

Ārya-manjuśrī-mūla-kalpa, K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (text) p. 31

नन्दोऽपि नृपतिः श्रीमान् पूर्वकर्मापराधतः ।
विरागयामास मन्त्रीणाम् नगरे पाटलाह्वये ।।

Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemcandra VI, 244 p. 197

ततश्च केचित्सामन्ता मदेनान्धम्भविष्णवः ।
नन्दस्य न नतिं चक्रुरसौ नापितसूरिति ।।

[2] J.W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great* p. 311.

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This attempt of Candragupta to induce Alexander to march on Magadha and put an end to the tyranny of the Nandas resulted in the conclusion of a formal treaty between them which has been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter particularly on the basis of Persian sources. This treaty appears to have been concluded at Takṣaśilā where Candragupta lived with Cāṇakya before his invasion of Pāṭaliputra. Following this treaty Candragupta seems to have accompanied Alexander and was present in the battle of the Jhelum in which Alexander had to encounter the stiff resistance of Poros. The outcome of this contest is not precisely known, but from the repeated attempts made by Alexander to court the friendship and alliance of Poros and the assistance that Poros gave to Alexander in his advance towards the East, it becomes evident that both the belligerants at last found discretion to be the better part of valour and patched up an honourable peace instead of fighting to the finish. It appears that some Indian princes acted as intermediaries in this treaty and Candragupta took a prominent part in the peace-parleys.

2. *Arrian on the meeting of Meroes and Poros*

Arrian states that when Poros, wounded in his right shoulder, wheeled his elephant round and began to retire from the field of battle, Alexander sent Taxiles (the King of Takṣaśilā) to bring him back to him. But Poros became furious at the sight of his old enemy and instead of listening to his message tried to kill him with a javelin. Taxiles instantly put his horse to the gallop and got beyond the reach of Poros. "But," Arrian continues, "not even for this act did Alexander feel any resentment against Poros, but sent to him messenger after messenger and last of all Meroes, an Indian, as he had learnt that Poros and this Meroes were old friends. As soon as Poros heard the message which Meroes now brought just at a time when he was overpowered with thirst, he made his elephant halt and dismounted. Then, when he had taken a draught of water and felt revived, he requested Meroes to conduct him without delay to Alexander. He was then conducted to Alexander, who, on learning that Meroes was approaching with him, rode forward in front of his line with a few of the Companions to meet him."[1]

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[1] J. W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 108-109.

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3. *The identity of Meroes and Candragupta Maurya*

In this passage Meroes is identical with Maurya and stands for Candragupta Maurya. Besides the phonetic similarity of the words Meroes and Maurya, the following considerations vouch for the plausibility of this identification.

(1) Meroes was an Indian of considerable eminence for he was on friendly terms with Poros. Most probably he belonged to some royal family. We do not know of any Indian prince except Candragupta Maurya whose name or surname may correspond to the word Meroes.

(2) Meroes is referred to for the first time on the occasion of the battle of the Jhelum. This shows that his association with Alexander was very recent at the time of that battle. We have observed that Candragupta Maurya met Alexander at Takṣaśilā and entered into a treaty of alliance with him there. From Takṣaśilā the next step was the realm of Poros. The river Hydaspes was the dividing line between the two. Alexander had to cross the Hydaspes and encounter Poros just after his advance from Takṣaśilā. Hence the first introduction of Meroes or Candragupta Maurya on the Hydaspes or the Jhelum becomes intelligible.

(3) Meroes succeeded in persuading Poros to go to Alexander in response to his invitation while many envoys and ambassadors failed to do so before him. This shows that he was particularly keen on arranging an alliance between them. We have seen that Candragupta Maurya entered into a treaty with Alexander for inducing him to invade Magadha and overthrow the tyrants of the Nanda family. After the uncertain verdict of battle of the Hydaspes it was doubtful if Alexander would advance forward with surety of step and it became imperative for Candragupta Maurya to compose the differences of Alexander and Poros and improvise a settlement between them, if he was to succeed in overthrowing the Nandas with the help of the Macedonian forces. Hence his keen interest in fostering friendly relations between Alexander and Poros.

(4) Meroes succeeded in his mission of persuading Poros to make friends with Alexander evidently because he was on good terms with Poros and had some influence on him. Candragupta Maurya also appears to be a colleague of Poros in the conquest of Pāṭaliputra. The *Mudrārākṣasa*, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* and the *Sukhabodhā* state that Candragupta Maurya had an important

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colleague and collaborator named Parvateśvara or Parvataka in his conquest of Pāṭaliputra. This Parvateśvara or Parvataka has been identified with Poros on very strong grounds, as we have seen in a preceding study of this collection. It appears that Candragupta and Cāṇakya were already discussing a treaty of alliance with Poros for the invasion of Magadha. Hemacandra and Devendragaṇin inform us that Cāṇakya approached Poros with a proposal that after the overthrow of the Nandas they would equally divide their kingdom among themselves like brothers. Thus the remark of Arrain that Meroes was an old friend of Poros adequately applies to Candragupta Maurya.

These considerations establish the identity of Meroes with Candragupta Maurya and show that he rendered yeoman's service to Alexander by putting an end to his hostility with Poros and by persuading the latter to make friends with him. He, thus, cleared the greatest hurdle that barred Alexander's path towards the interior of India and ensured his triumphant advance onwards, which, however, came to a standstill on the bank of the Hyphasis (Beas) due to reasons beyond the control of both Candragupta and Alexander. Candragupta did all this not because of any attachment for Alexander but for his own sake, that is, for securing the throne of Magadha; when, therefore, his plan failed and Alexander's armies refused to move towards the realm of the Nandas and compelled him to beat a retreat, he took to another course which commenced with strengthening his alliance with Poros and uprooting what remained of Alexander's rule in the Panjab and entrenching his hold over it with the help of his esteemed colleague.

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[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* II P. 122 चाणक्यमतिपरिगृहीतैश्चन्द्रगुप्तपर्वतेश्वरबलैरुदधिभिरिव प्रलयोच्चलितसलिलैः समन्तादुपरुद्धम् कुसुमपुरम् ।

[2] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra VIII, 290-299

चाणक्यो हिमवत्कूटं ततो, गात् सन्निवेशनम् ।
यत्र पर्वतकाख्येन नृपेण नह सौहृदम् ।।
चन्द्रगुप्तगुरुश्चक्रे तत्साहाय्यकाभ्यया ।
तमन्यदोचे चाणक्यो नन्दमुन्मूल्य पार्थिवम् ।।
तद्राज्यं संविभज्यावां गृहणीव भ्रातराविव ।
ततः पर्वतकेनापि प्रत्यपद्यत तद्वचः ।।
स हि चाणक्य युक्तोऽभूत् सन्नद्ध इव केसरी ।

[3] *Sukhabodhā* ed. Vijayomanga Sūri PP 57-58

हिमवन्तकुडं मेतिकया पव्वओ राया नन्दरज्जं समं समेन विभंजयामो ।

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CHAPTER VI

Historical Characters of the Maurya Period in the Mudrārākasa of Viśākhadatta

1. *Introductory remarks*

The *Mudrārākṣasa*[1] of Viśākhadatta is one of the few historical dramas of Sanskrit literature. The historical texture of its plot has

[1] The date of the composition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* is shrouded in uncertainty. Several scholars are inclined to place Viśākhadatta in the fourth century A. D., the period of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. [K. P. Jayaswal, *Indian Antiquary* (1913) pp. 265–67 ; Sten Konow, *Indian Antiquary* (1914) pp. 66 ff. Hillebrandt, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* [(1885) pp. 1130 ff. S. Śrikaṇṭha Śāstrin, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1931) pp. 163–69]. Jarl Charpentier takes him to be a contemporary of the Later Guptas. [*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1923) pp. 586 ff.]. In the *bharatavākya* of the drama, which is the main source of information about the date of the author, the readings "Dantivarman," "Rantivarman" and "Avantivarman" are also found instead of "Candragupta". The first two of these names are not known to us from any historical source, but two Avantivarmans are quite well-known in history : the Maukhari King Avantivarman, who ruled at Kanauj in the seventh century A. D. and whose son Grahavarman was married to Harṣa's sister Rājyaśrī, and Avantivarman, King of Kaśmīra who flourished in the ninth century. K.H. Dhruva in the introduction to his edition of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (pp.XXI,VII), V.J. Antani in *Indian Antiquary* [(1922)(pp. 49–51)] and R. S. Tripāthi in his *History of Kanauj* p. 50 hold that the Avantivarman in question was the King of Kanauj, referred to above, whereas H. Jacobi [W. Z. K. M. II, pp. 212–16] thinks that he was the king of Kaśmīra, mentioned, above. Jacobi has identified the eclipse, mentioned in the play, with that which occurred on December 2, 860 A. D. But, as Dhruva has shown, the way in which the king of Kaśmīra is treated in the play precludes the possibility

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been interwoven with ingenious situations and tensions that heighten the dramatic quality of the epochal events depicted in it. Though the manipulation of the intrigues and stratagems through which

of any reference to Avantivarman of Kaśmīra in the *bharatavākya*. As a matter of fact, the whole argument of the ascription of the play to the time of one Avantivarman is weak in view of Hillebrandt's opinion that the variant Avantivarman is most probably a later interpolation. [S. K. De, *Viśākhadatta*, in *B. C. Law Volume* I, pp. 50 ff.]

With regard to the theory of the contemporaneity of Viśākhadatta and Candragupta II Vikramāditya, some facts and considerations deserve pointed emphasis. In the *bharatavākya* of the *Mudrārākṣasa* (VII, 18) the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu is invoked and there is a poignant reference to the resting of the Earth-goddess on the edge of his protruding tooth. In the second line of this verse the king Candragupta is likened to the Boar-incarnation of Viṣṇu in having supported the earth on his arms :—

वाराहीमात्मयोनेस्तनुमवनविधावास्थितस्यानुरूपां
यस्य प्राग्दन्तकोटिं प्रलयपरिगता शिश्रिये भूतधात्री ।
म्लेच्छैरुद्विज्यमाना भुजयुगमधुना संश्रिता राजमूर्तेः
स श्रीमद्बन्धुभृत्यश्चिरमवतु महीं पार्थिवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः ।।

The idea underlying this verse has been rendered into stone in the Varāha cave in the Udayagiri hill near Bhilsa. In this cave the robust and virile figure of the Boar-incarnation holding the frail and frightened body of the Earth-goddess on his tooth is sculptured against the background of a multitude of small figures. One leg of the figure is bent on a rock and the other is straightened while the hands press the loins in the movement of ascending onwards. The pose and frame of the figure breathe a spirit of defiance and advance. In the Udayagiri caves there is also an inscription engraved at the instance of Virasena, who states that he went there with Candragupta when the latter traversed those regions in course of his conquest of the whole earth. [J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* III No. 6, line 5 कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागत :] It is, thus, manifest that the visit of Candragupta, occasioned by his campaigns, gave a unique importance to the Udayagiri hill which throbbed with sculptural activity as a consequence of the

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the political genius of the leading characters finds expression is purely the product of the dramatist's imagination, the bedrock of the play is historical in character and the *dramatis personae* are, to a considerable extent, historical personages. Cāṇakya, Candragupta

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same. The image of the Boar-incarnation rescuing the earth appears as a national emblem of the campaigns of Candragupta. It is the iconographic representation of the spirit that moved the wars and expeditions of the early Guptas against the remnants of Śaka rule and the anarchy of contending local chieftains. Hence it is in the fitness of things that this image has been dated about 400 A. D. [*The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, ed. Alte kar and Majumdar, p. 415]. The conception underlying and animating the *bharatavākya*, quoted above, unmistakably incorporates the spirit of the Boar-image associated with the reign of Candragupta II. Besides this, the expression *Śrīmadbandhubhṛtyah* in the *bharatavākya* has been interpreted by K. P. Jayaswal to refer to the association of prince Bandhuvarman of Malwa with Candragupta. Conscious of the chronological difficulty involved in this synchronism, Jayaswal conjectures that Bandhuvarman had come away to the court of Candragupta against the wishes of his father Viśvavarman [*Indian Antiquary* (1917) p. 275]. This view is nothing more than a happy guess and cannot be pressed very far. The only fact that emerges from the above discussion is that the association of Candragupta with the Boar-incarnation in the *bharatavākya* suggests a striking resemblance with the image of the Varāha cave in the Udayagiri hill that is connected with the movements of Candragupta II.

Besides this consideration, the whole idea underlying the composition of the plays relating to the exploits of Candragupta Maurya fits in very aptly with the time of his namesake Candragupta II Vikramāditya. In addition to this, the fragments of Viśākhadatta's play *Devicandragupta* demonstrate that the author was connected with the court of Candragupta whose deeds he dramatised in an elegant manner. The writing of both these plays in the time of Candragupta Vikramāditya assumes a singular topical interest. S. V. Sohoni has conjectured that the name Rākṣasa in this play recalls that of Śikhara, the minister of Candragupta Vikramāditya, with the letters read in a reverse order. [S. V. Sohoni, *The Mudrā of Rākṣasa*

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and the Nandas are well-known historical names. As regards Parvataka, the suggestion of F. W. Thomas and H. C. Seth that he is identical with Poros rests on a sound footing.[1] Besides these characters, there are some other personages in this drama to whose identification I want to invite the attention of scholars.

2. *Malayaketu*

In the *Mudrārākṣasa* if Cāṇakya is posed against Rākṣasa, Candragupta has his antagonist in Malayaketu. Malayaketu was the son of Parvataka and an ally of Candragupta. But after the assassination of Parvataka at the instance of Cāṇakya, he sided with Rākṣasa in an effort to avenge the murder of his father. At his disposal were the contingents of Kulūta, Malaya, Kāśmīra, Sindhu and Persia led by Citravarman, Sinhanāda, Puṣkarākṣa, Suṣeṇa and Meghanāda respectively. But the machinations of Cāṇakya foiled

in Viśākhadatta's Mudrārākṣasa in *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1956) Vol. XVIII P. 198]. But this is a mere guess. In short, among the theories of the age of Viśākhadatta, that which relegates him to the time of Candragupta Vikramāditya is most appealing and plausible.

As regards the source of the plot of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, the oft-quoted expression of Dhanika, the commentator of Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpaka*, that the drama is based on the *Bṛhatkathā*, has been ably refuted by C. D. Chatterji. [*Some observations on the Bṛhatkathā and its alleged relation to the Mudrārākṣasa*, in *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 209.] Besides this, the palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Daśarūpaka* with the *Avaloka* of Dhanika in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library of Madras do not contain this expression. Hence it is clearly a later interpolation and cannot be given any credence. [V. Raghavan, *The Bṛhatkathā, the Mudrārākṣasa and the Avaloka of Dhanika on the Daśarūpaka, ibid*, Vol. I. p. 491.] Therefore, it is futile to conclude that the characters of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, that are not found in the *Bṛhatkathā, i. e.*, the *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* and *Kathāsaritsāgara*, are the creations of the playwright's imagination. To investigate the authenticity and historicity of the characters of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, we have to ransack other sources.

[1] F. W. Thomas, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 471 ; H. C. Seth 'On the identification of Poros and Parvataka' *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1941) p. 173.

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the designs of Malayaketu and brought about the *rapprochement* of Candragupta and Rākṣasa. As a result of these intrigues Malayaketu was captured and brought in the court of Candragupta.[1] By that time Rākṣasa had been won over to the side of Candragupta and at his instance his life was saved and his patrimony was restored.[2] Hence Malayaketu evidently returned to his dominion in the North-West together with his armies which included the contingents of Yavana mercenaries.

We know from the *History* of Diodoros (Ch. 34) that an Indian general named Keteus was killed in the great battle of Gabiené between Eumenes and Antigonus.[3] Keteus was in the army of Eumenes and the battle, in which he fell, took place in Iran in 316 B. C.[4] He had two wives and both offered to burn themselves on his pyre ; the matter was referred to the Greek generals who decided in favour of the burning of the younger wife, as the elder one was with child.

The presence of the Indian battalion led by Keteus in the army of Eumenes is significant from another point of view also. We know that Eudamus, the Thracian, was asked to assume charge of the Indian satrapy by Alexander when he was advancing into Karmania and heard the tidings of the murder of Philippus. Eudamus was a partisan of Eumenes and was therefore disfavoured by Antipater, the regent of Macedonia from 321 to 310 B. C., who appointed Pithon as his nominee. In 317 B. C. Eudamus left India to help Eumenes, and Pithon, who took the side of Antigonus, also left India about the same time. It is stated by Diodoros that Eudamus murdered Poros. As I have shown in my study of Poros, this event,

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[1] पुरुषः—जेदु अज्जो। एसो क्खु भद्दभटभाउराअणप्पमुहेहिं संजमिदकलचलणो मलअकेदू पडिहारभूमिं उवट्ठिदो। एदं सुणिय अज्जोप्पमाणम्।

Mudrārākṣasa Act 7 Telang's edition, p. 313 :

[2] राक्षसः—राजन् चन्द्रगुप्त, विदितमेव ते यथा वयं मलयकेतौ कंचित् कालमुषितास्तत्परिरक्ष्यन्तामस्य प्राणाः।

चाणक्यः—प्रतिमानयितव्योऽमात्यराक्षसस्य प्रथमः प्रणयः। (पुरुषं प्रति) भद्र अस्मद्वचनादुच्यन्तां भद्रभटप्रमुखा यथा— 'अमात्यराक्षसेन विज्ञापितो देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रयच्छति मलयकेतवे पित्र्यमेव विषयम्'।

Ibid, pp. 313-314

[3] J. W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 369.

[4] K. A. Nilakantha Sastri: *Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 103.

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in all probability, refers to the assassination of Parvataka at the instigation of Cāṇakya, mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*. According to the drama, Parvataka was murdered at Pāṭaliputra. Hence it is likely that Eudamus with the Greek forces under him accompanied the armies of Candragupta and Poros to Pāṭaliputra and was tipped by Cāṇakya to murder that formidable rival of his protégé. But the drama shows that Cāṇakya manipulated the affairs in such a way as to convince Malayaketu that his father's death was due to the conspiracies of Rākṣasa. Later on, matters were composed in an amicable manner and Malayaketu retired to his kingdom in the North-West together with the Yavana forces that were probably accompanied and commanded by Eudamus.[1] Thence Eudamus went to the help of Eumenes and it is quite possible that the Indian general Keteus went with him.

The name Keteus corresponds to the Indian word 'Ketu', which recalls the name of Malayaketu. In fact, the word 'Ketu' has been used for Malayaketu in a punny verse of the *Mudrārākṣasa*.[2] Hence the identity of Keteus and Malayaketu rests on a firm footing which is strengthened by the fact that among the Indian princes, whose presence at the battle of Gabiene may be traced in the reference to Keteus, Malayaketu answers best to the circumstances of the case, as shown above.

The very name Malayaketu enshrines a quaint historical reminiscence. We learn from Arrian that Poros coveted the kingdom of the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas who repulsed his attack[3] and armed themselves to the teeth to guard their independence. The alliance of the Kṣudrakas and the Mālavas implied in the remark of Arrian recalls their confederate military arrangement referred to

1. In the *Mudrārāksasa* p. 170 one Diṅgarāta is stated to have figured in the retinue of Candragupta and Parvataka. This name is manifestly non-Indian and one is tempted to conjecture that it is a variant of the name of Eudamus, 'dim' and 'dam' being phonetically similar and '*rāta*' being a suffix of foreign names as we gather from the Jaina work *Angavijjā* (ed. Muni Punyavijaya) ch. 26 pp. 150-158.

2. क्रूरग्रहः सकेतुश्चन्द्रं संपूर्णमण्डलमिदानीम् ।
अभिभवितुमिच्छति बलात् रक्षत्येनं तु बुधयोगः ।।

3 J. W. M'Crindle: *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 115.

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by Pāṇini in the gaṇasūtra of IV, 2, 45 क्षुद्रकमालवात् सेनासंज्ञायाम् । V.S. Agrawala has shown that this reference relates to the period preceding the invasion of Alexander.[1] It is quite likely that it alludes to the joint armies of these peoples who had come close to each other in the face of the menace of Poros. The prolonged enmity of Poros and the Mālavas probably lies at the basis of the naming of his son as 'Malayaketu'.[2] Thus there is a singular historical appositeness in the name of Malayaketu.

The identification of Keteus and Malayaketu demonstrates his historical character and throws light on the later part of his life.

2. *Balagupta*

The *Mudrārākṣasa* refers to a relative of Candragupta Maurya named Mahārāja Baladevagupta or Balagupta. He is shown to be inclined towards Malayaketu in view of the prospect of better fortune.[3] But Cāṇakya won him over and strengthened his loyalty for Candragupta as of other leading persons. We learn from Jaina sources that the name of a ruler called Balabhadda, who belonged to the Maurya dynasty and was ruling at Rājagṛha, is connected with the Third Schism (*ninhava*) of the Jaina church caused by the disciples of Āṣāḍhācārya in Seyavviya (Setavya) in 214 A.V.[4] We also know from the same sources, especially the *Titthogālīpaiṇṇaa*, that the Maurya dynasty was established in Magadha in 210 A.V. Thus Balabhadra of the Maurya dynasty was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya who founded the Maurya Empire. This Balabhadra (Balabhadda) seems to have been a local administrative

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1 V.S Agrawala: *India as known to Pāṇini*, pp. 468-569.

2 In this connection it is necessary to remark that 'malaya' as used in the *Mudrārākṣasa* is only a variant of 'mālava', since we do not know of any other tribe of the North-West whose name may correspond to the word 'malaya'. It is definite from the *Mudrārāksaṣa* that 'malaya' belonged to the northern group of peoples. In a reading in Hillebrandt's edition the expression मलयजनाधिपो is also found which strongly supports the identification of malaya with the Mālavas or Malloi.

3 *Mudrārākṣasa* Act III pp. 170-171.

देवस्य स्वजनसंबंधी महाराजो बलदेवगुप्तः यावेतौ डिङ्गरातबलगुप्तौ तावप्यत्यन्तलोभाभिभूतौ त्वद्दत्तं जीवनमबहुमन्यमानौ तत्र बहु लभ्यत इत्यपक्रम्य मलयकेतुमाश्रितौ ।

4 Shantilal Shah: *The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, p. 78.

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officer under Candragupta Maurya. He appears to have shown some interest in the ecclesiastical and liturgical disputes of the Jaina church, as the association of his name with the Third Schism shows. Considering the events of the time of Candragupta we are entitled to think that Mahārāja Balagupta, the relative of the great founder of the Maurya dynasty, mentioned in the *Mudrārākṣasa*, is identical with Balabhadda of the Maurya dynasty, who was a contemporary of Candragupta, according to Jaina traditions. It is likely that Candragupta appointed him as an administrative officer at Rājagriha.

4. Virādhagupta

In the *Mudrārākṣasa* Virādhagupta is an officer under Rākṣasa. He does the work of a spy in the guise of a snake-charmer.[1] We learn from the *Divyāvadāna* that Rādhagupta was a minister of Aśoka.[2] In the light of this information the name Virādhagupta assumes some historical significance.

[1] *Mudrārākṣasa* Act II pp. 118-121.

[2] *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell pp. 373 ff.

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CHAPTER VII

Fall of the Maurya Empire

1. *Sources and authorities*

After the passing away of Aśoka we notice the disintegration of his mighty empire. Of his successors we have confused and conflicting accounts in the Purāṇas, which differ, not only among themselves, but each among its different manuscripts. Likewise, the Buddhist and Jaina sources are meagre and discrepant and, unfortunately for us, the classical sources also vouchsafe little light. This much all the Puranic accounts agree upon that the total duration of the Maurya empire is of 137 years, but, strange to say, the totals of the reigns, detailed therein, when added together, in no case agree with the aggregate of 137. In the *Matsya* version given on page 27 of Pargiter's *Dynasties of the Kali Age* this total is 146 years, while in the *E. Vāyu* (Jones MS) version (*ibid* p. 28) it comes up to 240 years and in the *Vāyu and Brahmāṇḍa versions*, collated together by Pargiter, it is only 133. One *Matsya* MS quoted in the introduction of Krishnamachariar's *Classical Sanskrit*

[1] The Verses of the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* were first cited by T. Narayana Sastri in this work *Age of Śankara*. Mr. Krishnamachariar quoted them from this work. Their historical value, as regards the Gupta period, was emphasized by B. Bhaṭṭāchārya in the paper, 'New Light on the history of the Imperial Guptas' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* Vol. XXX Part 1 March 1944 pp 1-47. But these verses are not found in the MS of the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, (*Catalogue* no. 2160 P. 1946). Prof. Jagnnath in a paper, 'The *Kaliyuga-rāja-Vṛttānta* and the Imperial Guptas,' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* Madras (1944) pp. 119-124 has proved that the verses in question are spurious and were probably composed after the discovery of the Bhitari seal of Kumāragupta in 1889. In view of these considerations, the authenticity and authority of the verses of this text pertaining to the Mauryas should also be looked upon with doubt. The fact that they assign a reign of 34 years to Candragupta and place Supārśva after Aśoka shows their doubtful character.

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Literature gives this total as 300 years and is followed in this respect by the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* of the *Bhaviṣyottara-Purāṇa* cited by that author. The *Mahāvaṁsa* is silent about India after Aśoka. The *Divyāvadāna* really goes further but the incredibility of its account is avouched by the simple fact that it describes Puṣyamitra as a descendant of the Mauryas. As for the Jaina sources, they end with Samprati.

Now to give the names of the kings and the durations of their reigns as recorded by various authorities, the *Matsya* version given by Pargiter goes thus : 1. Candragupta (no duration of his reign is given) ; 2. Aśoka (36 years) (Bindusāra is left out); 3. a relative (naptṛ) of Aśoka (17 years); 4. Daśaratha (8 years) ; 5. Samprati (9 years); 6. Śatadhanvan (6 years); 7. Bṛhadratha (70 years).

The '*E-Vāyu*' of Pargiter gives this list in this way: 1. Candragupta (24 years) ; 2. Nandasāra (25 years); 3. Aśoka (36 years); 4. Kuṇāla (8 years); 5. Bandhupālita (8 years); 6. Daśona (7 years); 7. Daśaratha (8 years); 8. Samprati (9 years; 9. Sāliśūka (13 years); 10. Devadharman (7 years,) 11. Śatadhanuṣ (8 years); 12. Bṛhadratha (87 years).

The 'Vāyu generally and the Brahmāṇda' version runs as follows : 1. Candragupta (24 years); 2. Bhadrasāra (25 years); 3. Aśoka (36 years); 4. Kunāla (8 years); 5. Bandhupālita (8 years); 6. Indrapalita (10 years); 7. Devadharman (7 years); 8. Śatadhanus (8 years); 9. Bṛhadratha (7 years).

The list of the *Bhaviṣyottarapurāṇa* is as follows: 1. Candragupta (34 years); 2. Bindusāra (28 years); 3. Aśoka (36 years); 4. Supārśva (8 years) 5. Bandhupālita (8 years); 6. Indrapālita (70 years); 7. Sangata (9 years); 8. Śāliśūka (13 years); 9. Devadharman (7 years); 10. Śatadhanus (8 years); 11. Bṛhadratha (88 years).

Tāranātha writes thus: 1. Kunāla 2. Vigatāśoka. 3. Virasena.

The *Divyāvadāna* observes as follows :—

1. Samprati 2. Bṛhaspati 3. Vṛṣasena 4. Puṣyadharman 5. Puṣyamitra.

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Kalhaṇa in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* mentions Jalauka as the son and successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra and places after him Dāmodara about whose origin he himself is in doubt.

Some of these later Maurya monarchs are referred to in old literary works. These references vouch for their sound historical character. About Daśaratha we know something from his dedicatory inscriptions in the Nāgārjuni caves. About Samprati we learn much from the Jaina *cūrṇīs, Ṭīkās*, narratives and poems like Hemacandra's *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Jinaprabhasūri's *Pāṭaliputrakalpa*, the *Bhadrabāhucarita*, the *Dhammavihipayaraṇa* of Śrīprabha, the *Akkhāṇamaṇikosa* of Nemicandrasūri, the *Kumāravālapaḍivoha* of Somaprabhasūrī, the *Vṛtti* of Malayaprabhasūrī on the *Jayantiprakaraṇa* or *Jayantīcarita* of Mānatuṅgasūrī etc. as well as the *Divyāvadāna*. About Śāliśūka we get important information from the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsamhitā* and about Bṛhadratha Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita* gives us interesting details. All of these four kings, as well as Kuṇāla, are said to have ruled at Pāṭaliputra. Hence we have no doubt as to their historicity. All the Purāṇa versions refer to Śatadhanu. The *Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa* version names him as Śatadhanu. Another *Vāyu* version refers to him as Śatadharaś. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* calls him Śatadharman and the *Bhāgavata* mentions him as Śatadhanvan. In the *E-Vāyu* version his name figures as Śatandhanu and in the *Matsya* version it occurs in the forms Śatadhanvan, Śaḍadhanvan and Sudhanvan. It appears that Śatadhanu is the correct form of this name. The unique concurrence of all the Purāṇa versions vouches for the historicity of this monarch. According to the '*E-Vāyu*' and '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' versions Śatadhanu was the son of Devavarman or Devadharman who is said to have reigned for seven years. These two names seem to refer to one and the same king. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* versions and the MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa* cited by Krishnamachariar mention a king Somaśarman in his place. This name seems to be a mistake for Devadharman or Devavarman. The *Matsya* version describes Śatadhanvan or Śatadhanu as the son of Samprati. This Samprati is said to be the son of Daśaratha, which is manifestly a mistake, for all other authorities concur is describing Samprati as the son of Kuṇāla and the grandson of Aśoka. We learn from Jaina and Buddhist sources that Samprati ascended the throne just after Aśoka. Hence it passes comprehension that Samprati's son was anointed after the lapse of the rule of two monarchs. The probability

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rather is that the father of Śatadhanu was Devadharman or Devavarman as the cogent and consistent testimony of the '*E-Vāyu*' and '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' versions indicates. Obviously the two aforesaid *Purāṇa* versions carry greater weight than the single *Matsya* version. Thus, the historicity of Davadharman or Devavarman appears to be fairly certain.

2. *Chronological framework.*

The '*Matsya*','*E-Vāyu*' and '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' versions agree that the total duration of the Maurya empire was 137 years.[2] We know for certain that Candragupta reigned for 24 years, Bindusāra for 25 years and Aśoka for 36 years. These three reigns thus covered a period of 85 years. If we take 321 B.C. as the date of the accession of Candragupta, the death of Aśoka took place in 236 B.C. *i. e.* 85 years later and the end of the Maurya dynasty occurred in 184 B.C. *i. e.* 137 years later (321—137=184). Therefore, the time between the demise of Aśoka and the extinction of the Maurya dynasty is (236 B.C.—184 B.C.) 52 years. Let us see how this period of 52 years is covered.

We have seen above that Buddhist[3] and Jaina[4] sources concur in stating that the successor of Aśoka was Samprati. The *Matsya* and *E-Vāyu* versions of Pargiter assign to him a reign of 9 years. An MS of *Matsya-Purāṇa* refers to him as Saptati. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas place a king Sangata in his place. An MS of *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* calls him Samyuta. The MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa* cited by Krishnamachariar gives his name Sammati. All these variants

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[2] *Matsya version* सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गान् गमिष्यति
E-Vāyu version सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गो भविष्यति
Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa version सप्तत्रिंशच्छतं पूर्णं तेभ्यः शुङ्गो गमिष्यति

[3] *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell and Neil Ch. XXIX p. 426; *Avadānakalpalatā* of Kṣemendra 74th Pallava, p. 597
We know from the *Tilthogālipainṇa* that the Maurya dynasty lasted for 160 years. But a set of old gāthās incorporated in the *Vicārasreṇi* of Merutuṅga informs us that this dynasty lasted for 108 years. Hemacandra is silent about this fact. Thus, we observe that Jaina traditions are extremely confused on this point. On the other hand the Purāṇas unanimously agree that the Maurya dynasty lasted for 137 years.

[4] *Bṛhatkalpacūrṇī*, 22, *Kalpakiraṇāvalī*, 165.

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presuppose the basic name Samprati. All the versions, cited above, state that he ruled for 9 years.

The identity of Daśaratha is established by his inscriptions in the Nāgārjuni caves. According to the *Matsya* and *E-Vāyu* versions and the MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, cited by Krishnamachariar, Daśaratha remained on the throne for 8 years. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* places him after Suyaśas and the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* expressly calls Samprati the son of Suyaśas. The MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, quoted by Krishnamachariar, calls Daśaratha the son of Kuṇāla. It appears that Suyaśas and Kuṇāla represent one and the same person, since both of them are mentioned as the father of Samprati in different sources.[5] On this showing Samprati and Daśaratha seem to be brothers. Daśaratha ascended the throne after Samprati.

As regards Śāliśūka his name is found in the '*E-Vāyu*' version of Pargiter and the MS of the *Matsya Purāṇa* quoted by Krishanamachariar. In the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* his name occurs as Śāliśūka and in the *Viṣṇuu Prāṇa* the variants of his name are Śāliśuka, Śālismūka, Śāliśūlla and Śālaśūka. In one *Bhāgavata* MS the expression in question is *Śāliśūskastatastasya* and in another MS called *J-Bhāgavata* it is *Śāliśūkastu Suyaśah*. Here Suyaśas is an epithet, just as it appears to be in the case of Kuṇāla, as seen above. This Śāliśūka is said to have reigned for thirteen years.

Devadharman or Devavarman is mentioned in the *E-Vāyu* and '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' lists of Pargiter. We have referred to Somaśarman mentioned in his place in the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas and the MS of *Matsya Purāṇa* quoted by Krishnamachariar. He is said to have reigned for 7 years in all the versions.

Devadharman's or Devavarman's son Śatadhanu is said to have ruled for 8 years in the '*E-Vāyu*' and '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' versions. In the *Matsya* version he is assigned a reign of 6 years. But the reading *ṣaṭsamāḥ* is hopelessly corrupt. Its variants are *Satsamaḥ*, *ṣaṣṭamāḥ* and *Padmapaḥ*. He appears to have reigned for 8 years.

The son of Śatadhanus was Bṛhadratha. He is mentioned in all the versions of the *Matsya*, *Vāyu*, *Brahmāṇḍa*, *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata*

[5] D. R. Bhandarkar holds that Suyaśas was possibly an epithet of Kuṇāla or, what is more probable, his personal name. [D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Aśoka and his Successors', *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II, p. 43]

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Purāṇas. In an MS of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* called *C Bhāgavata* his name is Uhadratha and in an MS of the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* it figures as Vṛhadaśavas. But it is quite clear that the correct form is Bṛhadratha. According to the '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' version he reigned for 7 years. Of course, there are two variants of *sapta*, *sama* and *samu*, but they make no sense. In the *Matsya* version the reading is *saptatiḥ* meaning 70, but the variant '*saptavai*' is quite clear and plausible. Pargiter suggests that '*saptatiḥ*' is a misreading for '*sapta vai*'. The soundness of this view is avouched by the fact that a reign of 70 years is precluded by the period of 52 which intervenes between the death of Aśoka and the end of the Maurya dynasty, as seen above. Likewise, the reign of 87 years assigned to him in the *E-Vāyu* version is quite improbable and implausible. The tradition of his reigning for 7 years is sound.

The result of the aforesaid enquiry is tabulated as follows :—

Samprati	...	9	years
Daśaratha	...	8	,,
Śāliśūka	...	13	,,
Devadharman or Devavarman	...	7	,,
Śatadhanu	...	8	,,
Bṛhadratha	...	7	,,
Total	...	52	years

The aforesaid six kings reigned for a period of 52 years. As we have seen above, the period between the death of Aśoka and the end of his dynasty is 52 years. Our investigation shows that the aforesaid six kings reigned for exactly 52 years. Thus the consensus of Puranic authority bears out the chronology given above.

We have seen above that Samprati came to the throne just after the death of Aśoka[6] and Bṛhadratha was admittedly the last Maurya monarch. All the Puranic sources agree that Śatadhanu

[6] D. R. Bhandarkar holds that the successor of Aśoka was Daśaratha. (*A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II, p. 43). Romila Thapar suggests that the successor of Aśoka in the East at Pāṭaliputra was Daśaratha and in the North-West and Kaśmīra was Kuṇāla and after him his son Samprati (*Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 189). But this view is incorrect because all historical traditions clearly point out that Samprati was the successor of Aśoka and add that he ruled in the eastern part of his empire. We shall examine this view later.

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was the father of Bṛhadratha and, as we observed, Devadharman or Devavarman was the father of Śatadhanu and preceded him. Daśaratha and Sāliśūka came between Samprati and Davadharman or Devavarman. We have seen above that, according to the MS of *Matsyapurāṇa*, cited by Krishnamachariar, Daśaratha was the son of Kuṇāla. The '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' version assigns a reign of 8 years to Kuṇāla. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata-Purāṇas* call the successor of Aśoka Suyaśas. The *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* describes Samprati as the son of Suyaśas. As Samprati was manifestly the son of Kuṇāla, it follows that Kuṇāla and Suyaśas are identical. In this way Daśaratha and Samprati were real brothers. As Samprati succeeded Aśoka, Daśaratha seems to have followed him. It appears that Samprati was elder than Daśaratha and that on his death the succession passed to his younger brother. Thus, Samprati was followed by Daśaratha[7] and Bṛhadratha was preceded by Śatadhanu and the latter by Devadharman or Devavarman. Inevitably, therefore, Śāliśūka, the only remaining later Maurya monarch, comes after Daśaratha and before Devadharman or Devavarman. Thus, in terms of the Christian era our chronology settles down as follows :—

B.C. 236—Aśoka's death and accession of Samprati.

B.C. 227—The end of Samprati's reign and the accession of Daśaratha.

B.C. 219—The end of Daśaratha's reign and the accession of Śāliśūka.

B.C. 206—The end of Śāliśūka's reign and the accession of Devadharman or Devavarman.

B.C. 199—The end of Devadharman's or Devavarman's reign and the accession of Śatadhanu.

B.C. 191—The end of Śatadhanu's reign and the accession of Bṛhadratha.

B.C. 184—The assassination of Bṛhadratha and the *Coûp d' état* of Puṣyamitra and the end of the Maurya dynasty.

3. *The question of Kuṇāla.*

Let us now consider the question of Kuṇāla who is regarded by Brāhmaṇa, Buddhist and Jaina traditions as the son and successor of Aśoka. In the '*E-Vāyu*' version one Kulāla is said to have

[7] *Matsya Purāṇa* says that Aśoka was followed by his grandson and the latter by Daśaratha. Pargiter, *op. cit.*

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reigned for 8 years after the death of Aśoka. According to Pargiter, Kulāla is an easy misreading of Kuṇāla. In the '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' version also Kuṇāla is expressly stated to have reigned for 8 years after Aśoka. The reading in the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is Kuśāla and in the *B. Vāyu-Purāṇa*, Nuśāla. The *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata* Purāṇas call Aśoka's son Suyaśas. In the *Matsya-Purāṇa* we read *Saṭtrinśattu sāmā rājā bhavitāśoka eva ca. Saptānām daśa varṣāṇi tasya naptā bhaviṣyati.* In an MS of this Purāṇa, called P, the variant of '*saptānām*' is '*suyaśā*'. The *Divyāvadāna* lets us know that the real name of Kuṇāla was Dharmavivardhana and the sobriquet Kuṇāla was given to him because he was as sweet-tongued as the Kuṇāla bird.[8] It appears that Suyaśas was another sobriquet of this prince for in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* he is said to be the father of Samprati whereas in Buddhist and Jaina texts Kuṇāla is known as his father. F. W. Thomas identified Kuṇāla (Suyaśas) with Kustana, mentioned in Tibetan legends as the son of Aśoka, who colonised Khotan.[9] This view is corroborated by Hui-li, the biographer of Hiuen T'sang, who says that "the first ancestor of the king of Khotan was the eldest son of king Aśoka and resided in his kingdom of Takṣaśilā." Fa-hien also mentions a certain Fa-yi (Dharmavivardhana) as reigning in Afghanistan under Aśoka.[10] As said above, Dharmavivardhana and Kuṇāla are identical. B. M. Barua goes a step further and identifies Kuṇāla with prince Tīvala,[11] son of Kāruvākī, mentioned in the famous Queen's Edict inscribed on the Sanci pillar. We know that Kuṇāla was blinded as a consequence of the intrigues of his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā. Not only is this incident mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* and other texts,[12] but Hiuen T'sang also lends

8 *Divyāvadāna, op. cit* p. 406.

9 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 507.

10 James Legge, *Fa-hien's Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, p. 31.

11 B. M. Barua *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 54. But K. A. Nilakanta Sastri holds that Tivara must be presumed to have predeceased his father. *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 243.

12 *Divyāvadāna*, p. 408 यावद्राज्ञा तिष्यरक्षितायै सप्ताहं राज्यं दत्तं । तस्या बुद्धिरुत्पन्ना । इदानीं मयास्य कुनालस्य वैरं निर्यातितव्यम् । तया कपटलेखो लिखितः तक्षशिलकानां पौराणां कुनालस्य नयनं विनाशयितव्यमिति *Niśītha-cūrṇī*, pp. 180-181. असोगरन्ना चिंतियं इदाणीं कुमारो धणुव्वेया

continued on page 151

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his authority to it. He states that "the eldest son of Aśoka-rāja, when dwelling in Takṣaśilā, having had his eyes put out, the king Aśoka was very angry, and sent deputies to order the chief of the tribes dwelling there to be transported to the north of snowy mountains and to establish themselves in the midst of a desert valley."[13] It was they who colonised Khotan. Thus, we find that Kuṇāla was in reality the son of Aśoka and the episode of his blindness is not without any substance of truth. He seems to have been appointed by Aśoka as the governor of Takṣaśilā for quelling the insurrection of the people. He won the confidence of the people and reigned over the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces including Afghanistan with peace and success.[14] But due to the machinations of his step-mother Tiṣyarakṣitā, who harboured rancour for him, he was blinded and deposed. Consequently he could not succeed to the throne on account of his infirmity though his title and right was fully recognised. But the

continued from page 150

कलादियाण कलाजोग्गा ततो असोगरन्ना सयमेव लेहे लिहिता इदाणीं अधीयतां । कुमारः कला इति लिहितं । रन्ना अणाभोगेणं कुमारस्स य कम्मोदयेण भवितव्वताए अगारस्सउवरिं बिन्दुं पडितो, केति भणन्ति राय लिहिउं असंवतियं लिहं मोत्तुं पच्छा घरे पवित्थो पच्छंतरे य मादिसव्वत्तीए अणुवाएउं अगारस्सुवरिं बिंदूं कटा ।

Pariśiṣṭaparvan of Hemacandra IX, 18-20, pp. 260-261.

ततो राजा कुमारायालिखल्लेखे स्वयं त्विदम् ।
प्राकृतं सुखबोधाय यत्कुमारो अधीयउ ॥
सपत्नी जननी तत्र कुणालस्य निषेदुषी ।
राज्ञः पार्श्वादुपादाय तं तु लेखमवाचयत् ॥
निष्टीवनाद्रीकृतया नेत्रांजनशलाकया ।
आकृष्य कज्जलं नेत्रादकारि बिन्दुकं ददौ ।

The Buddhist and Jaina accounts differ on this point. Whereas, according to the former, Tiṣyarakṣitā issued the order of blinding in her capacity of reigning queen, according to the latter, she inserted the dot over '*adhiyatām*' by foul play. But both these traditions agree that Kuṇāla was blinded through the machinations of the ambitious queen Tiśyarakṣitā.

13 Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol. 2, pp. 309-310.

14 *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 407-8.

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Purāṇas assign a reign of 8 years to him. Thus, "his position," to quote H. C. Raychoudhury, "was probably like that of Dhṛitarāṣṭra of the Epic, and though nominally regarded as the sovereign he was physically unfit to carry on the work of administration, which was presumably entrusted to his favourite son Samprati, who is described by Jaina and Buddhist writers as the immediate successor of Aśoka."[15] This position accounts for the confusion in the number of Maurya kings in certain Puranic versions. The '*E-Vāyu*' and the '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*'[16] versions state that the total number of Maurya kings was 9. This figure tallies with the number arrived at by us in this study. We have seen that six kings ascended the throne of the Mauryas after Aśoka. Adding the names of Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka to that number we get the figure 9. But some versions [17] state that the number of Maurya kings was 10. It appears that these versions are based on that tradition which ascribed a separate reign to Kuṇāla. But since the so-called reign of Kuṇāla and that of Samprati overlapped, the former being unable to carry on the administration due to his blindness, the correct tradition of 9 Maurya kings became current. In fact, Kuṇāla had no separate or independent reign.

Romila Thapar in her thesis *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas* (Oxford 1961) p. 189 has suggested that Jālauka mentioned by Kalhaṇa is Kuṇāla. It is due to an error or variation in Brāhmi script that Kuṇāla has become Jālauka. He succeeded Aśoka in Kaśmīra and the North-West whereas Daśaratha succeeded him in the East at Pāṭaliputra. Jālauka or Kuṇāla was followed by his son Samprati in Kaśmīra and the North-West. Subsequently after the death of Daśaratha Samprati ascended the throne at Pāṭaliputra also

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15 H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 291

16 E. Vayu, इत्येते नवमौर्यास्तु ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम् A variant of नवमौर्याः is नर म्लौर्याः "*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*" version
इत्येते नव मौर्या वै भोक्ष्यन्ति च वसुन्धराम्

17 *Matsya Purāṇa* : इत्येते दश मौर्यास्तु ये भोक्ष्यन्ति वसुन्धराम्
Viṣṇu Purāṇa : एवं मौर्या दश भूपतयो भविष्यन्ति अब्दशतं सप्तत्रिंशदुत्तरम् *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*
मौर्या ह्येते दश नृपाः सप्तत्रिंशच्छतोत्तरम् ।
समा भोक्ष्यन्ति पृथिवीं कलौ, कुरुकुलोद्वह ।।
quoted in Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 26-27.

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and united the two parts of the Maurya empire. This view is untenable for the following reasons: (1) the identity of Jālauka and Kuṇāla is based on a mere presumption. As will be shown later, the name Jālauka has a historical background and Kalhaṇa followed some definite historical tradition on this point, howsoever confused it might have been. (2) According to Kalhaṇa, the successor of Jālauka was Dāmodara; whereas, Kuṇāla is known to have been followed by Samprati, unknown to Kalhaṇa. (3) All Indian traditions state that Kunāla met Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra and that Samprati was reigning there. According to the *Divyāvadāna*, Sampaḍi (Samprati) interfered with the gifts of Aśoka to the Buddhist Church in his last days at Pāṭaliputra. Jain traditions associate him with Ujjain. (4) Jain traditions particularly Hemacandra clearly say that Samprati ruled over one half of India only and the Deccan and thereby preclude the possibility of the empire being united through him. (5) According to Romila Thapar's chronology given at page 196 of her book Samprati ruled for 9 years after Daśaratha's reign of 8 years. The Purāṇas say that Kuṇāla reigned for 8 years. So Kuṇāla and Daśaratha died at the same time. How could Samprati first reign in North-West and then later at Pāṭaliputra? (6) In the North-West Kharoṣṭhi, not Brahmi, was used.

4. *The reference to other kings.*

We have seen that the total number of Maurya kings was 9 or 10, if we include Kuṇāla in it. But the list of '*E-Vāyu*' version contains 12 names. The names of Bandhupālita and Daśona are extra in it. Obviously, there is some overlapping here for this figure of 12 is contradicted by the number 9, which, according to this version, signifies the aggregate of Maurya kings. In the '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' version Bandhupālita is described as the son of Kuṇāla and is said to have reigned for 8 years and Indrapālita is stated to have succeeded Bandhupālita and exercised sovereignty for 10 years. The variants of the expression' '*daśabhāvīndrapālitaḥ*' are *daśamānīndrapālitaḥ*' '*daśānānindrapālitaḥ*' *daśāmānandra-pālitā*. Pargiter suggests *daśābdānindrapālitā*. In this version Bandhupālita and Indrapālita occupy the places of Samprati and Daśaratha. In it the names of these two important monarchs are conspicuous by absence. But their historicity is avouched by the '*E-Vāyu*' and *Matsya* versions as well as by Buddhist and Jaina traditions and the Nāgārjunī epigraphs respectively. Hence the names of Bandhupālita and Indrapālita appear to have been

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substituted for them following some other cognate tradition. The names of these kings do not figure in the *Matsya* version and the name of Indrapālita is missing in the '*E-Vāyu*' list. According to the '*Vāyu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' version their reigns are said to have lasted for 18 years while the reigns of Samprati and Daśaratha were of 17 years. This figure of 18 does not accord with the chronology of Maurya kings, while that of 17 exactly fits into it. Thus, it is clear that Bandhupālita and Indrapālita or Daśona did not belong to the direct Maurya line of succession. It appears that these personages were princely governors who tried to pose as independent rulers. The '*E-Vāyu*' version clearly shows that their names were wantonly imposed on the Maurya genealogy. With their usual lack of historical sense the chroniclers of the *Vayu and Brahamāṇḍa* Purāṇas described them as successors of Aśoka and Kuṇāla. Little did they realise that they were ignoring other authentic traditions supported by independent Jaina and Buddhist accounts indicating that Samprati was the successor of Aśoka.

5. *The problem of partition.*

At one time Dr. V. A. Smith expressed the view that there was a formal division of the Maurya empire after Aśoka but in the third edition of his *Aśoka* he admits that the hypothesis that Aśoka left two grand-sons, one Daśaratha succeeding him in the eastern and the other Samprati in the western dominions, is little more than a guess.[18] F. W. Thomas almost reiterated the view of V. A. Smith and observed that the extreme confusion reigning in the legends is probably to be explained by a division of the empire beginning after Samprati.[19] But we have no evidence in support of this thesis. Likewise, the view of Romila Thapar that there was a partition of the empire between Kuṇāla and Daśaratha does not carry conviction, as shown above.

As a matter of fact, there was a division of the empire but not between Samprati and Daśaratha as held by Smith and others. The *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalhaṇa lets us know that the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra launched an expedition and conquered the country up to Kanauj.[20] On the other hand, the *Pariśiṣṭaparavan* of Hema-

[18] V. A. Smith, *Aśoka* (3rd ed.) p. 70.

[19] F. W. Thomas, *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 512

[20] *Rājatarangiṇī* I, p. 117

जित्वोर्वीं कान्यकुब्जाद्यां तत्रत्यं स न्यवेशयत् ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं निजे देशे धर्म्याश्चँ व्यवहारिणः ।।

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candra informs us that Samprati ruled over one half of India including the South.[21] Thus, it is clear that the region up to Kānyakubja was under the sway of the successor of Aśoka in the North-West and the country to the east of Kānyakubja was ruled over by Samprati. In this way there was a division of the Maurya empire.

6. *The North-Western Scene: Vīrasena and Subhāgasena.*

We have seen above that the North-Western half of India seceded from the Maurya empire after the death of Aśoka. This region with Takṣaśilā as its seat of government had revolted thrice in the hey-day of the Maurya empire due to the tyranny of its officers. After the removal of the strong hand of Aśoka from the state its people found a convenient opportunity to overthrow the régime of Maurya officers. We learn from Polybius that a king named Sophogsenus ruled in north-western India at the time of Antiochus the Great. This king was of considerable importance and standing as is manifest from the fact that Autiochus was his old friend and renewed his traditional friendship with him and courted him on terms of equality. Polybius states: "He (Antiochus the Great) crossed the Caucasus and descended into India, renewed his friendship with Sophogsenus the king of the Indians; received more elephants, until he had 150 altogether and, having once more provisioned his troops, set out again personally with his army leaving Androsthenes of Cyzicus, the duty of taking home the treasure, which this king had agreed to hand over to him."[22]

We know that Antiochus had marched to the East to suppress the nascent power of the Bactrian Greeks. About 256 B.C. Diodotus had revolted against the Seleucid authority. About 248 B.C. his son

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[21] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* IX, 54.

क्रमेण साधयामास भारतार्धं सदक्षिणम् ।
प्रचण्डशासनश्चाभूत् पाकशासनसन्निभः ॥

[22] Polibius XI, 39 translated in J. W. Mcrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature* and cited in H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition) p. 361. D. R. Bhandarkar holds that "Subhāgasena must therefore be taken to be an epithet of the Maurya emperor Śāliśuka who was reigning in 206 B. C." [*A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II, p. 45.] But this is little better than a happy guess for there is not an iota of evidence in support of it.

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Diodotus II succeeded him. Both these rulers, however, issued coins in the name of Antiochus. About 235 B.C. Diodotus II met his end at the hands of Euthydemus I. Polybius observes that "after others had revolted Euthydemus possessed himself of the throne of Bactria by destroying their descendants."[23] Euthydemus strengthened his hold over Bactria and ruled as a powerful sovereign. In 208 B.C. Antiochus III moved against the Parthians and after receiving their submission advanced to reclaim the allegiance of Bactria. He took the highroad to Bactria, crossed the river Arius (Hari-rud) at night as Alexander did at Hydaspes and inflicted a defeat on Euthydemus who retired to his capital Zariaspa (Bactra). Antiochus laid siege to the capital which lasted for two years. In course of this prolonged conflict the Seleucid monarch banked on his old friendship with the Maurya king Sophagsenus or Subhāgasena and evidently derived much benefit from his assistance. In the meantime, the pressure of the nomads of Central Asia became unbearable to Euthydemus and compelled him to come to a compromise with Antiochus through the good offices of Teleas. As a result of the settlement the Seleucid king retired to his realm and promised to marry his daughter to Euthydemus' son Demetrius. Tarn holds that the fact that the first overtures towards peace came from him and he surrendered his elephants shows that he acknowledged Seleucid sovereignty though it soon became a dead letter.[24] After this encounter with Euthydemus Antiochus crossed the Hindu Kush, renewed his friendship with Subhāgasena, received more elephants from him and passing through Arachosia and Drangiana reached Carmania and the western shores of the Persian Gulf. The expression "renewed his friendship" used by Polybius indicates that Antiochus was already on friendly terms with Subhāgasena. As suggested above, he sought the assistance of the Maurya ruler during the war with Euthydemus and at the conclusion of hostilities with him cemented his alliance with this ruler by paying a visit to his kingdom and taking from him elephants to meet the contingencies of the way. In token of his friendship the Indian ruler made monetary offerings to the royal guest which his officer Androsthenes took to the capital. Lassen remarked that "Subhāgasena also engaged in this league as a protection from Euthydemus whose power

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[23] Polybius XI, 29.

[24] W.W. Tarn: *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 82.

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had already manifested itself to the south of the Caucasus."[25]

Subhāgasena seems to be the successor of Vīrasena, who came to the throne after Aśoka, according to Tāranātha.[26] It appears that after the secession of the north-western half of India from the Maurya empire after the death of Aśoka, Vīrasena entrenched his hold over it while the other eastern and southern half of the country passed under the domination of Samprati. It is not unlikely that Vīrasena beloged to the Maurya family, as indicated by Tāranātha. This ruler maintained the old contacts and alliances with the Seleucids and preserved the integrity of the north-western marches. According to the *Rājatraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, a wide-spread raid of the Mlecchas occurred in Kaśmīra at that time.[27] It is likely that these Mlecchas represented or included the Bactrian Greeks who had set up an independent kingdom in Bactria by challenging the Seleucid authority about the middle of the third century B.C. The referenee to a widespread intrusion and upsurge of the Mlecchas (*mlecchāśchāditamaṇḍalāḥ*) in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* becomes intelligible only in the context of the rise and expansion of the Bactrian Greeks.[28] A. K. Narain thinks that the Greeks did not penetrate as far as Kaśmīra at that time.[29] But we know of no other power than the Bactrian Greeks that could be so powerful as to swoop over Kaśmīra and spread havoc there. There is nothing inherently improbable in the occurrence of this Greek raid. However, it is quite likely that some other exotic elements may have joined hands with these people in course of the invasion. It is

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25 Christian Lassen: "Points in the History of the Greek and Indo-Scythian Kings in Bactria, Kabul and India as illustrated by deciphering the ancient legends on their coins" translated by Roer in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1840).

26 A. Schiefner, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien*, pp. 50-62; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 236; F. W. Thomas, *Cambridge History of India* I, p. 512; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Age of the Nandas and Mauryas*, p. 246; J. N. Banerji, *A Comprehensive History of India* II, p. 148. The similarity of the ending 'sena' in these names is a strong point in favour of the view.

27 *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 115

स रुद्धान्वसुधान्म्लेच्छान्निर्वास्याखर्वविक्रमः ।
जिगाय जैत्रयात्राभिर्महीमर्णवमेखलाम् ।।

28 Radha Kumud Mookerji, *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 9.

29 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks*, pp. 9-10.

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probable that Vīrasena strengthened his relations with the Seleucids with a view to coping with this menace and his successor Sabhāgasena also followed his policy of peace and friendship with them as a counterstroke to the resurgence of the Bactrian Greeks. The reference to the renewal of friendship of Antiochus and Subhāgasena implies old relations going back to past generation. The Seleucids must have also welcomed this policy to suppress their Bactrian kinsmen and subjects.

Kalhaṇa refers to a successor of Aśoka named Jālauka in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*. Aśoka is said to have exercised full sway over this region and constructed splendid monuments and cities there.[30] His son Jālauka is credited with the suppression and defeat of the Mlecchas in the battle of Ujjhitaḍimba.[31] But there seems to be some confusion in the tradition relating to Jālauka. We learn from the *Mahāvaṁsa* of Moggallāna known as *Cambodian Mahāvaṁsa* that one of the ten sons of Kālāśoka bore the name Jālika.[32] There is often a great deal of confusion between this Kālāśoka and Dharmāśoka. The former is identical with Kākavarṇa or Mahānandin, as has been shown in earlier studies, included in this volume and the latter is the celebrated Maurya monarch noted for his piety and righteousness. One is apt to suspect that the tradition of Aśoka's son Jālauka recorded by Kalhaṇa is based on the genealogical notice of the Pali chronicles about Jālika the son of Kālāśoka. Sir Aurel Stein rightly pointed out that this account of Jālauka bears in its main part a manifestly legendary character. D. R. Bhandarkar thinks that Jālauka was no other than Śālisūka. But he realises the weakness of his proposition and holds that the Kaśmīra chronicle has reversed his religious attitude (*A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II, p. 46) Anyway, it is certain that the hold of the successors of Aśoka over Kaśmīra remained intact. It appears that Vīrasena was the para-

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[30] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 102-103; Watters, *On Yuan Chwang* I, pp. 267-271.

[31] *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 116

ते यत्रोज्झटितास्तेन म्लेचाश्छादितमण्डलाः
स्थानमुज्झताडिम्बं तज्जनैरद्यापि गद्यते ।।

[32] G. P. Malalasekera, *Extended Mahāvaṁsa* V, 14-15, pp. 55-56

सब्बजहो च जालिको संजयो च उभको तथा ।
कोरव्यो चेव नन्दी च भण्डनो चापि दसमो ।।

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mount monarch in the whole of the North-West. He seems to have repelled and checked the Bactrians by cultivating friendly relations with their Seleucid overlords. He bequeathed a strong and prosperous kingdom to his successor Subhāgasena who played a momentous part in the events of the war of the Seleucids and the Bactrians, as said above.

Kalhaṇa observes that the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra ushered in the Brahmanical Renaissance by rehabilitating the old Varṇāśrama dharma. His preceptor is said to have been an erudite philosopher who had defeated an assembly of puffed-up Buddhist debators who were powerful in those days. He is also stated to have established a stable administration based on the 18 departments of the state inaugurated by Yudhiṣṭhira. But the kingdom did not attain development as it should have by means of trade, wealth and the like and its administration was like that of an ordinary state. According to Kalhaṇa, the king inaugurated a policy of militant Śaivism and persecuted the Buddhists and demolished their Vihāras.

Kalhaṇa mentions a successor of Jālauka named Dāmodara who was a Śaiva like him. But he does not specify their relationship. He is even doubtful whether he belonged to the house of Jālauka. As Jālauka seems to be a doubtful name Dāmodara also appears to be based on vague tradition. The paramount chiefs in the North-West were Vīrasena and Subhāgasena. It was they who guarded the northern-western marches and acted as bulwark against the Greeks. Their power and policy preserved the integrity of the western half of the Maurya empire for about half a century. Probably these monarchs issued the punch-marked coins which cannot now be identified. But the coins bearing the legend *negama*, *Pañcanekama* and *hisrañsame* discovered at Takṣaśilā and many other uninscribed copper coins, which were struck before the advent of the Indo-Greeks, may be attributed to this period.[33]

After the return of Antiochus and his entanglement in a war with Macedonia, in which he suffered a severe reverse, the Bactrian Greeks

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[33] John Allan, *British Museum Catalogue of coin, Ancient India* p. XCXXXIX; Allan's note in J. Marshall's *Taxila* Vol. II, p. 855.

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began to expand their realm and encroach on the Indian Provinces of the North-West.

It is also held that there was a separate branch of the Mauryas in Khotan. Hiuen T'sang reports that under Kuṇāla there was an exodus of his followers from Takṣaśilā which resulted in the colonisation of Khotan and the Tibetan sources, translated by Rockhill in his *Life of Buddha*, show that the Maurya line of Khotan assumed independence after Aśoka and Kuṇāla's successors there were Vijayasambhava, Vijayavīrya, Vijayasimha and Vijayakīrti. The name Vijaya occurs in the ruling dynasty of Khotan, mentioned in the documents, discovered by Sir Aurel Stein. In document No. 661 there is a reference to Khotan's *Mahārāya Rāyātirāya Hinajha Avijidasiṁha*.[34] But it is doubtful if these rulers belonged to the Maurya dynasty. Some of them are brought into relationship with the Kuṣāṇas. As regards the use of the Kharoṣṭhi script and the north-western dialect of Prākṛit there, it was the result of Indo-Scythian influence and domination, as suggested by Sir Aurel Stein[35] and Sten Konow.[36] Thus, it cannot be confidently asserted that the conquest of the Khaṣa country by Aśoka referred to in the *Divyāvadāna* signifies the colonisation of Khotan by the Mauryas, mentioned in Buddhist traditions. It may stand for the subjugation of the Khaṣa people living on the borders of Kaśmīra.

7. *The Eastern Theatre.*

We have observed that Aśoka's son Kuṇāla was blinded owing to the intrigues of a queen of Aśoka. As tradition has it, the blind prince Kuṇāla acquired proficiency in music and in one of his tours in the East attracted the attention of the emperor. Pleased with his performance, the king promised to grant him a boon, according to his desire. He demanded a cowrie (kākiṇī) and interpreted it as kingdom in royal terminology. Then he gave his full introduction. Moved with feeling the king asked as to what he will do with the kingdom being unable to govern it owing to his blindness. The blind prince pointed to his son who was just born. The king was greatly pleased with this news and named his grand-

34 Aurel Stein, *Ancient Khotan* Vol. I, p. 366

35 Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 143

36 Sten Konow, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. II Part I *Introduction*, p. 76

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son Samprati.[37] According to the *Divyāvadāna*, he was designated as the crown prince. When Aśoka wanted to gift away his kingdom to the Buddhist Order he remonstrated at the instance of the ministers. But the king did make an expression of his intention to donate the kingdom. Hence on coming to the throne Samprati redeemed the kingdom by paying an appreciable sum of money to the Buddhist Order.[38] All this information is contained in legends whose historicity is not immune from fictitious elements. But they undoubtedly show that Aśoka was succeeded on the imperial throne by Samprati.

8. *Samprati* (*236* B.C.—*227* B.C.)

We have seen above that the death of Aśoka was followed by a turmoil. The north-western people shook off the imperial

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[37] *Bṛhat-Kalpacūrṇī* 22

किं काहिसि अंधओ रज्जेणं कुणालो भणति ।
मम पुत्तोत्थिं संमत्ति नाम कुमारो दिन्नं रज्जं ॥

Kalpakiraṇāvalī 165

तस्य सुतः कुणालस्तन्नन्दनस्त्रिखण्ड भोक्ता संप्रति-
नामा भूपतिरभूत् जातमात्र एव पितामहदत्तराज्यः ।

Pariśiṣṭaparvan IX, 50-51 pp. 263-264.

प्रपच्छाशोकराजोऽपि कदोत्पेदे सुतस्तव ।
सम्प्रत्येवेत्यकथयत्कुणालोऽपि कृताञ्जलिः ॥
तदैव तमशोकश्रीः समानाययदर्भकम् ।
नामापि सम्प्रतिरिति तस्याकृत कृतोत्सवः ॥

[38] *Divyāvadāna* p. 426

तस्मिँश्च समये कुनालस्य सम्पदि नाम पुत्रो यौवराज्ये प्रवर्तते । तस्यामात्यैरभिहितम् । कुमार अशोको राजा स्वल्पकालावस्थायीति । इदं च द्रव्यं कर्कुटारामं प्रेष्यते । कोशबलिनश्च राजानो । यावत्कुमारेण भाण्डागारिकः प्रतिषिद्धः । यावदमात्यैश्चतस्रकोट्यो भगवच्छासने दत्वा पृथिवीं निरीक्ष्यं सम्पदि राज्ये प्रतिष्ठापितः ।

Kṣemendra, *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* Pallava 74, Verses 8-12 p. 597.

दाने निषिद्धे पौत्रेण संघाय पृथिवीपतिः ।
भैषज्यामलकस्यार्धं ददौ सर्वस्वताँ गतम् ॥
प्रख्यातषण्णवतिकोटिसुवर्णदाने याते दिवं नरपतावथ तस्य पौत्रः ।
शेषेण मन्त्रिवचसा क्षितिमाजहार, स्पष्टं क्रयी कनककोटिचतुष्टयेन ।

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authority and conquered the country upto Kānyakubja. The North-West was taken to have been irretrievably lost. Hence Samprati's régime was confined to the eastern half of India, as we gather from the account of Hemacandra, cited above. To cope with the menace from the North-West Samprati seems to have passed much of his time at Ujjayinī with which Jaina traditions associate him. From there he exercised his sway over of the people of Āndhra, Saurāṣṭra, Coorg and the Far South.[39] We learn from the Yerrāguḍi and Rajulamandagiri inscriptions of Aśoka, found in the Kurnool district, that Āndhradeśa formed part of the empire of this monarch. Likewise, Mahārāṣṭra was also included in his empire. Hence the said reference to these regions shows that Samprati preserved the integrity of the empire in these territories. His welfare missions ministered to the moral and material requirements of the people there.

We learn from consistent Jaina traditions that Samprati embraced Jainism. It is said that once when the Jaina Patriarch Suhastin came to Ujjayinī to pay his respects to Jivantasvāmin and his procession was passing through its main avenues, Samprati saw him through a window, was deeply impressed by him, went to his resort and sought initiation as a Jaina lay-follower (Śrāvaka). The *Niśītha*, *Bṛhatkalpa*, *Vyavahāra* and *Pañcakalpa* texts concur in stating that Suhastin coverted Samprati to Jainism.[40]

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[39] *Niśīthacūrṇī*

तेण सुरट्ठविसयो अंधा दमिला य ओयविया

Kalpacūrṇī

ताहे तेण संपइणा उज्जेणीआइं काउं दक्खिणावहो सव्वो तत्थ ठिण्ण वि अज्जावितो ।

Pariśiṣṭaparvan IX, 54

क्रमेण साधयामास भारतर्धं सदक्षिणम् ।
प्रचण्डशासनश्चाभूत् पाकशासनसन्निभः ।।

[40] *Bṛhatkalpacūrṇī* p. 135 ff.

इतो य अज्ज सुहत्थी उज्जेणिं जियसामिं वंदओ आगओ रहाणुज्जाणे य हिंडंतो राउलगणपदेसे रन्ना आलोयणगतेण दिट्ठो, ताहे रन्नो ईहपोहं करेन्तस्य जातं (जाइसरणं जातं) तहा तेण मनुस्सा भणितापडिचरह आयरिए कहिं ठतित्ति तेहिं पडिचरिउं कहितं सिरिघरे ठिता, ताहे तत्थ गन्तुं धम्भो णेण सुओ ।

But the *Niśīthacūrṇī* states that Samprati came down from the

continued on page 163

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There is a chronological difficulty in the contemporaneity of Samprati and Suhastin. According to the *Yugapradhānapaṭṭāvali*, Suhastin passed away in the 291st year of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra, whereas, according to the *Titthogālipaiṇṇa*, the Maurya dynasty came into power 210 years after the same, and since Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka reigned for 24, 25 and 36 years respectively, Samprati was anointed in the (210 plus 24 plus 25 plus 36) 295th year of the Nirvāṇa.[41] Thus Suhastin must have been dead before the coronation of Samprati. Muni Kalyāṇavijaya and following him Śāntilal Shāh resolve this difficulty by assuming that Suhastin converted Samprati long before his coronation, when he was a viceroy of Ujjayini.[42] The aforesaid traditions indicate that on his conversion Samprati adopted the five vratas of the Jainas, relinquished violence or injury to living beings and became a

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continued from page 162

window just on looking at Samprati and sought initiation at his feet, vide, *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* XI, 32 p. 279.

स प्राग्जन्मगुरुं ज्ञात्वा जातिस्मृत्या सुहस्तिनम् ।
तदैव वन्दितुमगाद्विस्मृतान्यप्रयोजनः ।।

Leumann has fixed the date of the Āvaśyakacūrṇi as 600-650 A.D. According to Muni Puṇyavijaya, the Daśavaikālikacūrṇi of Agastyasiṁha was composed two or three centuries before the Valabhi recension of Jaina texts. Hence its age is about the second or the third century A. D. In the Nandicūrṇi there is a reference to the Mathurā recension. Thus, it is clear that the *cūrṇi* literature is fairly old and authentic.

सम्पइरण्णा आलोयणगअेण अज्ज सुहत्थी दिट्ठो ।
जातिसरणं जातं आगच्छो पाएसु पडिओ ।
पच्चुट्ठिओ विण ओणओ भणति ।

The tradition of the *Bṛhatkalpacūrṇi* seems to be more reasonable.

41 Kalyāṇavijaya, *Vīra-nirvāṇa-Saṁvataur Jaina Kāla gaṇanā'* (in Hindi) (The Date of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and Jaina Chronology), *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* Vol 10 No. 4 pp. 585-745; S. L. Shah, *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas* (Stuttgart 1928). H. Jacobi ; 'Buddhas und Mahāviras Nirvāṇa', Gujrāti translation in *Bhāratīya-Vidyā* (Singhi Smāraka issue); Schubring, *Die Lehre der Jainas* pp. 5-30; A. B. Keith, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African studies* VI, pp. 859-866.

42 Kalyāṇavijaya, *op. cit.* pp. 661-670.

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promoter of the Church.[43] Hence it passes comprehension that he could have undertaken the extensive military campaigns in the South and the land of the Tamils. It appears that he followed the policy of Dhammavijaya launched by Aśoka and won the goodwill of the people of these regions by his welfare programmes and missionary activities.

Some Jaina traditions point to the contemporaneity of Samprati and the Jaina Patriarch Mahāgiri. He is said to have reprimanded Suhastin for accepting the offerings of the king.[44] But, as said above, Samprati ascended the throne 295 years after the demise of Mahāvira, whereas Mahāgiri passed away in 245th year of the Vira Nirvāṇa era or half a century before the accession of the former. Hence they cannot be contemporaries. The *Avaśyakacūrṇī* clearly states that Mahāgiri and Sahastin went from Pāṭaliputra to Vidiśā, thence the former went to Elakaccha (Daśārṇa) on a pilgrimage to Gayaggapaya (Gajāgrapāda) and there fasted unto death, and the latter went to Ujjayini to pay his respects to Jivantasvāmin. Thus, it is clear that Mahāgiri had passed away before the conversion of Samprati and his munificence for the Jaina Church. It appears that the tradition of Mahāgiri was fastened on that of Samprati through some misunderstanding.

After his conversion and subsequent coronation Samprati showered his generosity on the Jaina order. He dispensed largesse and charities liberally,[45] covered the country with Jaina Shrines[46] and

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43 *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Cūrṇī*, *op. cit.*
सो सावओ जाओ पंचाणुव्वयधारी तसजीवपडिक्कमओ पभावओ समणसंघस्स ।
Pariśiṣṭaparvan XI, 62.
अणुव्रतगुणव्रतशिक्षाव्रतपवित्रितः ।

44 *Bṛhat Kalpa-cūrṇī* p. 135.
महागिरिणा अज्जसुहत्थी पुच्छितो अज्जो पवरो आहारोवधी,
जाणेज्जासि मा रन्ना लोगो पवुत्तओ होज्जा ।
Niśīthacūrṇī p. 191.
ततो अज्जसुहत्थी पच्चाउट्टोमिच्छामि दुक्कडं, करोति ।
'ण पुणो गेण्हामो' एवं भणिए संभुत्तो

45 *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* XI, 64 p. 282
अवदानरतोदानं दीनेभ्योऽधिकं ददौ ।

46 *Ibid* XI, 65
आवैताढ्यं प्रतापाढ्यः स चकाराविकारधीः ।
त्रिखण्डं भरतक्षेत्रं जिनायतनमण्डितम् ।।

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became an ardent missionary of Jainism. He exhorted his officials to embrace and espouse the cult of the Śramaṇas.[47] Following his behest they instituted processions, offered oblations to the caityas[48] and patronised the monks. They undertook periodical tours to minister to the well-being of the people, planted trees and groves and constructed resthouses and monasteries for the monks.[49] At his almshouses people took food incessantly.[50] The shopkeepers, confectioners, dairyowners, drapers etc. were directed to supply goods to the monks free of cost and debit their prices to the royal account.[49] Adequate facilities for residence and preaching were provided to the monks among the frontagers,[50] and a vigorous missionary programme was launched in the lands of the anāryas, particularly the Āndhras and the Tamils.[51] The missionaries inculcated the spirit of piety and righteousness as well as inspired the fear of the might of the Maurya monarch in the hearts of the uncouth anāryas.[52]

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47 *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* XI, 84 p. 284
तद् भवन्तु सुविहितश्रमणानामुपासकाः

48 *Ibid* XI 86-87
एवंमाज्ञाप्य सामन्ता विसृष्ठाः स्वस्वनिवृति ।
गत्वा चक्रुः स्वामिभक्त्या श्रमणानाभुपासनम् ।।
प्रावर्तयन्रथयात्रां तत्रानुगमनं तथा ।
रथाग्रे पुष्पवृष्टिं च चैत्यपूजां च ते व्यधुः ।।

49 *Nisīthacūrṇī op. cit.*
जह मम जा लाह सामि समणाणं पण महासुविहियाणम्
दव्वेण मे न कज्जं एवं सुकयं पियं मज्झ ।।
विसज्जिया य तेणं गमणं घोषायणं सरंचेसु ।
साहूणं सुह विहारा जाया पञ्चंतिया देसा
अणुजाणे अणुजाई पुप्फारुहणाई उक्किरणं गाईं ।
पूयं च चेहयाणां तेउविय सुरज्ज सुकारिति ।

50 *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* XI, 104 p. 286
तत्रानिवारितं प्रापुर्भोजनं भोजनेच्छवः ।

51 *Ibid* XI, 110-111
श्रमणोपासको राजा कान्दविकानथादिशत् ।
तलाज्यदधिविक्रेतॄन् वस्त्रविक्रयकानपि ।
यत्किंचिदुपकुरुते साधूनां देयमेव तत् ।
तन्मूल्यं वः प्रदास्यामि मा स्म शङ्कध्वमन्यथा ।

52 *Ibid* XI, 88
प्रान्तदेशा अपि साधुविहारार्हा यथाभवन् ।

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The activities of Samprati recall those of his illustrious grandfather. His liberality towards monks and saints, feeding and feasting of the poor and needy, construction of shrines and monuments, institution of periodical tours (*aṇujāṇe anujāhi*) planting of trees and groves (*Pupphāruhaṇāi*) propagation of piety and virtue among the frontier and foreign lands are anologous to the measures adopted by Aśoka.[53] In fact, this close similarity between these policies is an evidence of their historicity.[54] The Jaina accounts summarised above have close parallels in the Asokan epigraphs.[55]

Jaina accounts throw interesting side-lights on the character of Samprati. His heart was overflowing with the milk of love for all living being (*Jivadayā-trangitamanah*). He gave up the greed of money and remitted the tributes of feudatories,[56] and rose above the considerations of mine and thine.[57] He trained a body of officials who were attired as monks (*Sādhuveśadharānnarān*) and preached the canons of righteous conduct among inhospitable people. Thus he tried to convert the machinary of the state into an organ of reform and welfare.

9. *Daśaratha* (*227* B.C.—*219* B.C.)

After a reign of strenuous activity lasting for nine years Samprati passed away. His younger brother Daśaratha succeeded

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53 *Ibid* XI, 91, 99, 102

ततः प्रैषीदनार्येषु साधुवेशधरान्नरान् ।
ते सम्प्रत्याज्ञयानार्यानेवमन्वशिषन्भृशम् ।।
एवं राज्ञोऽतिनिर्बन्धादाचार्यैः केऽपि साधवः ।
विहर्तुमादिदिशिरे ततोऽन्ध्रद्रमिलादिषु ।
एवं सम्प्रतिराजेन स्वशक्त्या बुद्धिगर्भया ।।
देशा साधुविहारार्हा अनार्या अपि चक्रिरे ।।

54 *Ibid* XI, 93

अध्येतव्यं चेदमिदं ततो युष्मासु तोषभाक् ।
भविता सम्प्रति स्वामी कोपिष्यत्यन्यथा पुनः ।

55 The *anujāṇe anujāhi* of Samprati is but a variant of the *anusa* (ñ) *yāna* of Aśoka. Likewise *Puppharuhaṇāi* recalls the planting of trees mentioned in Girnār Rock Edict III. other points are equally common.

56 *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* XI, 85

द्रव्यैरपि न मे किंचिद्युष्मद्दत्तैः प्रयोजनम् ।

57 *Ibid* XI, 104.

अयं निजः परो वायमित्यपेक्षाविवर्जितम् ।

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him on the throne of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra. He dedicated three caves on the Nāgārjuni Hill, Vahiyakā cave, Gopikā cave and Vaḍathika cave to the Ājivikas. The inscription of Vahiyakā cave is to this effect- "That Vahiyakā cave has been given by Daśalatha, dear to the gods, to the venerable Ājivikas, immediately on his accession, to be a place of abode during the rainy season as long as moon and sun (shall endure)."[58] The other two caves bear similar inscriptions, the only changes being in their names. In these inscriptions Daśaratha adopts the celebrated title of Aśoka 'dear to the gods' (devānāmpriya) and records his interest and faith in the Ājivikas. We learn from the Seventh Pillar Edict of Aśoka engraved on the Delhi Topra Pillar that he appointed special Officers of Public Morals (*dharmamāhamātra*) for the welfare of the Buddhist Sangha, the Brāhmaṇas, the Ājivikas, the Nirgranthas and other sects.[59] He is also known to have dedicated three caves on the Bārābar Hill to them.[60] Thus the solicitude of Daśaratha for the Ājivikas was in keeping with the tolerant and eclectic traditions of his predecessors. In the present state of our knowledge it can be presumed that he had a special penchant for the Ājivika creed as his grandfather had for Buddhism and his brother for Jainism.

10. *Śāliśūka* (*219* B.C.—*206* B.C.)

Śāliśūka was the successor of Daśaratha.[61] We get interesting information about him in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the Gārgisamhitā.[62]

58 G. Bühler, 'The Bārābar and Nāgārjuni Hill cave Inscriptions of Aśoka and Daśaratha' *Indian antiquary* XX (1891) pp. 361-65. वहियका कुभा दषलथेन देवानांपियिना अनन्तलियम् अभिसितेना (आजीविकेहि) भदन्तेहि वाष-निषिदियाये निषिठे आ चन्दम्-सूलियम् ।

59 Hultzsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* I pp. 131.

60 *Ibid* p. 182

61 D. R. Bhandarkar conjectures that Śāliśuka seems to be an Indian form of the Greek Seleucos. He was named by his father after Seleucos III. (*A Comprehensive History of India* II p. 44). Since this guess lacks evidence nothing can be said about it.

62 *Yugapurāṇa*, ed. D. R. Mankad lines 89-93. p. 32.

ऋतुक्षा (ऋभुक्षाः ?) कर्मसुतः शालिशूको भविष्यति ।
स राजा कर्मसुतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।
स्वराष्ट्रं मर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ।
स ज्येष्टभ्रातरं साधु केतेति (? साधुं साकेते) प्रथितं गुणैः ।
स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् ।

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The text of this passage is very corrupt. Especially the last two lines bristle with variant readings which make little sense. In the MS of the *Yugapurāṇa* available in the Bibliotheque Nationale of Paris, bearing number B 184 No. 2 of the collection Guirin, the reading is '*sajyeṣṭhabhrātaram sādhu-keti*, another reading is *sa jyeṣṭhabhrātaram sādhuketiti* but in the MS *Vṛddhagārgī-Samhitā* in the possession of D. R. Mankad it is '*sa jyeṣṭhabhrātaram sādhu keteti prathitam guṇaih*'. Jayaswal has translated the last two lines as follows: "He, the fool, commemorating (following) his elder brother, the good and famous, on account of his virtues, will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma".[63] While making this translation Jayaswal amends '*ketiti*' as '*ketati*' and takes it to be the same as Pali '*kitteti*'. Mankad objects to this amendation and interpretation on the following grounds :—(1) it is a form of the present tense and conflicts with the whole trend of the chapter where the future tense is used, (2) by amending '*ketiti*' as '*ketati*' the two lines become syntactically independent and the existence of only one subject '*saḥ*' militates against such construction, (3) the elder brother is called good and virtuous and it does not stand to reason that Śāliśūka would be called Mohātmā or foolish by following him (4) it is not clear how the sense of 'commemorating' is transferred to 'following'. Mankad, therefore, rejects the interpretation of Jayaswal.

Mankad amends '*sādhu ketiti*' or '*sadhu keteti*' as *sadhum sākete* and translates the lines as follows :—"He, the fool, will establish at Sāketa his brother named Vijaya, who was good, famous by his virtues and religious." He takes Vijaya as the proper name of the elder brother of Śāliśūka. According to him, Śāliśūka, who was himself wicked and oppressive but strong, appointed his elder brother named Vijaya as a governor of Sāketa. This brother was virtuous and religious but apparently weak as a governor. Taking advantage of

[63] K. P. Jayaswal, 'Historical Data in the Gārgī-Saṁhitā and the Brahmin Empire' *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1928) pp. 397 ff ; 'Demetrius, Khāravela, and the Gārgī Saṁhitā, *ibid* (1928) pp. 127 ff ; 'The Paris MS of the Gārgī Saṁhitā' *ibid* (1928) pp. 129 ff ; '*Jyotiṣagrantha Gārgasaṁhitā meṁ Bhāratīya Itihāsa* (In Hindi) (Indian History in the astronomical treatise Gargasaṁhitā), *Nāgari Pracāriṇī Patrikā* Vol. 10, No. 4 pp. 1-15. Vide also K.H. Dhruva, 'Historical contents of the Yugapurāṇa', '*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*' (1930) pp. 18 ff.

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the weakness of this governor, the Yavanas, Pañcālas and Māthuras formed themselves into a confederacy and attacked Sāketa, subdued it and thence marched on and captured Pāṭaliputra. Thus Śāliśūka fell through his action of appointing his good but weak brother as the governor of Śāketa This is why he is called *Mohātmā* (foolish) by the writer of this Purāṇa.[64]

This interpretation is quite conjectural and unconvincing due to the following reasons : (1) the reading '*sādhum sākete*' is not warranted by any MS discovered so far. It is the product of Mankad's imagination. (2) The Purāṇa recounts the misdeeds and misconduct of Śāliśūka. It tries to paint as dark a picture of this monarch as possible. The epithets *duṣṭātman* (of evil disposition), *priyavigrahaḥ* (fond of quarrels and conflicts), *adhārmikaḥ* (of irreligious nature) and *mohātman* (of foolish temperament) employed for him by the author of the Purāṇa indicate his trend of thought. All these epithets occurring in lines 90-91 and 93 respectively have an underlying unity of conception. The substance of the author's view is contained in the remark that 'he terribly oppresses his own country' (*svarāṣṭram mardate ghoram*). Thus, it is unthinkable that while giving details of his defects and demerits the author of the Purāṇa would have mentioned such a good act of him as the appointment of his virtuous and meritorious gentle elder brother as the governor of Sāketa. It also passes comprehension as to why the author of the Purāṇa should have called Śāliśūka foolish for doing such a noble act as the appointing of his goodnatured elder brother as the governor of Sāketa. (3) Mankad holds that the Greek invasion took place during the reign of Śāliśūka and was facilitated by the presence of his virtuous but weak brother at Sāketa. Hence, according to him, this act of Śāliśūka proved his fatal mistake and the author of the Purāṇa was justified in calling him foolish. Mankad ignores the fact that the Maurya empire did not end with Śāliśūka but endured during the reigns of three more kings. It is an undisputed fact that Bṛhadratha was the last Maurya monarch on the throne of Pāṭaliputra and his general Puṣyamitra assassinated him and usurped the throne. The Greek invasion occurred after this event rather than before it. Hence there is nothing to show that the Greek invasion of Sāketa and Pāṭaliputra occurred during or after the reign of Śāliśūka. Mankad errs in treating the events recorded in the *Yuga Purāṇa* as chronologically successive. If his view is accepted, it

[64] D. R. Mankad, *Yuga Purāṇa* pp. 9-10.

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would follow that Śāliśūka was the direct successor of Udāyin! In fact, the *Yuga Purāṇa* gives isolated snapshots rather than a connected picture. (4) If Vijaya was the elder brother of Śāliśūka he was naturally entitled to succeed to the throne. It is strange that he let his brother occupy the imperial throne and himself became contented with the governorship of Sāketa. It was even more unnatural on the part of Śāliśūka to perpetuate a danger to his authority by installing his elder brother as the head of the administration of Sāketa whence he could pounce on his kingdom. In such cases the younger brothers remove the menace of the rebellions of the elder brothers root and branch by deposing or assassinating them. If Śāliśūka made his elder brother the governor of Sāketa be sowed tares in his field by keeping alive a source of rebellion. (5) There is no evidence to show that Sāketa was the headquarters of any provincial administration during the Maurya period. No record or reference to it pertaining to the Maurya period has come to light so far. Hence it cannot be assumed that Śāliśūka made Vijaya the governor of Śāketa when he was himself at the imperial capital at Pāṭaliputra, so near to Sāketa (Ayodhyā). (6) The text nowhere indicates that Vijaya was made the governor. It only shows that Vijaya was appointed at Śāketa, if Mankad's interpretation is to be accepted. The account abruptly ends there and it remains obscure as to what course of events the author had in mind while referring to this fact. In view of these considerations the aforesaid interpretation of Mankad is contrary to the context and defies historical probabilities. It is quite unnatural and unconvincing.

The correct reading and interpretation of the verse in question was given by H. Kern long ago. He suggested the reading '*hatvā vai*' instead of *keteti*.[65] Thus the line means "having killed his virtuous elder brother noted for his qualities." But Kern erred in interpreting the next line to mean that Śāliśūka "will establish his virtuous brother Vijaya."[66] The incorrectness of this view is quite obvious for there appears no connection between the killing of the elder brother and the installing of one named Vijaya on the throne by Śāliśūka, when he was himself the king. In this line *vijaya* is not a proper name but means 'conquest' as aptly suggested by Jayaswal. Thus the line signifies that the fool "will establish the

[65] H. Kern, *Bṛhat-Saṁhitā* Preface p. 36.
स ज्येष्टं भ्रातरं साधुं केतेति (हत्वा वै) प्रथितंगुणैः ।

[66] H. Kern, *op. cit.* p. 37.

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so-called conquest of dharma." The passage should thus be translated as follows :—

"Having killed his virtuous elder brother noted for his qualities the fool will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma."

This passage is pregnant with a subtle irony and parody. Here the expression '*mohātman*' is a parody of '*devānām-priya*' the title of Aśoka and Daśaratha, and '*vijayam dhārmikam*' is a paraphrase of *dharmavijaya* (Dhammavijaya or dhramavijaya) of the thirteenth Rock Edict of Aśoka.[67] Just after his accession Śāliśūka proclaimed a policy of *dharmavijaya* (conquest by Dharma) just like his predecessor Aśoka. But since he ascended the throne after killing his noble and virtuous elder brother, his policy of *dharmavijaya* was a sham. His practice contradicted his policy and his action negatived his profession. Thus, there is a subtle irony in the remark of the author of the *Yuga Purāṇa* that after committing the heinous offence of killing his elder brother, who was a model of virtue and piety, this king initiated and instituted the policy of the conquest by Dharma. The word '*nāma*' in *vijayam nāma dhārmikam*' heightens the satirical effect of the verses. It clearly shows that the conquest called religious was only nominal and showy, for the person, who proclaimed it, in reality, acted against it by wading to the throne through a pool of blood and killing such a noble soul as his elder brother. This verse, thus, elaborates the idea of verse 90, in which Śāliśūka is called '*priyavigrahaḥ*' or fond of quarrels and conflicts, as well as that of verse 91, where he is dubbed as *dharmavādī adhārmikaḥ*' or an irreligious man masquerading as religious and making proclamations of religion. In fact, the entire passage has a unique unity of conception and expression. In this way, this construction brings out the correct import of this passage and elucidates its literary beauty. Thus, we find that after the death of Daśaratha there was a sort of turmoil in which Śāliśūka killed his elder brother and assumed the reins of the state.

In line 89 Śāliśūka is called '*karmasuta*' or the son of Karma. It appears that his father's name was Karma. This Karma was probably a relative of Daśaratha. Śāliśūka does not appear to have been entitled to the throne. Hence he killed his elder brother and himself became king.

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[67] Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII (Shahbazgarhi version)
एव विज मज यो धमविजयो सो हिदलोकिको परलोकिको।

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Śāliśūka appears to have been a good warrior. In line 89 he is called *ṛtukṣā* which is meaningless. Mankad amends it as *ṛbhukṣā* which is an epithet of Indra. This word no doubt suggests prowess but it does not stand to reason that the author of the *Yuga Purāṇa*, who was out to revile the character of Śāliśūka, would have given him such a good and glorious title as *ṛbhukṣā* or Indra. In the Paris Manuscript the reading of this word is *dhānakṣā* which also makes no sense. It is likely that it is a corrupt form of *dhānuṣkaḥ* which signifies an 'archer' or 'warrior'.[69] Thus the line should be '*dhānuṣkaḥ karmasutaḥ śāliśūko bhaviṣyati*' meaning 'there will be the warrior Śāliśūka, the son of Karma'. The epithet '*priyavigrahaḥ*' (fond of conflict) used for him in line 90 is in keeping with the epithet '*dhānuṣkaḥ*'.

In spite of his martial prowess and strength Śāliśūka followed the policy of *dharmavijaya* launched by his predecessors. Aśoka championed and initiated this policy. Though he had great regard for all sects and creeds, he specially favoured Buddhism. Samprati espoused and spread Jainism and Daśaratha had a penchant for Ājvikism. Śāliśūka also had a leaning for these sects and proclaimed and pursued a policy of conquest by dharma rather than by arms. He also seems to be interested in religious disputations and expounded his own opinions in them. Hence the *Yuga Purāṇa* calls him '*dharmavādi*' or an exponent of religion.

As a consequence of the policy of *dharmavijaya* the administration became lax and the officials exploited the people. The programme of moral uplift and welfare as well as the exigencies of a vast administration necessitated a big revenue. We shall revert to this subject in the next study. Here it is sufficient to note that the average man felt burdened in the later Maurya period. Hence the author of the *Yuga Purāṇa* observed that Śāliśūka subjected the country to terrible oppression (*svarāṣṭram mardate ghoram*).

11. *Devadharman or Devavarman* (206 B C.—199 B.C.)

According to the '*E-Vāyu*' version, cited above, Devadharman was the successor of Śāliśūka. He is not described as the son of Śāliśūka. Hence he might have belonged to a cognate branch of the family. He reigned for seven years and bequeathed the kingdom to his son Śatadhanu.

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[69] cp. *Śiśupālavadha of Māgha*, II, 27.

निमित्तादपराद्धेषोर्धानुष्कस्येव वल्गितम् ।

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12. *Śatadhanu* (199 B.C.—191 B.C.)

Śatadhanu, the son of Devadharman or Devavarman, reigned for eight years. We do not know much about his times.

13. *Bṛhadratha* (191 B.C.—184 B.C.)

Bṛhadratha was the successor of Śatadhanu. The '*E-Vāyu*' and '*Vayu generally and Brahmāṇḍa*' versions do not specify his relation to Śatadhanu. But the *Matsya* version suggests that he was the son of Śatadhanu (*Bṛhadrathastu varṣāṇi tasya putraśca saptatiḥ* (*Sapta vai*).

Bṛhadratha organised a strong and efficient army under the famous Brāhmaṇa general Puṣyamitra. He used to inspect the parades of the army. It was while inspecting such a parade that Puṣyamitra assassinated him and put an end to the Maurya dynasty, as we learn from the Harṣacarita of Bāṇabhaṭṭa.[70] Bāṇa's reference suggests that Bṛhadratha committed the mistake of delegating great authority to Puṣyamitra.

Patañjali in the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyīsūtra* quotes a verse showing that "hearing the words of the king the Puṣyamāṇavas made the announcement."[71] The word Puṣyamāṇava or Pūṣamāṇava also occurs in the Jaina text *Angavijjā*.[72] V. S. Agrawala takes the word 'Puṣyamāṇava' to refer to the men or militia of Puṣyamitra.[73] It appears that the enterprising general Puṣyamitra organised a body of his own men by taking advantage of the latitude given to him by Bṛhadratha. Besides this, the army was fully under his control and manned by the officers of his choice and liking. Thus he commanded the loyalty and allegiance of the army. When the king inspecting the parade of the army was assassinated at the instigation of Puṣyamitra, the army stolidly watched the incident and joined the proclamation of the accession of its general to the throne.

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[70] *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 6th Ucchvāsa, ed. Jivananda (Calcutta) p. 692.
प्रज्ञादुर्बलञ्च बलदर्शनव्यपदेशदर्शिताशेषसैन्यः सेनानीः अनार्यो मौर्यं बृहद्रथं पिपेष पुष्यमित्रः स्वामिनम् ।

[71] *Mahābhāṣya* VII. 2, 23. महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः ।

[72] *Angavijjā* ed. Muni Puṇyavijaya, p. 160.

[73] V. S. Agrawala, 'A note on Puṣya-Māṇava'.
Journal of the Oriental Institute M. S. University of Baroda Vol. VI (Nos. 2-3) Dec.-March 56-57.
The expression दर्शिताशेषसैन्यः shows that the entire army was in favour of Puṣyamitra.

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The *Yuga Purāṇa* gives some more details of this *coup d'etat*. It mentions a Brāhmaṇa whose fame spread all around[74] and whose prosperous reign followed the chaotic and disturbed times of Śāliśūka and his successors. This world-famed (*lokaviśruta*) Brāhmaṇa is in all probability identical with Puṣyamitra. His own force is said to have consisted of 2000 horses and innumerable elephants.[75] This force seems to refer to the Puṣyamāṇavas. The parades of this force, Puṣyamāṇavas, were held in the southern sector of Pāṭaliputra which appears to have been the cantonment area.[76] It was there that Puṣyamitra staged his *coup* and killing Bṛhadratha assumed the reins of the government. At that time, according to the *Yuga Purāṇa*, the whole capital rang with rejoicing and festivities.[77]

The *Harṣacarita* states that Bṛhadratha was of weak brain and intelligence (*prajñādurbala*). Hence he could not effectively maintain his hold on the administration. On the other hand, Puṣyamitra was energetic and enterprising and commanded the confidence of the army. Hence he succeeded in overthrowing the Maurya dynasty. Thus fell the empire of the Mauryas.

14. *Remnants of the Mauryas*

It appears that some scions of the Maurya family continued to exist in Magadha even after the extinction of the Maurya dynasty. Hiuen Tsang speaks of Pūrṇavarman, king of Magadha, who restored the Bodhi tree destroyed by Śaśānka. He is said to be the last of the race of Aśokarāja. His realm must have shrunk to negligible proportions.

Traces of the Mauryas are also found in Rājputānā and the Deccan. The Kanaswa inscription[78] and the Dahok (Mewar)

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74 *Yuga Purāṇa*, line 148 p. 39.

ततो विष्वक्यशा कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः ।

75 *Ibid*, line 153.

हयानां द्वे सहस्रे तु गजवाहस्तु कल्पतः ।

76 *Ibid*, line 152.

पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनं तस्य दृस्यते ।

77 *Ibid*, lines 150-151.

ततः पुष्पपुरं रम्यं तथैव जनसंकुलम् ।
भविष्यद्वीरसिद्धार्थं (सिद्धयर्थं ?) ।
प्रसवोत्सवसंकुलम् ।।

78 *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XIX, p. 56.

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inscription[79] found in Rājputānā show that there was a king named Dhavala or Dhavalappadeva of the Maurya lineage reigning as the supreme ruler in V.S. 795 (A.D. 738). An inscription from Kankan refers to the Maurya Suketuvarma.[80] In *padmaprābhṛtakam* of Śūdraka there is a mention of Mauryakumāra Candrodaya who went with an army to subdue the feudatories.[81] Likewise the famous Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II speaks of the Mauryas as being defeated by this Cālukya King. They had a principality in Konkan about (634-35 A.D.). An inscription found at Waghli in Khandesh mentions a Maurya chief Govindarāja with the date 991 Śaka (A.D. 1069) as a subordinate of the Yādava Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Seuṇacandra II and further informs us that his family came to that part of the country from Valabhi in Surāṣṭra.[82]

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79 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XII, p. 11.
80 *Bombay Gazetteer* Vol. XIV, p. 372-73.
81 *Caturbhāṇi* ed. V. S. Agrawala and Moticandra, p. 40.
82 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. II, p. 221-222.

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CHAPTER VIII

Main Trends of the Social and Economic History of the Maurya Empire

1. *The urban-economic developments of the sixth century B.C.*

The *Ṛgveda* depicts the conflict and dichotomy of urban and rural cultures. Indra is described as the breaker of forts, the destroyer of cities and the enemy of the Paṇis. The destruction of the Paṇis is symbolic of the decadence of trade, industry and commerce. The Vedic society consisted of the Ārya *viś*[1] and *kṛṣṭi*[2] which crystallised into the aristocratic class and the common people. The aristocracy gradually broke up into priests (*brāhmaṇa*) and warrior rulers (*rājanya*). The common people took to agriculture, arts, crafts and commerce. The defeated and backward people were first classed as *Dasyus* and *Dāsas* and later as *Śūdras*.[3] The later Vedic period saw the tussles and conflicts of priests and kings.[4] The Upaniṣads signify the protest of the Kṣatriyas against the privileges and exclusivism of the Brāhmaṇas.

By the sixth centruy B.C., the age of Buddha and Mahāvira, the artisans, craftsmen, traders, financiers and capitalists had assumed an unprecedented importance and overshadowed the royal and sacerdotal classes. Buddhist and Jaina literature mirrors the brisk and widespread activities of traders, manufacturers and capitalists all over the country. The picture of the economic prosperity of the country that it depicts is exceptionally rich and colourful. We see large towns like Campā, Rājagṛha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambi and Banaras, mentioned in the *Mahāsudassana Sutta*, protected by moats, ramparts and gates and peopled by artisans, craftsmen, traders

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1 *Ṛgveda* X, 89, 7; VII, 19. 5; 1, 32, 10, X, 76, 3.

2 *Yajurveda* XX, 9 विशि राजा प्रतिष्ठितः ; *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* VIII, 26 राष्ट्राणि वै विशः.

3 *Yajurveda* (Vājasneyisamihitā) XVIII, 48; *ibid*, XXVI, 2; *Atharvaveda* XIX 62, 1.

4 *Aitareyabrāhmaṇa* VIII, II, A. B. Keith, *Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇas* p. 314 ; *Matsyapurāṇa* I, 63, 64 ; F. E. Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 340.

5 *Muṇḍakopanisad* I, 2, 7; *Kaṭhopaniṣad* I, 2, 5.

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and millionaires. These people followed their lucrative professions with great profit and affluence and had attained wonderful proficiency and specialisation in them. They had also developed their own autonomous organisations and guilds. We hear of the eighteen guilds,[6] representing their respective crafts and professions, each having its own president (*pamukha*) or elderman (*jeṭṭhaka*), treasurer or storekeeper (*bhaṇḍāgārika*) and bankers or financiers (*seṭṭhi*). Among the *seṭṭhis* also we come across the chief (*mahāseṭṭhi*) and deputy chief (*anuseṭṭhi*). These heads were entitled to the use of special insignia (*seṭṭhi-chatta*). They had a significant voice in the affairs of state and a decisive role in the formulation of its policies.

In the sixth century B.C. the power, prestige and influence of plutocrats overshadowed the aristocrats. In the kingdom of Bimbisāra there were five millionaires, Jotiya, Jaṭila, Meṇḍhaka, Puṇṇaka and Kākabaliya. They were the pillars of the strength and prosperity of Magadha. On the other hand, the neighbouring kingdom of Kosala had no plutocrat of their standing. Hence her king Prasenajit requested the Magadhan monarch Bimbisāra to permit the migration and settlement of a financier in his kingdom so that it may also prosper and flourish. At first Bimbisāra was reluctant to part with financiers of his realm but after great entreaties he consented to permit Meṇḍhaka's son Dhanañjaya to settle in Kosala. The staff and attendants of this financier moved towards the Kosalan capital Śrāvasti with gorgeous paraphernalia and magnificent equipment. As tradition has it, this grand retinue halted at the outskrit of the city in the evening to avoid its din and bustle and permanently settled there which, in consequence of the evening sojourn, came to be known as Sāketa. The daughter of this financier Dhanañjaya, named Viśākhā[7] was married to Pūrṇavardhana, the son of the celebrated financier of Śrāvasti named Mrigāra. King Pra-

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[6] *Cambridge History of India* I, p. 183-184; T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, pp. 98-100 ; B. C. Law, *India as described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, pp. 178-179; *Dīghanikāya* I, 1, 2 (*Sāmaññaphala Sutta*) lists 25 professions. In the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* there are three large lists of *gandharvikas* (musicians), *śreṇis* (guilds) and *śilpāyatanas* (craftsmen). The first has 24 entries, the second 36 entries and the third 46 entries. Ed. Sénart Vol. III, pp. 112-114; Vol. III, p. 442-443.

[7] *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā* IV, 8; *Anguttara-mikāya-Aṭṭhakathā* I,7,2; E. J. Thomas, *Life of Buddha*, pp. 105-6; G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names II*, p. 901; Rāhula Sānkṛityāyana, *Buddha-Caryā*, pp. 325-332.

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senajit also attended the marriage and enjoyed the sumptuous festivities for quite a long time. The glamour and brilliance of this marriage live forever in Pali literature. It is said that the bride was offered a dowry of a creeper-necklace (*mahālatā-ābhūṣaṇa*) worth nine crores, 5400 carts of coins, 500 carts full of vessels of gold, ghee, husked and winnowed rice, ploughs, ploughshares and other farm-implements and 500 carts with three slave women in each along with big cattle, bulls and milch-cows. When Viśākhā drove on the roads of Śrāvasti standing in an open car and wearing the glittering creeper-necklace with the dowry following her, the citizens thronging the windows, balconies and verandahs were dazzled and astonished at the sight of the fabulous wealth.

In Śrāvasti dwelt also the generous Anāthapiṇḍaka who purchased the Jetavana for the Buddhist order from prince Jeta by spreading gold coins (*hiraṇya*) over it so that their edges touched each other (*Koṭi-santhāra*).[8] It is said that the owner prince Jeta told the buyer Anāthapiṇḍaka that the plot could not be sold even if one were to cover it with gold coins by joining their edges. Thereupon, the buyer said that he had purchased the plot by accepting the price. The seller demurred to transfer it. Thereupon the matter was referred to the court which decided it in favour of the buyer. This shows that business magnates had acquired greater power and pelf than the princes of royal blood. Hence there is no wonder that kings wooed these financiers. It is common knowledge that Bimbisāra used to attend the dinners at the house of the father-in-law of Anāthapiṇḍaka at Rājagṛha. In the *Kathākośaprakaraṇa* of Jineśvarasūri there is a story that the widowed mother of Śālibhadra named Bhadrā purchased the costly blankets from some merchants which King Bimbisāra could not purchase for queen Celanā on account of their very high price. This Bhadrā used these blankets for foot-dusters. Once she invited Bimbisāra and Celanā to drive with her, got the entire passage tastefully decorated and accorded a warm welcome to the King. The King is stated to have been astonished at the sight of her stables of horses and elephants and multistoreyed mansions full of servants and riches.

The aforesaid stories conclusively prove that in the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra economic resources came to be regarded as the mainstay of the state. The richness of Magadha in metal deposits (Rajgir has important iron and copper resources) explained

[8] *Vinaya Cullavagga* VI, 4, 9; *Jātaka* I, p. 92.

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her rise as the nucleus of the Indian empire. The fertility of her soil also added considerably to her economic potential and political importance.[9] According to the *Mahāvagga* her territory consisted of 80,000 villages.[10] In the sixth century B.C. these resources were being fully tapped.[11]

As in Magadha so in other states the rise of the urban manufacturing and commercial class signified the growing importance of economic factors. We hear of large caravans of merchants, comprising as many as 500 wagons travelling from Eastern India to Kaśmíra and Gandhāra for trade purposes.[12] These merchants crossed the boundaries of India also, visiting Babylon in the West and the islands of the Indian ocean in the East.[13] The Jātakas are full of numerous references to large caravans moving by land and

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9 *Pariśiṣṭa-parvan* of Hemacandra, pp. 1-2.

देशोऽस्ति मगधाभिख्यो वसुधामुखमण्डनम् ।
अप्येकवारमुप्तानि लूनान्यपि हि कर्षकैः ॥
तत्र धान्यानि दूर्वावत् प्ररोहन्ति मुहुर्मुहुः ।
सर्वत्राप्युर्वरैवोर्वी काले वर्षति वारिदः ॥

10 *Mahāvagga* V, 1.

11 *Arthaśāstra* VII, 14.

12 T. W. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 98. "The caravans, long lines of small two-wheeled carts, each drawn by two bullocks, were a distinctive feature of the times."
Moti Chandra, *Sārthavāha*, p. 65.

13 Indian merchants used to go to the Middle-East with compass crows and peacocks. On a Fara seal a bird is shown to be hovering over a ship. (Henri Frankfort, *Cylinder Seals* plate XI), Sylvain Lévi holds that the peacock was introduced into the West in the Achaemenian period. "Le passage du paon de l' Inde à Méditerranée, sous les auspices des Achéménides, est, mieux qu'un fait, un symbole; il exprime l' unité économique d'une immense région réalisée pour la première fois, l' ouverture des grandes routes de pénétration, la rapidité des échanges. L' Inde, entrainée dans cette révolution qui lui a donné une écriture, a négligé d'en conserver l' histoire; le conte, plus fidéle, en aura du moins préservé la trace." (Autour du Bāveru-Jātaka,' *Memorial Sylvain Levi*, p. 292). As regards the references to the voyages to Suvarṇadvípa which denoted the land beyond the Eastern Sea (Bay of Bengal) see Sylvain Lévi, les Marchands de Mer et leur role dans le Bouddhisme primitif *Memorial Sylvain Levi*, p. 133: G. Goédés; *Les Etats Hindouises d' Indochine et d' Indonesie*, pp. 36-52.

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sea routes with valuable merchandise and making fabulous profits. These caravans (*sārtha*) led by their leaders (*sārthavāha*) and protected by their own militias were fully organised and disciplined. Their frequent journeys and voyages brought about the economic and commercial unity of the country and rendered the polity of the Sixteen Mahājanapadas obsolete. The repeated change of frontiers and payment of tolls impeded free commercial activity.[14] We know that the traders used to complain about the payment of tolls to the Magadhan officers as well as the Licchavis twice. Thus, the character of political institutions contradicted the possibilities of economic development which necessitated the growth of a unified state.

2. *Social and political unity as an expression of economic unity.*

The religious leaders of that time, particularly Buddha, adumbrated the ideal of universal sovereignty based on righteousness and rectitude. His ideal was an emperor reigning over the whole of Jambudvipa with love, piety and peace.[15] This ideal was pregnant with the tendency of amalgamation that was very pronounced in the spirit of the time. To quote B. M. Barua, "the different records of the Brāhmaṇas, the Jainas and Buddhists concur in pointing to a time when the rival religious sects had to make

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[14] T. W. Phys Davids observes: "There were no made roads and no bridges. There were taxes and octroi duties at every different station entered. The cost of such carriage must have been great, so great that only the more costly goods could bear it." (*Buddhist India*, p. 98) As regards the articles of trade he writes: "Silks, muslins, the finer sorts of cloth and cutlery and armour brocades, embroideries and drugs and perfumes, ivory and ivorywork, jewellery and gold—these were the main articles in which the merchants dealt." *Buddhist India*, p. 100; *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol II (The Mauryas and Śātavāhanas, pp. 430-458). We learn from the *Aṅguttaranikāya* that Buddha complained of the bad roads of Mathura full of dust and dogs and declined to go there. (D. Kausambi, *Bhagavān Buddha*, p. 45) Mahāvira was also tormented by dogs in Aṅga (Bhāgalpur region) during his journey. These defects could be removed by a unified state.

[15] D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 233; *Dīghanikāya* III, pp. 59-146.

चातुरन्तो विजितावि सो इमं पठवीं सागरपरियन्तं अखिलं अकण्टकं इद्धं फीतं खेमं सिवं निरब्बुदं अदण्डेन असत्थेन अभिविजिय अज्झावसति ।

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a compromise among themselves by accepting the deities of one another, especially to an epoch when the emperor was worshipped as a God. Such changes in Indian religion were coeval with the foundation of an empire and consequent on the growth of the idea of personality in religion and state."[16] The march of Bimbisāra against Anga was the beginning of the realisation of the ideal of the unified state set forth by the Buddha. This process of translating this ideal into reality was completed with the conquest of Kalinga by Aśoka and the promulgation of Dharmavijaya as the policy of the state thereafter.

The economic evolution of the age of Buddha manifested itself in a transformation of social standards. As seen above, in the Upaniṣad period the ruling rājanya class questioned the right of the priesthood to exclusive sacerdotal privileges and spiritual attainments. In the age of Buddha both the royal and priestly classes were eclipsed by the nascent trading and artisan classes. The leaders of the new religious and philosophical thought favoured the merchants and craftsmen. The very first disciples of Buddha were two merchants named Tapassu and Bhallika.[17] A greater part of his life was spent among plutocrats, millionaires and businessmen. Likewise, Mahāvira and Maṅkhalin Ghosāla lived among craftsmen and artisans like the potter Halāhala. A scion of degraded caste (Mātangakula) like Prasenajit occupied the throne of Kosala and contracted matrimonial relations with King Bimbisāra of Magadha and became the favourite of the teachers and thinkers of those times. Brāhmaṇas began to adopt a variety of professions with astonishing frequency. The *Mahāsutasomajātaka* tells the tale of a rich brāhmaṇa who carried on trade between the eastern and western parts of India in 500 wagons[18] and the *Phandana-Jātaka* speaks of a brāhmaṇa who took the profession of a carpenter.[19] A brāhmaṇa of the Bhāradvāja gotra living at Eknālā in Dakkhinagiri was a rich agriculturist[20] and another living in a frontier

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16 B. M. Barua, 'Ājivikas', *Journal of the Department of Letters* Vol. II (1920), pp. 1-80.

17 *Vināya Pitaka*, Mahāvagga I, i. 5 Rahula Sānkrityāyana's translation, p. 77.

18 *Jātaka* ed. Fausböll V, p. 471.

19 *Ibid*, IV, p. 207.

20 *Ibid*, V, p. 127.

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village earned his livelihood by selling hunted beasts.[21] According to the *Dasabrāhmaṇajātaka*, the brāhmaṇas following the avocations of physicians (*tikicchasamā*), servants (*paricārakasamā*), tax-collectors (*niggāhaka-samā*), diggers of the soil (*khānughātasamā*), tradesmen (*vāṇijakasamā*), butchers (*goghātakā*), hunters (*luddhakasamā*) and bathers or Yājnikas (*malamajjanasamā*).[22] As the brāhmaṇas took to the callings of the vṛṣalas so the latter also aspired to become teachers and prophets by virtue of their piety, purity and philanthropy. In the words of the *Suttanipāta* caste did not prevent a man from attaining the attributes of a brāhmaṇa provided he subjugated his passions and instincts.[23] The aboriginal śvapākas and cāṇḍālas were no doubt outside the pale of Ārya society but even they could think of rising to the status of Brāhmaṇas. Harikeśa-bala came of a family of Śvapākas yet ranked as a monk and sage.[24] A merchant's daughter got a cāṇḍāla belaboured because he met her at the city gate, but subsequently she became his wife. A kṣatriya is said to have worked successfully as a potter, basket-maker, reed-worker, garland-maker and cook. This social mobility and resilience was the result of the urban development of the sixth century B.C. In the cities the chatter of traders and clatter of craftsmen drowned the babble of caste-complexes. Near the gates of the cities, in squares and bazaars, thronged and jostled people of all callings and forgot their respective superiority and exclusivism. This revolution has been brilliantly described by a famous scholar as follows :

"In the Buddhist period the advance of civilization dissolved the old union. Big towns now formed the centre of life. In the towns or before the gates of towns lay the great, perhaps the greatest, part of the scenes of the transactions that the Buddhist texts relate.....They were the residence of a highly progressive artisan class ramifying into many branches and the force of circumstances had driven masses of persons of Aryan descent into the arts and crafts which at one time were, as a rule, the occupation of

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21 *Ibid*, II, p. 200

22 R. Fick, *Social Organisation in North-East India in Buddha's Time* (Eng. Tr.) pp. 221, 247.

23 *Suttanipāta*, Basala-Sutta

कामरागं विराजेत्वा ब्रह्मलोकूपगो अहु ।
न तं जाति निवारेसि ब्रह्मलोकूपपत्तिया ॥

24 Dharmanand Kosambi, *Bhagvān Buddha*, pp. 222-24.

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the śūdras. Guilds and corporations of merchants and artisans stepped into the foreground as adequately representing the actual situation and its living interests pushing into the background such concepts as those of vaiśya and śūdra."[25]

Buddhism, Jainism, Ājivikism and other religious and philosophical systems of the times were the expressions of these egalitarian social tendencies.

3. *Secular standpoint and rational outlook*

The economic orientation of life and culture generated a secular, rational and social trend of thought. People lost faith in supernatural forces and recognised the value of social adjustment. In an earlier study we have referred to the *Kūṭadanta-Sutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* (5) where a priest advises the king to abandon yajña and provide seed etc. to those who desired to cultivate land, furnish capital to those who wanted to do business, and give jobs and suitable salaries to those who sought government service. Thus, all people would be busy in their work and the chances of rebellion would be eliminated. Likewise in the *Cakkavatti-sīhanāda-sutta* of the *Dīghanikaya* King Dṛḍhanemi exhorted his son to eradicate poverty and unemployment from the land by distributing work and money among the people instead of swinging between the extremes of wholesale acquittals and convictions of culprits. This secular approach to social problems was based on the importance of material and economic factor in human life. Expounding this ideology in clear-cut terms Kauṭilya wrote that material factor alone is important, for religious observances and worldly pleasures depend on it.[26]

4. *The dichotomy of rich and poor*

The rapid economic development of the Pre-Maurya period ushered in an era of material prosperity but concentrated it in the hands of wealthy people. While we hear of multimillionaires (*aśīti-koṭivibhava-seṭṭhis*) rolling in affluence and ready to cover the earth with gold, we also find the worker earning only a *māṣaka* or

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[25] Hermann Oldenberg, *On the History of the Caste System* translated by H. C. Chakladar in *India Antiquary* (1920), pp. 205-224.

[26] *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* I, 3 (Shāmaśāstri's edition), p. 12.
अर्थ एव प्रधान: इति कौटिल्य: अर्थमूलौ हि धर्मकामाविति

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half *māṣaka* by which he could hardly support himself and his mother.[27]

Whereas the rich frequented the restaurants and enjoyed cooked meat (*pakkvamāṅsa*), rice (*odana*) and cakes (*apūpa*) and recreated themselves in taverns (*pānaśālā*), the poor had to live by a rice-ball (*kummāsa-piṇḍa*) or barley boiled like rice and a little soup (*appasūpam yavabhattam*).[28] Like trade and industry, agriculture also underwent a process of monopolisation and capitalisation. The kuṭumbins, seṭṭhis and gāma-bhojakas began to acquire lands on large scale and work them by means of slave and hired labour. We hear of large estates of 1000 kariṣas and of farmers owning 500 plough-shares.[29] Even simple villagers and farmers are said to be keeping slaves in their families.[30] It appears that the slaves played a leading part in the domestic life of the people. They were engaged in cooking, fetching water, pounding and drying rice, carrying food to and watching the fields, giving alms, ministering to the master when he retired, handling the plates and dishes, bringing the spitoon and fetching the fans during meals, sweeping the yards and stables and similar other duties.[31] Ordinarily the

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[27] 'The rich man in his palace, the poor man at his door' is the motto of this age. In the *Apadāna* Vol. II, p. 357 we have the following life-sketch of a wealthy man (seṭṭhiputta) : Born in a rich family he is endowed with the five pleasures of the senses. Inside his palatial residence he is entertained by dancing girls with music and dances. Young maidens please him with jokes and plays. Barbers, gardeners, jewellers, acrobats etc. attend on him. The poor and the needy and the beggars and vagrants appear at his door. Traders and merchants of various countries visit him. Artisans and craftsmen approach him for jobs and orders.

For the standard of riches see *Jātaka* V, p. 383

[28] *Mahāummagga Jātaka* (*Jātaka* Vol. VI, p. 372) मुट्ठि मुट्ठि कत्वा अप्पसूपं यवभत्तं भुंजमानम् ; *Jātaka* I, p. 486 तण्डुलमणस्स भत्तम् The rich man enjoyed rich rice (*mahāvrihi*) boiled with water and prepared with meat (मांसौदन) whose heap on the plate looked like the Vindhya mountain (विन्ध्यो वर्धितकम्)

[29] *Jātaka* IV, p. 276. "The karisa is a square measure of land, being that space on which a karisa of seed can be sown."

[30] *Jātaka* VI, p. 117; III, p. 162; II, p. 428

[31] Ratilal Mehta, *Pre-Buddhist India*, p. 211

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price of a slave girl was 100 kārṣāpaṇas but some slaves were 700 kārṣāpaṇas worth and a few had the value of 1000 pieces.[32] The treatment of the slaves depended on the good will of the master. But, we have references to maltreatment of slaves also. They were often thrashed, fettered, chained, branded and coerced.[33]

In this period of the concentration of the factors of production in the hands of the moneyed class the free labourer was gradually impoverished and ground down. He could not compete with salve labour employed on large scale projects and could hardly keep body and soul together with his scanty earnings. Hence he ranked even below the slave. The Jātakas deplore as a sign of social decadence the distressing sight of sturdy peasants leaving at home their own empty barns and swelling the ranks of landless agricultural labourers to toil as hirelings (kammakara or bhataka) on the estates of capitalists.[34] Buddhism and Jainism deprecated the profession of sickle and yoke and branded the cultivator as engaged in a mean and violent work. In their scale of values the labourer ranked with the slave.[35] The daily

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32 *Jātaka*, I, p. 299; III, p. 343; VI, p. 577

33 *Jātaka* I, p. 402, VI, p. 554 ; VI, p. 138 ; *Puggalapaṇṇati* p. 56; B.C. Law, 'Slavery as known to the early Buddhists' *Bhāratīya Vidyā* IX (1948) K. M. Munshi Diamond Jubilee Volume I, p. 365; U. N. Ghoshal, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, pp. 461-465; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life in Ancient India as depicted in the Jaina Canons*, pp. 106-108.

34 *Jātaka* I, p. 339

35 *Dīghanikāya* I, 51; *Aṅguttaranikāya* I, 145, 206. Buddhism was the expression of the urban-economic culture-complex of the sixth century. The weltanshaaung of urban culture has been graphically described by Oswald Spengler as follows:—"In the city the picture is of deep long gorges between high stony houses filled with coloured dust and strange uproar, and men dwell in these houses the like of which no natural being has ever conceived. Costumes, even faces, are adjusted to a background of stone. By day there is a street traffic of strange colours and tones and by night a new light that outshines the moon. And the yokel stands helpless on the pavement, understanding nothing and understood by nobody, tolerated as a useful type in farce and provider of this world's daily bread." (*The Decline of the West* Vol. II, p. 95)—"The splendid mass cities harbour lamentable poverty and degraded habits."—"The giant city

(*continued on page* 18

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wages of a labourer ranged, as said above, between one māsaka ($\frac{1}{16}$ Karṣāpaṇa) and $\frac{1}{2}$ māsaka ($\frac{1}{32}$ Karṣāpaṇa). Of course, one māsaka* could fetch enough quantity of food and grocery and a small quantity of ghee or oil for single person and sometimes frugal persons enjoyed some other petty amenities, *e. g.*, garland, per-

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(*continued from page* 185)

sucks the country dry, insatiably and incessantly demanding and devouring fresh streams of men." (*Ibid* Vol. II, p. 102).

The dichotomy of rich and poor and the disregard of the village-worker are important traits of Buddha's world-view. In the Jaina text Ṭhāṇāṇga (sthānāga) the slaves (dāsa) labourers (bhṛtaka) and cultivators (bhāillaga) are called people of lower category. These people and the indebted are debarred from initiation. [Jagdish Candra Jain, *History of Prakrit Literature* (in Hindi) p. 57].

* Dr. D. C. Sircar informs me that the relation between the copper and silver kārṣāpaṇas appears to have often been—16 copper: 1 silver. Thus 1 copper kārṣāpaṇa: 1/16 silver kārṣāpaṇa. (Dr. D. C. Sircar's letter to me no. 376-A/4611.4157 dated 11 December 1959.) P. L. Gupta holds that one paṇa consisted of 32 māṣakas. He interprets a passage of the *Arthaśāstra* (II, 28) prescribing the rates of ferry toll to mean that one pāda was of eight māṣakas [P. L. Gupta, 'Numismatic data in the Arthasāstra' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* [A. S. Altekar Volume *XXII* (1960) p. 21] An exhaustive list of coin-denominations is given in *Arthaśāstra* II, 12 as paṇa, half-paṇa, quarter paṇa (pāda), one-eight paṇa (aṣṭabhāga), māsaka, half-māsaka, Kākiṇi and half-Kākiṇi. In it the denomination following 1/8 paṇa is māṣaka. There is no denomination in between them. But elsewhere in this work there are references to a two māṣaka (dvimāsaka) coin. So this two māsaka coin must be identical with aṣṭabhāgā or 1/8 pana. If we hold that this two māṣaka coin was different and distinct from the aṣṭabhāga, it should have been mentioned in the list given above. The fact that it is not there shows that there was no such distinct coin. In case we think that $\frac{1}{8}$ paṇa (aṣṭabhāga) represented 4 māṣakas, it would appear strange that there was no coin for 2 māṣakas. The above list of coin-denominations is so complete that there hardly seems any scope of omission in it. Therefore, the view of Shāmaśāstri and V. S. Agrawala that one Kārṣāpaṇa was equivalent to 16 māṣakas is correct. Thus the ratio between silver and copper was 1 : 16, since according to the *Arthaśāstra* paṇa was a silver coin and māṣaka a copper coin.

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fume or drink with a part of it, yet it is patent that they were hardpressed.

The process of economic impoverishment and squeezing can be measured by the gradual devaluation of the currency. The old decimal coinage of Śatamāna group had become a thing of the past. Pāṇini referred to a coin standard of 20 māsakas or 40 rattis called vimśatikā.[36] At the time of Bimbisāra also this standard was prevalent, as we learn from Buddhaghoṣa's commentary on the *Vinaya*.[37] But, at the time of the Nandas and Mauryas the *kārṣāpaṇ* standard of 32 rattis become prevalent.[38] There is a Pali tradition that Kauṭilya or Cāṇakya increased the treasury by debasing the curren y.[39] Probably it refers to the promulgation of the silver kārṣāpaṇa standard instead of the old vimśatikā standard. In Kosala the kārṣāpaṇa was further reduced to 24 or 30 rattis, as we learn from the finds from Paila in the Kheri district of U. P.[40] Subsequently silver-plated copper kārṣāpaṇas of a weight standard of 32 rattis were struck. In these coins silver became nominal, the metal was all copper. Many specimens of these coins showing traces of thin copper plating have come to light. They represent the debased coinage of Maurya times introduced to meet some unusual drain on the currency and replenish the exchequer. Thus, a man earning one kārṣāpaṇa in Maurya period had less purchasing capacity than in earlier times.

In the money-economy loans and mortgages are very common. The more the concentration of wealth the greater the rate of interest. Pāṇini had a special term for a person who advances ten and realises eleven (*dasaikādaśa*)."[41] Patañjali has referred

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36 *Pāṇini* V. 1, 32 विंशतिकात् ख discussed in V. S. *Agrawala*, *Indian as Known to Pāṇini*, pp. 268-269.

37 C. D. Chatterji, "some New Numismatic terms in Pali texts', *Journal of the U. P. Historical society* VI (1933) p. 157-158.

38 *Arthaśāstra* II, 12, p. 84 पणमर्धपणं पादमष्टभागमिति । पादाजीवं ताम्ररूपं माषकमर्धमाषकं काकिणीमर्धकाकिणीति ।

39 *Mahāvamsa Ṭīkā* (Vaṁsatthappakāsini) ed. G. P. Malalasekera, p. 183 एकं कहापणं अट्ठकहापणग्घनिकं कत्वा असीतिकोटिप्पमाणरासिं कत्वा

40 Durga Prasad, *Numismatic Supplement* XVIII, p. 77, Walsh, *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* No. II, p. 15-26.

41 *Pāṇini* IV, 4, 31.

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to userers who realised double and treble their advances (*dvaiguṇika* and *traiguṇika*). Baudhayana has fixed the rate of interest at 20%.[42] Gautama, Vyāsa, Nārada, Manu and Yājñavalkya have recommended the rate of 15%. Kauṭilya also treated this rate as equitable but stated that in commercial circles the rate of interest was 60%, in forests 120% and on sea 240%.[43] The Mauryas may have devised some ways to curb usuary, for Megasthenes states that the Indians neither put out money at usuary nor know how to borrow. Yet the report of the Greek envoy has to be taken with a grain of salt.

5. *State capitalism under the Mauryas*

The Maurya empire was the expression of the economic unity of the country. Its system is reflected in *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya From it we learn that the individual capitalist and trader was treated as a menace to the state. Kauṭilya classes the traders (*Vaṇiks*) with those people who are really thieves but parade as gentlemen.[44] Hence we discern a tendency to nationalise and centralise all the key-industries and trades in its economy. A substantial part of the land was directly managed by the state. The Sītādhyakṣa got it tilled with slaves and labourers.[45] Other land was settled on rent with the cultivators for life on the assumption that land belonged to him who tilled it. Hence the inability to cultivate land rendered it liable to forfeiture.[46] Of course, the state advanced seed, cattle and capital to promote cultivation[47] but it also expected contributions from the cultivators in the shape of labour, bullocks and money for cooperative undertakings launched in the village.[48] Some land was granted free of rent and taxes

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42 *Patañjali* on Pāṇini IV, 4, 30; II, 3, 31,

43 *Arthaśāstra* III, II, p. 174 सपादपणा धर्म्या मासवृद्धि पणशतस्य । पचंपणा व्यावहारिकी । दशपणा कान्तारकाणाम् ।

44 *Ibid* IV, II, 76, p. 204. विंशतिपणा सामुद्राणाम्
एवं चोरानचोराख्यान् वणिक्कारुकुशीलवान् ।
भिक्षुकान्कुहकाँश्चान्डान् वारयेद्देशपीडनात् ॥

45 *Ibid* II, 34, p. 115 सीताध्यक्षो बहुहलपरिकृष्टायां स्वभूमौ दासकर्मकर-दण्डप्रतिकर्तृभिर्वपयेत् ।

46 *Ibid* अकृषतामाच्छिद्यान्येभ्यो प्रयच्छेत् ।

47 *Ibid* धान्यपशुहिरण्यैश्चैनानानुगृहणीयात्तान्यनुसुखेन दद्युः ।

48 *Ibid* सम्भूय सेतुबन्धादपक्रामतः कर्मकरबलीवर्दाः कर्म कर्युः । व्यय-कर्मणि च भागी स्यात् न चांशं लभेत् ।

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to teachers, priests, scholars and officials in lieu of salaries but it could not be alienated by sale or mortgage.[49] As Romila Thapar says, land revenue given to religious sects did not mean a transfer of ownership but only the gift of revenue so that the members of the sect did not have to work for a living. This position somewhat accords with the observation of the greek writers that in the Maurya age all land was deemed to belong to the crown.[50]

Besides land, all tanks and ponds and their produce,[51] the sub-soil yields and minerals,[52] the forest produce,[53] the pastures[54] and cattle, horses and elephants, roads, waterways[55] etc. belonged to the crown and were managed by their respective departments.[56] The state ran its cotton, oil, sugar and dairy industries ; it had the monopoly of the armament industry and ship-building yards, it had the sole right to the manufacture of wines and liquors, the minting of coins, the prescription of weights and measures and regulation of prices and customs and wages.[57]

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49 *Ibid* विक्रयाधानवर्जम् ।

50 *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 368–428; Bernhard, Bröler, *Kauṭilya Studien* Vol. I, pp. 77-93. R. Thaper, *Aśoka and the Decline of the Mauryas*, p. 67. R. Thapar says that the interesting fact which emerges from the Rumminder inscription of Aśoka is that the King deals directly with the question of exemption from land tribute. If there had been any intermediary in the form of a landowner, the King would have had some difficulty in granting the exemption, since it would have effected the landowners' economic position Megasthenes mentions that military officers were paid in cash. This eliminated the necessity of granting them land revenue by way of payment as was done by most later Indian governments. Thus there could not be any landlord system.

51 *Arthaśāstra* II, 1, p. 47 मत्स्यञ्लव हरितपण्यानां सेतुषु राजा स्वाभ्यं गच्छेत् ।

52 *Ibid* II, 12, pp. 80–85

53 *Ibid* II, 17, pp. 99–101

54 *Ibid* II, 33, pp. 140–141

55 *Ibid* II, 4.55, VII, 12, p. 300

56 *Ibid* II, 31–32, pp. 135–140

57 *Ibid* II, 15, p. 97 पण्याध्यक्षः स्थलजलजानां नानाविधानां स्थल-पथवारिपथोपयातानां सारफल्गवघन्तिरं प्रियाप्रियतां च विद्यात् । तथा

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6. *The lot of the poor in the Maurya Empire*

The Maurya State frowned on large accumulations of wealth. An intricate and ubiquitous network of spies gathered reports aboul the assets of wealthy pople and kept an strict eye on both the prodigal and frugal persons.[58] Ingenious methods of fleecing and appropriating the wealth of the rich by making false imputations and concocting false charges were also in vogue.[59]

Thus an effort was made to transform private capitalism into state capitalism by eliminating vested interests in rural and urban economy. This meant some safety and security for the common man. An Ārya could not become a slave. His free status was guaranteed by the state.[60] The rights and equities of the slaves, drawn from aboriginal and foreign tribes, were also regulated and codified.[61] The free worker, artisan and merchant were also afforded some protection.[62] Kauṭilya laid down that a person causing hurt to a crafsman was liable to be put to death (III, 19). Likewise a person guilty of stealing the belongings of artisans had to pay a heavy fine of 100 paṇas (II, 13). Prices were fixed from the standpoint of public convenience. Large profits were disallowed if

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58 *Ibid* II, 36, p. 144. शौण्डिकपाक्ववमांसिकौदनिकरूपाजीवाः परिज्ञातमावासयेयुः । विक्षेपसंक्षेपक्रयविक्रयप्रयोजनकालान्
अतिव्ययकर्तारमत्याहितकर्माणं च निवेदयेयुः ।
Ibid II, 9, p. 69. मूलहरतादत्विककदर्याश्चैं प्रतिषेधयेत् ।

59 *Ibid* V, 2, 90, p. 243.
हिरण्यकरकर्मण्यानाहारयेयुः न चैषां कञ्चिदपराधं परिहरेयुः । ते ह्यपरिगृहीतमभिनीय विक्रिणीरन् । *ibid*, p. 245 वैदेहकव्यंजनो वा प्रख्यातव्यवहारः प्रवहणनिमित्तं याचितकमवक्रीतकं वा रुप्यसुवर्णभाण्डमनेकं गृह्णीयात् । समाजे वा सर्वपण्यसंदोहेन प्रभूतं हिरण्यसुवर्णमृणं गृह्णीयात् प्रतिभाण्डमूल्यं च चदुभयं रात्रौ मोपयेत् ।

60 *Ibid* III, 13, 65, p. 181. Quoting Megasthenes Diodoros wrote that "the law ordains that noone among them shall under any circumstances be a slave, but that enjoying freedom they shall respect the equal right to it which all possess." (Diodoros II, 39)
न त्वेवार्यस्य दासभावः च ।

61 *Ibid* III, 13, 65, pp. 182–183.

62 *Ibid* IV, 1, 76, pp. 200–204 ; IV, 2, 77.

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they proved oppressive or deleterious to the people.[63] Usually the profit of a trader was fixed at 5% on local goods and 10% on foreign goods (Kauṭilya II 21). Special attention was paid to the problem of famines which must have been very keen in that age. Two inscriptions in Maurya Brāhmi found in Sohgaura in the Gorakhpur district (*Indian Antiquary* XXV, pp. 261–6) and at Mahāsthanagarh in Bogra district Bengal (*Epigraphia Indica* XXII XXII, pp. 1–3) speak of the state granaries instituted to combat the ravages of famine whenever and wherever such contingencies arose. Yet the Maurya measures did not signify any appreciable amelioration of the lot of the poor. Kauṭilya fixed the wages of the slaves, agricultural labourers and field watchmen at $1\frac{1}{4}$ kārṣāpaṇa per month or 2/3 māsaka per day plus food in proportion to their work.[64] On the other hand, the lowest daily wages of a Government servant was two kārṣāpaṇa and that of a skilled worker four kārṣāpaṇas.[65] The disparity of the rich and poor is also indicated in the description of food. While an Ārya eats 1 prastha of rice and soup equal to one fourth part of rice and ghee equal to one fourth part of soup, the dāsa or karmakara can only have one sixth prastha of soup and one twelfth prastha of ghee.[66] In fact, the deplorable condition of the worker is manifest from the injunction of Aśoka to mete out proper treatment to the slaves and workers as part of one's religious duty.[67] But the pious wish of this noble emperor

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[63] *Ibid* II, 16, 35, p. 98

उभयं च प्रजानामनुगृहेण विक्रापयेत् । स्थूलमपि च लाभं प्रजानामौपघातिकं वारयेत् ।

[64] *Arthaśāstra* II, 24, 41, p. 118

षण्ड्वाटगोपालकदासकर्मकरेभ्यो यथापुरुषपरिवापं भक्तं कुर्यात् सपादपणिकं मासं दद्यात् ।

[65] *Ibid* V, 3, 91, p. 248

चतुष्पदद्विपदपरिचारकपरिकर्मिकोपस्थायिकपालकविष्टिबन्धकाष्पष्टि वेतनाः; कारुशिल्पिनो विंशतिशतिकाः ।

[66] *Ibid* II, 15, 34, p. 96

अखण्डपरिशुद्धानां वा तण्डुलानां प्रस्थं चतुर्भागस्सूपः सूपषोडशो लवणस्यांशः चतुर्भागस्सर्पिषः तैलस्य वा एकमार्यभक्तम् । पुंसः षडभागस्सूपः अर्धस्नेहमवराणाम् ।

[67] Aśoka's Rock Edict IX (Kālsi)

इयं चु खो दासभटकसि सम्यापटिपाति गुलुना अपचिति महाफले ये धमंमगले ।

Aśoka, text and glossary I,

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could not remove the miseries and improve the condition of this mass of humanity.

7. *Maurya etatisme and bureaucracy*

As said above, the Maurya experiment of étatisme and absolutism brought in its train a centralised bureaucracy. Almost all the important officers of the state were paid in cash. The importance of seṭṭhis and mahāseṭṭis had passed on to them. It is noteworthy that in the *Arthaśāstra* we have no reference to these millionaires (*seṭṭhis*) controlling the government. Instead of them we have the *nāgaraka* and *gopa* running the administration of the cities. In rural area the *samāhartā* was the head of a unit of 3200 villages, the *sthānīya* was incharge of a circle of 800 villages, the *droṇamukha* administered a division of 400 villages, the *khārvaṭika* controlled a district of 200 villages, the *sangrahaṇa* was responsible for a pocket of 10 villages and the *gopa* managed the affairs of 5 villages.[68] At the capital a secretariat consisting of 31 departments each having its president or *adhyakṣa* administered and superintended collections and revenue, mines, gold, stores, commerce, forests, armoury, weights and measures, customs, spinning and weaving industry, agriculture, excise, slaughter houses, courtezans, shipping, cattle, horses, elephants, chariots, infantry, passports, pastures, metals, mint, treasury, elephant forests, general trade, gambling, jails, ports and religious institutions. The policy of these departments was chalked out by the advisers of the king and their activities were corelated by a council of ministers having its chairman and chief. The highest salary was 48000 paṇas payable to the Chief Minister, Chief Priest, Commander-in-Chief and the Crown Prince and the lowest was 60 paṇas payable to peons and orderlys etc. This vast and complicated bureaucracy penetrated into every walk of social and economic life and started a process of tyranny and exploitation. Hence the people groaned and rebelled. We have three intances of the citizens of Takṣaśilā rising in revolt against the Maurya afficials.[69] When the princes of the royal family went to pacify them they

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[68] *Arthaśāstra* II, 1, p. 46
अष्टशतग्राम्या मध्ये स्थानीयं, चतुश्शतग्राम्या द्रोणमुखं, द्विशतग्राम्या खार्वटिकं, दशग्रामीसंग्रहेण संग्रहणं स्थापयेत् II, 35, p. 46 पञ्चग्रामीं गोपश्चिन्तयेत् II, 35, p. 141 समाहर्ता चतुर्था जनपदं विभज्य निबन्धयेत् ।

[69] *Divyāvadāna*, ed. Cowell, pp. 407-8

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acknowleged their loyalty to the state and complained of the superciliousness and high-handedness of the wicked officials.[70] This shows that even though the people wanted to remain loyal to the throne, the tyranny of the officials goaded them to rebellion. In the Jātakas we read of tax-collectors (*niggāhaka*) who plundered the wealth of the people like robbers without fear. Kauṭilya visualised forty chances of embezzlement and provided deterrent punishments to avoid them.[71] For a time the vast machine worked, but soon afterwards it began to break down.

A significant step in the disintegration of Maurya adminstrative machinery was the giving of extensive autonomous powers to his *rajjukas* by Aśoka.[72] Hence they often began to disregard imperial injunctions. As a result Aśoka had to address the Dhauli-Jaugada Separate Rock Edicts to them upbraiding and reprimanding them for not appreciating at all or for partially realising h's solicitude for his subjects.[73] He appointed special Dharma-mahāmātras to see that his policy of welfare and uplift was effectively carried out. Their duty was to encourage the spirit of tolerance among different

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70 *Ibid*

प्रत्युद्गम्य कृताञ्जलिरुवाच 'न वयं कुमारस्य विरुद्धा न राज्ञोऽशोकस्यापि तु अपितु दुष्टामात्यागत्यास्माकमपमानं कुर्वन्ति ।

71 *Arthaśāstra* II, 9, p. 70

आस्रावयेच्चोपचितान् विपर्यस्येच्च कर्मसु ।

Kauṭilya was keenly aware of the tendency of corruption in a bureaucracy. According to him, a government servant was bound to eat up, at least, a bit of the king's revenue just as it is impossible not to taste the honey or poison that finds itself at the tip of tongue.

जिह्वातलस्थं मधु वा विषं वा अर्थस्तथा ह्यर्थचरेण राज्ञः । स्वल्पोऽप्यनास्वादयितुं न शक्यः ।

72 Aśoka's Pillar Edict IV, Delhi-Topra version

लजूका में बहूसु पानसहसेसु जनाते आयता तेसं ये अभिहाले वा दण्डे वा अतपतिये मे कटे येन एता च भीता अस्वथ सन्त अविमना कम्मानि पवतवेयु ति ।

73 Aśoka's Separate Rock Edict I, Dhauli-Jaugada version

हेमेव पजाये इछामि कि मे सवेन हितसुखेन यूजेवु ति हिदलोगिक पाललोकिकेन । हेमेव मे इछ सव मुनिसेसु । नो च तुफे एतं पापुनाथ आवागमके इयं अठे । केचा एक पुलिसे (पि) पापुनाति मनाति । से पि देसं न सबं ।

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sects for whom separate sectarian mahāmātras functioned. Aśoka made it obligatory for all high officials, the rajjukas, prādeśikas and yuktas to undertake quinquennial official tours of inspection (anusamyāna) in their respective administrative units and to look to the execution of public works of utility and impart instructions in the principles of piety. Later on, he directed the special rājavacanika mahāmātras to undertake these tours to prevent the miscarriage of justice and high-handed actions. The officers of northern and central India were asked to go on such anti-corruption tours every third year.[74] But all these measures proved abortive as soon as the mighty hand of Aśoka was removed. The following half century must have been a period of great corruption, exploitation and impoverishment. The common man must have groaned and shrieked and quailed. As a result, the administration crumbled and broke to pieces. Unfortunately no Kauṭilya has given us any picture of this change. We have only some hints in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the contemporary of the Śungas, who ushered in a new policy of reform. With their help we can reconstruct the picture of the new movement which gave the *coup de grace* to the expiring tragedy of the Mauryas.

8. *Economic aspect of the fall of the Maurya empire*

Commenting on a Vārttika of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini-sūtra V, 4, 116 Patañjali lets us know that the monthly wages of labourers in his time were five, six or ten kārsāpaṇas. He calls these workers *Pañcaka-māsikaḥ*, *Shaṭka-māsikaḥ* and *daśaka-māsikaḥ*. He also mentions a labourer working for one padika (1/4 kārṣāpaṇa) per day, i.e., 7½ kārṣāpaṇas per month. It appears that food and clothing were

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[74] Aśoka's Separate Rock Edict I, Dhauli Version
एताये च अठाये हकं धम्मते पंचसु पंचसु वसे सुनिखामयिसामि ए अखखसे अचन्दे सखिनालम्भे होसति। एतं अथं जनितु तथा कलंति अथ मम अनुसथी ति। उजेनिते पि चु कुमाले एताये व अठाये निखामयिसति हेदेसमेव वगं नो च अतिकामयिसति तिम्नि वसानि। हेमेव तखसिलाते पि अदा अनुसयानम् (Jaugada Version) ते लाजवचनिक अदा अनुसंयानं निखिमिसंति। अतने कम्मं एतं पि जानिसन्ति। [A. C. Woolner, *Aśoka: Text Glossary* Vol. I, pp. 25-27]

[75] Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* on I. 3, 72 कर्मकराः कुर्वन्ति पादिकं अहर लप्स्याम्हे।

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provided extra to the labourers.[76] Thus the Kauṭiliyan salary of $1\frac{1}{4}$ kārṣāpaṇas per month was enhanced to $7\frac{1}{2}$ kārṣāpaṇas. Side by side the old Viṁśatikā currency was also revived[77] so as to increase the value of money. Thus the fall of the Maurya empire and the onset of the Śuṅgas signified an economic change. It was in response to economic factors that the Maurya empire rose and it was in answer to the same that it fell.

9. *Oppressive taxation and exaction in the Maurya period*

We have observed that though the Maurya empire curbed the capitalists, industrialists and merchants by improvising drastic state controls and evolving a centralised etatist economy it failed to improve the lot of the worker to any appreciable extent. The state stepped into the shoes of the private entrepreneur and its bureaucracy gradually assumed the role of plutocracy. In order to feed this gigantic bureaucratic machinery enormous money was squeezed from the people through grinding taxation and exaction. In Pre-Maurya period the rise of trade and industry in eastern India had necessitated a new policy or taxation. Pāṇini framed a special rule to regulate the names of special taxes prevalent in the eastern parts of India. Commenting on this sutra the *Kāśika* has given four examples: (1) *sūpe sāṇah* a levy of one śāṇa coin per kitchen or household, (2) *mukuṭe-kārṣāpaṇam*, a tax of one kārṣāpaṇa coin per capita, (3) *dṛiṣadi māṣakah*, an impost of one māṣaka coin per hand-mill, (4) *hale dvipādikā* and *hale-tripādikā*, a fee of two or three pāda coins per plough-share.[78] These taxes were called *kāra* rather than *kara* and the officer in charge of raising them was named as

[76] Patañjali's, *Bhāṣya* on II, 3, 6 यदेतद् दासकर्मकरं·····भक्तं च छेलं च लप्स्याम्हे ।

[77] Patañjali cites a teacher as stating that in "times past sixteen māṣas made one kārṣāpaṇa" implying that in his time the kārṣāpaṇa of 20 māṣas or viṁśatika was known in his locality. Mahābhāṣya on I, 2, 64 सर्वत्र अश्नोतेरक्षाः पद्यतेः पादः मिमीतेः मापः तत्र क्रियासामान्यात्सिद्धम । अपरस्त्वाह पुरा कल्प एतदासीत् षोडश मापाः कार्षापणम् षोडश पलाः माप सम्वद्यः । Actual specimens of viṁsatikā weight coins and their lower denominations have been found in the Pañcāla coinage (V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 270) In the *Smṛti* of Kātyāyāna quoted in the *Smṛti-candrikā* (Part I, p. 231) also the currency of 20 māṣas or viṁśatikā is mentioned instead of that of 16 māṣas which was a thing of the past.

[78] V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, p. 242.

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kārakara. Inheriting this policy of taxation from Magadha the Mauryas extended and intensified its scope and incidence as we gather from the *Arthaśāstra*.

The usual land revenue was the fourth part of the produce of the soil (*bhāga*).[79] Besides this, there was a special cess called *bali*. Irrigation charges (*udakabhāga*) varied from 1/5 to 1/3 of the produce. Often the revenue was increased to 1/3 of the produce.[80] There were also many other imposts and levies like *kara* (a duty on orchards), *vivīta* (a levy on pastures), *vartani* (road-cess), *rajju* (settlement charges), *corarajju* (police cess), *senābhakta* (military imposts), *piṇḍakara* (collective taxes), *utsanga* (compulsory presents on the birth of a prince), *pārśva* (taxes that are collected when there is some margin left for such collection), *parihīṇaka* (compensation for damage done by cattle to crops), *aupāyanika* (presents made to the king) and *Kauṣṭheyaka* (taxes on lands below tanks, lakes etc. built by the king).[81] Trade and transport was subject to *sulka* (toll), *vartani* (road cess), *ātivāhika* (escort charges), *gulmadeya* (military imposts), *taradeya* (ferry charges) and *bhāga* (tax of 1/6th of the value of goods).[82] Besides these regular taxes there were special emergency levies euphemistically called 'benevolences' (*praṇaya*). Their incidence on trade was particularly severe: dealers in gold, silver, jewellery, horses and elephants were assessed at 500 paṇas; traders of yarn, textiles, copper, brass, bronze, sandal, medicines and liquor at 400 paṇas; merchants of corn, liquids, hardware, vehicles etc. at 300 paṇas; dealers in glassware and handicrafts at 200 paṇas; persons carrying on small crafts and carpenters at 100 paṇas and workers

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79 Megasthenes, Fragment I. We learn from Aśoka's Rummindei Pillar Inscription that he rendered the Lumbini village, where Buddha was born, *ubālike* and *aṭhabhāgiye*. This shows that the usual rate of *bhāga* was 1/4 of the produce and Aśoka reduced it by half. This datum agrees with the remark of the Greek envoy.

80 *Arthaśāstra* V, 2, 90, p. 242. जनपदं महान्तमल्पप्रमाणं वा देवमातृकं प्रभूतधान्यं धान्यांशं तृतीयं चतुर्थं वा याचेत् ।

81 *Ibid* II, 6, 24, p. 60. सीता भागो बलिः करो वणिक् नदीपालस्तरो नावः पट्टनं विवीतं वर्तनी रज्जुश्चोररज्जुश्च राष्ट्रम् । *Ibid* II, 14, 33, p. 93. पिण्डकरः षडभागः सेनाभक्ति, बलिः करः, उत्संगः पार्श्वं परिहीणकं, औपायानिकं, कौष्ठेयकं च राष्ट्रम् ।

82 *Ibid* II, 16, 35, p. 99. शुल्कवर्तन्यातिवाहिकगुल्मतरदेयभक्तभागव्यय शुद्धम् ।

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of wood, bambooes, stone, earthenware, confectionaries and vegetables at fifty paṇas.

Actors and prostitutes had to pay half of their salaries to the state and the goldsmiths and shroffs had to give away practically their entire belongings.[83] Dealers in animals had to pay $\frac{1}{2}$ of fowls and pigs, 1/6 of small beasts like goats and sheep and 1/10 of cows, buffaloes, horses, mules, asses and camels to the treasury.[84] The state frequently issued loans and appealed for donations.[85] The superintendent of religious institutions arranged supernatural demonstrations in temple compounds and wayward places and incited and invited the people to make monetary offerings.[86] The spies disguised as merchants used to cheat and rob the traders of all their belongings, and prostitutes appointed by the state extorted large sums of money from the people.[87] Murders for appropriating wealth were frequent, and intrigue and trickery were rampant.[88] The king being the greatest manufacturer, stockists and traders looked upon the private artisans and merchants as thorns in their way which had to be removed by all means. Trade was licenced, prices were controlled, profits of traders were fixed (5% in the case of home made goods and 10%

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[83] *Arthaśāstra* V, 2, 90, p. 243. सुवर्णरजतवज्रमणिमुक्ताप्रवालाश्वहस्तिपण्याः पञ्चाशतकराः । सूत्रवस्त्रताम्रवृत्तकंसगंधभैषज्यसीधुपण्याश्चत्वारिंशत् कराः । धान्यरसलोहपण्याः शकटव्यवहारिणश्च त्रिंशत्कराः काचव्यवहारिणो महाकारवश्च विंशतिकराः । क्षुद्रकारवो वर्धकिपोषकाश्च दशकराः । काष्टवेणुपाषाणमृद्भाण्डपक्वान्नहरितयण्याः पंचकराः । कुशीलवाः रूपाजीवाश्च वेतनार्धं दद्युः । हिरण्यंकरकर्मण्यानाहारयेयुः । According to Shamasastri 1 kara=10 Paṇas (English translation of the *Arthaśāstra*, p. 272.

[84] *Ibid*, V, 2, 90, p. 243. कुक्कुटसूकरमर्धं दद्यात् । क्षुद्रपशवष्षडभागम् । गोमहिषाश्वतरखरोष्ट्राश्च दशभागम् ।

[85] *Ibid*, p. 243-244. समाहर्ता कार्यमपदिश्य पौरजानप्रदान्भिक्षेत् ।

[86] *Ibid*, p. 244. देवताध्यक्षो दैवतचैत्यं सिद्धपुण्यस्थानमौपपादिकं वा रात्रावुत्थाप्य यात्रासमाजाभ्यामाजीवेत् अभित्यक्तं वा दंशयित्वा योगदर्शन प्रतीकारेण वा कोशाभिसंहरणं कुर्यात् ।

[87] *Ibid*, p. 243. बन्धकिपोषका राजप्रेष्याभिः परमरूपयौवनाभिः कोशं संहरेयुः ।

[88] *Ibid*, p. 245. तं दूष्यगृहप्रतिद्वारि रात्रावुपशयानमन्यत्र वा वसन्तं तीक्ष्णो हत्वा ब्रूयात्—"हतोऽयमित्थं कामुकः" इति ।

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on foreign good)[89] and monopolies, combines and corporations were forbidden. Artisans forming associations to strike work and to raise their wages or to increase the price of the good they sold or decrease that of the things they purchased were convicted and punished.[90] Thus, the king kept everybody under his iron heel and férule. It is, therefore, no wonder that the people were oppressed and crippled. With the passage of time the tide of misery and discontent swelled to immense proportions. A chronicler writing about a later Maurya king observed that calling himself virtuous but really devoid of virtue he subjected his country to terrible oppression.[91] It appears that this oppression occurred inspite of their intention. It must have contributed to the fall of the empire. We know that the successors of the Mauryas openly denounced these measures and policies. As if casting an aspersion on the Maurya system, Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman stated that he constructed the embankment of the Sudarśana lake in Saurāṣṭra, originally dug by a Maurya governor, with his own money, without oppressing (*apīḍayitvā*) the town and village people (*paurajānapadam*) with taxes (*kara*), corvée (*viṣṭi*) and benevolences (*praṇaya*).

In the śaka period the rate of interest also went down. Two weavers' guilds at Govardhana (Nasik) stipulated to pay interest @ only 1% and $\frac{3}{4}$% per month, i.e., 12% and 9% per annum instead of the standard rates of 15% and 24% in respect of two permanent investments. This shows that the capital position in Western India became easy. The lowering of the rate of interest and the reduction in taxes indicate a calculated effort to ease the economic tension of the preceding ages.

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89 *Ibid*, IV, 2, 77, p. 206. अनुज्ञातक्रयादुपरि चैषां स्वदेशीयानां पण्यानां पञ्चकं शतमाजीवं स्थापयेत । परदेशीयानां दशकम् । ततः परमर्धं वर्धयतां पणशते पंचपणाद्द्विशतो दण्डः ।

90 *Ibid*, 1V, 2, 77, p. 205. कारुशिल्पिनां कर्मगुणापकर्षभाजीवं विक्रयं क्रयोपघातं वा संभूय समुत्थापयतां सहस्रं दण्डः ।

91 *Yuga Purāṇa* ed. D. R. Mankad, p. 32.
स्वराष्ट्रं मर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ।

92 Girnar Inscription of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman, Dishkalkar, *Selections from Sanskrit Inscriptions* I, p. 2. अपीडयित्वा करविष्टिप्रणयक्रियाभिः पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्मात्कोशात् महता धनौघेनानतिमहता च कालेन सेतुं कारितम् ।

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We have referred above to the discontent of the workers, tillers and artisans and the discomfiture of the merchants, traders and wealthy classes in the Maurya period. We have shown that its policy of protecting the interest of the common man (*anugrahaṇa-prajānām*)[93] by curbing the greed of businessmen proved a thin veneer for the oppression of bureaucrats. Though starting with the assumption that the state should not thrive at the expense of its subjects it was driven to adopt the measures of stringent taxation and exaction in order to fuel its vast administrative system. Thus, it tried to uproot the thorns (*kaṇṭakaśodhana*) of private enterprise but itself became a thorn for national welfare.

10. *Revolt against Maurya secularism*

The Maurya empire was the culmination and embodiment of the economic, material, rational and utilitarian weltanschaaung that was growing for the last three centuries in eastern India as a consequence of the development of urban culture. We have observed that the concept of caste lost all substance and the privileges associated with it were shorn of all validity. We learn from the *Majjhimanikāya* that the Brāhmaṇas were not exempt from capital punishment.[94] The attitude of the state towards life was purely secular. It severed its connection with religious sects and superstitions. Rather it harnessed religious beliefs to its economic pursuits and policies. Kauṭilya uses religion as a byword. For him the use of temples is to coax money from the people in the form of offerings. His *devatādhyakṣa* is an important agent of the imperial exchequer. In his polity the authority of the Veda, the lure of heaven and the doctrine of retribution are invoked only to push up the morale of the army.[95] Aśoka openly expressed his disapproval of the ceremonies that people observed on the occasions of birth, marriage, departure etc. and called them petty and worthless.[96] Instead of them, he

93 *Arthaśāstra* IV, 2,77, p. 206

94 *Madhura Sutta*, Majjhimanikāya II, p. 83 *Jātaka* I, p. 439; Fick, *Social Organisation in North-Eastern India in the Buddha's Time*, p. 212.

95 *Arthaśāstra* X, 3,153, p. 367. वेदेष्वनुश्रूयते समाप्तदक्षिणानां यज्ञानामवभृतेषु सा ते गतिर्या शूराणामिति ।

96 Aśoka's Rock Edict IX (Kalsi) जने उचावुचं मंगलं कलेति आबाधसि अवाहसि विवाहसि पजोपदाये पवाससि एताये अञ्ञाए चा एदिसाये जने बहुमंगलं कलेति···अपफले चु खो एसे ।

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emphasized the practice of piety and righteousness consisting of good treatment of slaves and workers, reverence to teachers and elders, non-violence for all living beings and liberality for Brāhmaṇa and Śramaṇa ascetics. Aśoka also established equality before civil and criminal law and rescinded all privileges and impunities. Though his reforms were animated by a high moral idealism, they cut at the root of social privileges and the popular beliefs which buttressed them. Likewise, the policy of his successors Samprati, Daśaratha and Śālišūka was to patronise the heretical sects which stood for social equality. Hence the old nobility and priesthood melted and merged in a common stream of humanity. The *Yuga-Purāṇa* describes this state as follows:

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97 Aśoka's Pillar Edict IV (Delhi Topra)
इछितविये हि एस किति वियोहालसमता च सिया दण्डसमता च

U. N. Ghoshal interprets this passage in a slightly different way. He observes: "The passage, however, really means that Aśoka, while completely delegating the right of judicial trials to the class of officials called Rājukas (not to all his officers), made this subject to the condition of uniformity in judicial procedure and in the award of judicial sentences. This is illustrated by the accompanying order granting three days' respite to condemned criminals lying in prison under sentence of death." [U. N. Ghoshal, "On a Recent Estimate of Social and Political System of the Maurya Empire," *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol XL (1959) p. 66]. But that Aśoka wanted to enforce uniformity in judicial trials, proceedings and awards admits of no doubt. His injuction may better be read in the light of the *Madhura Sutta* where the King announces his policy of sentencing an accused convicted of theft or adultery to capital punishment irrespective of his being a Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya or Śūdra or of the rule of the *Bandhāvana* and *Vaśiṣṭha* Dharmasūtras providing that the killing of a Brāhmaṇa desperado is no murder. Of course, Kauṭilya distinguished between the accused belonging to different castes as regards the pronouncement of sentences. But Aśoka could make an innoration and improvement on his views and was not bound by them. It is clear from several texts, *Yuga Purāṇa, Mahābhārata* etc. that as a result of the policies of the rulers of heretical views there was a great social pammixia with the consequence that the four castes were reduced to one only. This reference to the disappearance of caste distinctions following the growth of egalitarian tendencies would have had no significance if the

continued on page 201

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"In that age people would lose their nobility and religion. Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will behave and dress themselves alike. In that decadent age the people joining false sects will undoubtedly make friends with each other for sexual motives. The Śūdras clad is barks and gowns and growing matted hair will become monks. In the Kali age Śūdras will surely perform sacrifices, prayers and fire-oblations. The Śūdras will address others as 'bho' and the Brāhmanas will address as 'ārya'.[98]

Likewise the *Mahābhārata* lets us know that in the age of decadence (*yugakṣaya*) Brāhmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras will no longer survive and the world will become of one caste (*ekavarṇa*).[99]

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continued from page 200

immunities and privileges of the Brāhmaṇas were allowed to remain as they were. In that case the authors of these texts should have no ground to grudge the policies of these Kings. The fact that they did so suggests that these rulers were not favourably disposed towards the immunities and privileges which the Brahmaṇas enjoyed. The injunction of Aśoka mentioned above should be read in the centext of his following principle of policy : सव्वे मुनिस्से पजा नाम । अथा पजाये इच्छामि हकं किति सव्वेन हितसुखेन हिदलो किकपाललोकिकेन यूज्जेंवु ति तथा मुनिस्सेसु पि इच्छामि हकं SE I. Here this pious monarch desires to minister to the well-being of all his subjects alike. He does not distinguish them on the basis of caste or creed.
(A.C. Woolner, *Aśoka: Text and Glossary* I, p. 44).

98 *Yuga Purāṇa* ed. Mankad, p. 33-34.

अनार्याश्चाप्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ।
ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शुद्राश्चैव युगक्षये ।।
समवेषाः समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
पाषण्डैश्च समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगक्षये ।।
स्त्रीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
चीरवल्कलसंवीता जटावल्कलधारिणः ।।
भिक्षुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च अग्निके च दृढव्रताः ।।
शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्ते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा ब्राह्मणाश्चार्यवादिनः ।।

9 *Mahābhārata* III, 190, 42.

ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्या न शिष्यन्ति जनाधिपाः ।
एकवर्णस्तदा लोको भविष्यति युगक्षये ।।

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Describing the social mobility and fluidity the great epic observes: "After being a Brāhmaṇa one becomes a Kṣatriya, or Vaiśya or Śūdra, Vāhīka or barber; then again a barber becomes a Brāhmana and a twice-born becomes a slave."[100] There was so much miscegenation between the Brāhmanas and the Śūdras in the ages to come that the parentage of the former became doubtful. Hence writing after the commencement of the Christian era Aśvaghoṣa remarked that the Brāhmaṇas as a caste had disappeared and instead of *cāturvarṇya* (four castes) there was only one caste (*ekāvarṇa*).[101]

The secular policy of the Mauryas and their successors must have antagonised the caste people who joined hands with the disgruntled moneyed classes and the disenchanted working masses to bring about the downfall of the Maurya empire. We know from the *Rājatarangiṇī* that the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra resuscitated the pristine four-fold caste order and the polity based upon it in the western half of the empire soon after his demise.[102] The *Yuga Purāṇa* hails the advent of Brāhmaṇa rule after a long period of thraldom and decadence:

"Then a certain world-famous Brāhmaṇa whose glory will spread all around will rule for 3(33?) years. Under him the kingdom will thrive, Puṣpapura will be beautiful and crowded, and people will rejoice in honour of his achievement."[103]

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100 *Mahābhārata* VIII, 45, 6-7.

तत्र वै ब्राह्मणो भूत्वा ततो भवति क्षत्रियः ।
वैश्यः शूद्रश्च वाहीकस्ततो भवति नापितः ।।
नापितश्च ततो भूत्वा पुनर्भवति ब्राह्मणः ।
द्विजो भूत्वा च तत्रैव पुनर्दासोऽभिजायते ।।

101 *Vajrasūcī* (ed. Surjit Kumar Mukhopādhyāya, Śāntiniketan 1950) p. 1 and p. 3 कोऽयं ब्राह्मणो नाम । यदि ब्राह्मणपुत्रो ब्राह्मणस्तर्हि ब्राह्मणाभावः प्राप्नोति इदानीन्त्वेषु ब्राह्मणेषु पितरि संदेहात् गोत्रब्राह्मणमारभ्य ब्राह्मणीनां शूद्राभिगमनदर्शनात् । अतो जाति-ब्राह्मणो न भवति ।।

102 *Rājataraṅginī* I, 117.

जित्वोर्वीं कान्यकुब्जाद्यां तत्रत्यं स न्यवेशयत् ।
चातुर्वर्ण्यं निजे देशे धर्म्याश्चैं व्यवहारिणः ।।

103 *Yuga Purāṇa*, ed. Mankad, p. 39.

ततो विष्वकयशा कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः ।
तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं हृष्टं भविष्यति ।।
ततः पुष्यपुरं रम्यं तथैव जनसंकुलम् ।

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11. *The Brahmanical Renaissance*

The coup of Puṣyamitra in 184 B.C. signified a Brāhmaṇa Renaissance. His performance of the long forgotten Aśvamedha was the signal of the resuscitation of the old social system. His chief priest Patañjali, who probably presided at some of his sacrifices, flings a subtle sarcasm at the Mauryas by remarking that the "Mauryas greedy of gold caused images (of gods) to be manufactured and installed." They were meant to be worshipped, sold and used as sources of making money. Hence they could not be called 'Śiva, Skanda etc'. They should have been termed as 'Śivaka Skandaka'. Pānini's rule V, 3, 99 did not apply to them. On the other hand, the images in the time of Patañjali which were only for worship and not for sale could aptly he called 'Śiva, Skanda etc', according to Pāṇini's rule.[104] Here Patañjali suggests that the images of gods in the Maurya period were devices of making money by sale or demonstration as Kauṭilya prescribes in the *Arthaśāstra* whereas the images of his time were the objects of worship only. Thus the policy of exploiting religion for financial purposes and playing upon the credulity of the people for extorting money was reversed immediately after the overthrow of the Mauryas. This is a significant indication of Brahmanical Renaissance about which Sylvain Lévi wrote as follows:

"Les Brahmanes épiaient avec inqui étude les progrès done civilisation rivale qui les surpassait. Jamais leur morgue aristocratique n'avait pensé ā utiliser de pareils moyens de séduction pour agir sur la multitude. La fin d'Asoka et la fin de sa dynastie qui suivit de près marquent une réaction Brahmanique qui parait avoir pris un charactère violent."[105]

The policy of the Śungas and Kaṇvas was manifestly anti-Buddhist. Kalhaṇa lets us know that a Buddhist nun once sco ed the king Jalauka in these words. "You should hear the reason why I have been raised by the Buddhists whom you have antagonized by

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[101] Pāṇini V, 3, 99. जीविकार्थे चापण्ये ।
Patañjali's *Bhāṣya* अपण्य इत्युच्यते तत्रेदं न सिध्यति शिवः स्कन्दो विशाख इति । किं कारणम् । मौर्यैर्हिरण्यार्थिभिरर्चाः प्रकल्पिताः । भवेत्तासु न स्यात् । यास्त्वेताः संप्रति पूजार्थास्तासु भविष्यति ।

[105] Sylvain Lēvi, *L' Inde et le Monde*, p. 115.

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your wrath."* These Buddhists must have been gratified when the Yavanas showed a penchant for Buddhism.

12. *Centrifugal forces and policies of pacifism*

We have seen above that the Maurya empire was a complex bureaucratic machine whose efficiency depended on its tightness and cohesion. Even slight laxity and looseness was detrimental to its working. Aśoka gave an impetus to centrifugal tendencies by increasing the rights and authority of his governors (*lajūka*). Side by side he turned his attention from military strength. After the battle of Kalinga he became averse to the army. In the words of Raychaudhury, "the martial ardour of Imperial Magadha had vanished with the last cries of agony uttered in the battlefield of Kalinga."[106] Aśoka devoted his full attention to his welfare missions and activities. His schemes of constructing roads, resthouses, watering-sheds and hospitals on a large scale must have been a great strain on the exchequer.[107] His declared policy of replacing the sound of wardrums by the sound of moral sermons[108] resulted in the sapping of the vitality and strength of the army. In his thirteenth Rock Edict he advised his sons and grandsons to desist from new military[109] ventures and the pursuit of arms. Hence it

* *Rājataraṅgiṇī* I, 136.

पुनर्बभाषे सा भूपं
श्रोतव्यं मत्प्रयोजनम् ।
अहं ह्युत्थापिता बौद्धैः
क्रोधाद्विप्रकृतैस्त्वया ॥

106 H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History* of *Ancient India*, p. 304.

107 There is a story in the *Divyāvadāna* that Aśoka donated the whole of his empire to the Buddhist order and that Samprati redeemed it after his death: ततो राज्ञा महापृथिवीं संघाय दत्त्वा कालंगतः । यावदमात्यैश्चतस्रकोट्यो भगवच्छासने दत्त्वा पृथिवीं निरीक्ष्य सम्पदो राज्ये प्रतिष्टापितः *Divyāvadāna*, pp. 426-427.

108 Aśoka's Rock Edict IV (Girnar) त अज देवानं प्रियस प्रियदसिनो रात्रो धम्मचरणेन भेरीघोसो अहो धम्मघोसो (A. C. Woolner, *Asoka: Text and Glossary*, p. 6.

09 Aśoka's Rock Edict XIII (Shahbāzgarhi) एतये अठये अयो ध्रमदिपि निपिस्त किति पुत्र पपोत्र मे असु नवं विजयं म विजेतवियं मञ्जिषु । स्पकसि (पयकपि) यो विजये छन्ति च लहुदण्डतं च रोचेतु तं च यो विजयं । मञ्जतु यो ध्रमविजयो। (A.C. Woolner, *op. cit.*, p. 30).

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is clear that the military strength which acted as the cement of the centralised state system soon flagged away. It is true that Aśoka tried to galvanise his administration by his moral sermons and fire his officers by his high ideals, but as he himself admits, they did not imbibe or appreciate them and paid little heed to his noble behests. During his lifetime the peoples of the frontier regions seem to have become turbulent but he curbed them by declaring that he will tolerate only those acts of them which can be tolerated (S R E II).[110] In fact, he commanded sufficient prestige to inspire awe in every part of his far-flung empire and maintain its unity and cohesion. His action of enforcing the concordat in the Buddhist Church by expelling and unfrocking the dissentient monks amply demonstrated his energy and stamina.[111] But his successors had no such administrative acumen or military experience. Unlike Aśoka they had no record of the quelling of rebellions as of Takṣaśilā and the conquest of countries like Khasa and Kaliṅga to their credit. His successors lacked the assertiveness to restore order in the kingdom. Bṛhadratha entrusted the affairs of the army to the energetic and enterprising general Puṣyamitra who maintained his own militia called Puṣyamāṇava[112] and became virtually independent and ultimately assassinated his master. These latter Maurya monarchs no doubt carried out the dictate of Aśoka by pursuing the policy of religious conquest (*dharmavijaya*) but they lacked the strength and vitality to push it through. Their sermons had more sound than substance. They had the effect of loosening the administration and intensifying the exploitation of the people. In the result the people were impoverished. Unscrupulous officials gave free rein to their acquisitiveness.

The decay of martial spirit and statecraft in the later Maurya period resulted in the disintegration of the empire. The policy of Aśoka stunted the growth of a political system which would have given a new turn to human history. Judging his role a gifted scholar has observed, "of the vision of the Cakravarti dhārmika

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110 Aśoka's Separate Edict II (A. C. Wooler, *op. cit.*, p. 29) हेव च पापुनेयु खमिसाति ने लाजा सकिये खमितवे ।

111 Aśoka's Bairāt-Bhādra Edict (A. C. Woolner, *op. cit.*, p. 34)

112 *Aṅgavijjā*, ed. Punyavijaya Muni, p. 160, Patañjali has cited this verse about them महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः in his *Mahābhāṣya* (VII, 2, 23).

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dharmarāja had not haunted his mind and thus completely metamorphosed him, the irresistible martial spirit and marvellous statecraft of Magadha would have found a further vent by invading and subjugating the Tamil states and Tāmraparṇi towards the southern extremity of India and would probably not have remained satisfied except by going beoynd the confines of Bhāratavarṣa and establishing an empire like that of Rome. Aśoka's new angle of vision sounded a death-knell to the Indian aspirations of a centralised national state and world-wide empire. The effects of this change of policy, of the replacement of Vijaya by Dharmavijaya, were politically disastrous though spiritually glorious."[113] Similarly other scholars and historians have held Aśoka responsible for the precipitous decline and disruption of the once powerful Maurya empire.[114] Other scholars differ from this view and hold that Aśoka's failure was worth more to humanity than the success of many others.[115] But all of them agree that soon after the death of Aśoka the mighty Maurya empire crumbled. He sacrificed arms and authority on the altar of pacifism and humanism, but thereby exposed the state to fissiparous forces and centrifugal elements. He could not adjust ideals and realities and was oversanguine about human nature. He became oblivious of the need of coercion in human affairs. Hence his policy of pacifism removed the veneer of unity from the social and economic contradictions which tore the Maurya empire to pieces. The flower of cosmopolitanism and humanitarianism was nipped in the bud for want of the vital sap of political stability, national integrity and military potency. Peace without power is a fiction, piety without strength is a dream, *dharma* without *artha* is moonshine.

The policy of Aśoka and his successors led to the proliferation of ascetic and monastic sects. Aśoka favoured Buddhism, Samprati Jainism, Daśaratha Ajivikism and Śāliśūka similar heretical cults. As a result, the number of monks and nuns must have increased. A large number of freed slaves and workers must have embraced

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113 D. R. Bhandarkar, *Aśoka*, p. 256.

114 K. P. Jayaswal, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. II, p. 83 ; C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 804; K.A. Nilakanta Sāstri, *Calcutta Review* (1943), p. 123.

115 B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and His Inscriptions*, p. 855.

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monastic life to escape from the miseries of the work-a-day world.[116] Many sinecures, sluggards and truants must have found a safe asylum in these orders. We learn from a Jātaka story that some monks used to pass as ascetics in day and commit nefarious offences at night. Hence the king issued a proclamation banishing all ascetics from his kingdom.[117] Some similar consideration might have led Kauṭilya to proscribe the monks and ascetics. He laid an embargo on the construction of monasteries and rest houses for recluses in country-side[118] and prescribed a penalty for a person who takes to ascetic life without providing for his family and instigates the women to do so.[119] In fact, there was no place for ascetics and lotus-eaters in his polity. But from the time of Aśoka there must have been a spate of such people who swelled the ranks of idlers and preached escapism and pessimism.

13. *Mystic, escapist and metaphysical trends of thought*

The policy of Dharmavijaya had a snivelling effect on the mind of the people. Religions especially Buddhism took a mystic and metaphysical turn. Prior to the advent of Aśoka the rational, material and utilitarian orientation of Buddhism was undergoing a change. In the second Buddhist council said to have been held under Kālāśoka Kākavarṇin in Magadha the breach between the Mahāsanghikas and Mahāsthaviravādins had definitely taken

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116 Ordinarily Buddhism did not permit the initiation of slaves in the Buddhist order. But freed slaves could join it. Some of these slaves became eminent saints and authors. The male slave Dāsaka and the female slave Puṇṇā ranked as eminent composers of the gāthās (*Therāgāthā*, p. 4 ; *Therigāthā*, p. 123). These slaves were freed by Anāthapiṇḍaka.

117 *Jātaka* Vol. III, p. 304. "इमे दिवा समणवेसेन चरित्वा रत्तिं अनाचारं करोन्ति" ति पब्बजितानं कुज्झित्वा·····मय्हं विजिते सब्बे पब्बजिता पलायन्तु दिढढ-दिढढानं नेव राजानं करिस्सन्ति ति भेरिं चरापेसि; *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā* III, p. 54, mentions the expulsion of a monk because of his association with a woman.

118 *Arthasāstra* II, 1, p. 48. वानप्रस्थादन्यः प्रव्रजितभावः नास्य जनपदमुपनिवेशेत् । न च तत्रारामा विहारार्थाः शालाः स्युः ।

119 *Ibid* पुत्रदारमप्रतिविधाय प्रव्रजतः पूर्वस्साहसदण्डः स्त्रियं च प्रव्राजयतः *Ibid* IV, I, p. 204. शाक्याजीवकादीन् बृषलप्रव्रजितान् देवपितृकार्येषु भोजयतश्शत्यो दण्डः ।

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place and according to Vasumitra, the schism was due to the fact that the *Vajjian* monks did not agree with the *sthaviras* in recognizing Arhathood as the highest spiritual state and treated it only as an intermediate state leading to the highest which in their view was Buddhahood. Religious differences reached a high pitch at the time of Aśoka and he had to deal with the discordant elements rather harshly. He attempted to reconcile their differences by appealing to the dynamic of conduct and morality enshrined in the teachings of Buddha. The scriptures, he recommended, are quite devoid of mystic or metaphysical controversies. But the immense popularisation of Buddhism led to its deviation from the position envisaged by Buddha. The Kathāvatthu composed by Moggalliputta Tissa probably during the lifetime of Aśoka gives an account of the tenets of different sects including the Vaitulyakas according to whom Buddha never lived in the world and it was his image that delivered the teachings. Besides treating the Buddha and Sangha as transcendental they gave evidence of the tendency of adopting sex-symbols.[120] This was a sign of the unision of mysticism and sensualism which turned Buddhism into new directions in the first millenium A. D. Thus, the economic orientation and worldly weltanshaaung of the Maurya empire came into conflict with mystic and supernatural tendencies of thought. People no longer treated man as a productive unit and an economic entity and were not satisfied with his definition as a bundle of sensations and an aggregate of electrochemical energies. They began to regard him as possessed of mystic and transcendental forces. Thus the very basis of Maurya economy and sociology was undermined. This new conception of man was a challenge to the thesis of the Maurya state. Thus fell the empire of the Mauryas.

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120 N. Dutta, "Emergence of Mahāyāna, Buddhism and Buddhist Institutions", *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. I, pp. 280-285.

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CHAPTER IX

A New Approach to the Indo-Greeks

1. *The settlement of the Greeks in Bactria*

Arnold J. Toynbee has formulated a law that "the march which is exposed to the heaviest external pressure is stimulated into a greater vitality than any other region."[1] According to him, a "march" faced with a lasting menace of invaders is more vital, creative and expansive than an "interior" shielded by strong frontiers and defences.[2] Never was this rule more poignantly illustrated than by the rise and growth of the Bactrian Greeks as a paramount power in the East.

Bactria and Sogdiana mark the dividing line of the Steppe and the Sown and thus act as a frontier march between nomadic communities and sedentary societies. From earliest times the settled population of Iran has tried to strengthen this march as an effective bulwark against nomadic peoples and from equally remote times the latter have attempted to pierce and occupy it as a jumping ground to attack the former. The Achaemenids aimed at reducing and fortifying this march and Cyrus fell fighting with the Massagetae. Darius and Xerxes settled the Ionian exiles and captives in this region. When Alexander campaigned there, some of these Ionian colonies put up strong resistance. He was able to reduce them after fighting for two years. After the end of fighting he settled about 20,000 soldiers, the sick or wounded, in the towns founded by him there in order to keep the dihqāns of Balkh and Sughd in check. But on his death in 323 B.C. they rose in revolt and wanted to be repatriated. In 321 B.C. Stasanor was appointed governor of this region by the successors of Alexander who met at Triparadeisos. In 312 B.C. Seleucos triumphed in the East and reclaimed the allegiance of all recalcitrant provinces including Bactria. Though he had to cede the provinces bordering on the north-western frontier of India to Candragupta Maurya in 305 B.C.[3] there is strong reason

[1] Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History*, Vol. II, p. 139

[2] *Ibid*, p, 112

[3] The tradition of the ceding of the provinces of Aria, Arachosia, Paropamisdae and Gedrosia has been recently con-

continued on page 210

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to believe that his hold over Bactria and Sogdiana was secure. He associated his son, the future Antiochus, in his rule and, dividing his

continued from page 209

firmed by the discovery of a bilingual inscription of Aśoka near Kandahar. (Daniel Schlumberger, L. Robert, A. Dupont-Sommer, E. Benveniste, 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d' Asoka, *Journal Asiatique* (1958) pp. 1-49). This inscription is in Greek and Aramaic scripts and languages. It has given the lie to the view of Tarn that the frontier of the Maurya empire was the same as separates Pakistan from Afghanistan now-a-days (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 100) and has confirmed the view of Foucher that it was marked by the Helmund to the west of Kandahar. (A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l' Inde de Bactres à Taxila* Vol. I p. 209) In Rock Edict XIII Aśoka refers to the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandhāras and other peoples living in the north-western regions of the empire. This inscription enables us to locate the Yavanas (Greeks) with precision and certainty. This document was manifestly addressed to the Yavanas in their own language and script and was engraved by a scribe of their nationality.

In the Seleucid period the Greeks carrying their language and culture with them had spread far into the east. The capitals of Istakhr and the temples of Persepolis, Khurha and Kangawar in Iran indicate the course of the eastward wave of Greek culture. (Ernst Herzfeld, *Iran in the Ancient East* pp. 275-286). The Kandahar inscription of Aśoka indicates the easternmost extent of the expansion of Greek culture. It also sheds a flood of new light on the reference to the script of the Yavanas, *Yavanāni*, in the grammar of Pāṇini. Goldstücker, Spooner and others suggested that *Yavanāni* refers to the Persian Cuneiform script and Tarn and Bloch held that the word Yavana signifies Persianised strangers (J. Bloch, *Les inscriptions d' Asoka* p. 93 n. 5), But now this inscription has confirmed the view of Weber and Keith that *Yavana* denoted a Greek and *Yavanāni*, the Greek script. (A. Weber, *Indische Studien* IV. 89; A. B. Keith *History of Sanskrit Literature* p. 425) We have seen above that the Achaemenian emperors had settled Ionian captives, refugees and colonists in the east upto Bactria and Sogdiana. When Alexander invaded India he was astonished to find a colony of Greeks at Nysa. These Greeks spoke and wrote their own language. The words *Yavana* and *Yavanāni* particularly refer to them and their writing. The Kandahar inscription of Aśoka has solved this problem for good. The Greek script and language came to stay in Afghanistan. At Surkh Kotal a large number of Greek inscriptions have recently come to light

continued on page 211

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empire, entrusted him with the provinces of the Orient with Seleucia as his residence. But under Antiochus I (280-261 B.C.) the signs of weakness appeared and it is mostly believed that Persia became independent. The reign of his successor Antiochus II (261-246 B.C.) was marked by serious territorial losses. Parthia and Hyrcania seceded about 249-248 B.C. and Bactria made a bid for independence about the same time. Thus, the dissentient Ionian and Greek elements, that were restive from the very outset and had been steeled in their resolve to overthrow the imperial yoke by their contacts with the freedom-loving dihqans and were galvanised to create a great empire by the atmosphere of a march state, rose against the Seleucids and established an independent state.

2. *The rise of the Bactrian Greeks under Diodotus*

The leader, who acted as the chosen vessel of the discontent and assertiveness of the Bactrian Greeks, was the Seleucid governor Diodotus. On the basis of coins and the portraits, they bear, it has been argued that there were two kings bearing the name Diodotus. One of them bears an elderly face and the other has younger and angular features.[4] The first Diodotus rebelled in Bactria in the

continued from page 210

(Raoul Curiel, 'Inscriptions de Surkh Kotal,' *Journal Asiatique* (1954) pp 189-205). Of special interest is the inscription of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka found there. (André Maricq. La grande inscription de Kaniṣka et l'étéo-tokharien' *Journa Asiatique* (1958) pp. 345-440; W. B. Henning, 'The Bactrian Inscription', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africanl Studies*, London Vol. XXIII Part I (1960) pp 47-55.) This inscription refers to the repairing of a sanctuary of Kaniṣka by an official named Nokonzoko with the help of three other officials in the Kṣuna year 31. This script has enabled us to identify the writing mentioned by Hiuen T'sang in Bamiyan. Its documents have come from Baghlan. In the hands of scribes accustomed to rounded scripts like Aramaic, Kharoṣṭhi and Pehlvi this script assumed a cursive form which was current in the period of the Kuṣāṇo-Sassanids and Hephthalites. Thus, for more than a thousand years the Greek script was prevalent in these regions.

4 George MacDonald, 'The Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria and Parthia', *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 393; W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 73; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 16. E. T. Newell (*The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints* PL LII, 5-6) does not subscribe to this view and holds that the portrait with younger features

continued on page 212

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beginning of Antiochus' reign about 256 B.C. But he seems to have kept the semblance of allegiance to the Seleucids as is clear from the fact that the name of Antiochus continues on some of his coins. But subsequently he issued his own coins with his name and portrait. About 248 B.C.Diodotus II succeeded his father and adopted the cautious policy of issuing coins with the name as well as the head of Antiochus II. But gradually he substituted his head for that of Antiochus and lastly he replaced the name of the latter also by that of his son. Thus, Diodotus II acted with great care and caution in his political career and ultimately assumed full independence.[5]

The revolt of Diodotus gave the signal to a flare-up in the East. In the words of Justin "all the other peoples of the East, influenced by his example, fell away from the Macedonians. One Arsaces, a man of uncertain origin, overthrew Androgorus and after putting him to death took upon himself the government of the country. Not long after, too, he made himself master of Hyrcania and, thus, invested with authority over the nations, raised a large army through fear of Seleucos and Theodotus (Diodotus), king of Bactria. But being soon relieved of his fear by the death of Theodotus (Diodotus), and not long after, engaging with King Seleucos, who came to take vengeance on the rebels, he obtained a victory."[6] This passage shows that Diodotus was not friendly towards the rebels of Parthia. It is likely that his connection with the Seleucids made him look down upon the uprising of the Parthians. But

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continued from page 211

is the result of the idealisation of the face with the passage of time. A. N. Lahiri also holds that there was only one Diodotus ('The Diodotus coins', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. 33 (1957) p. 228). But, as Justin clearly says that Diodotus was succeeded by a son of the siame name as him self, there is no reason why the numismato evidence should not be interpreted in that light. Inspite of his shortcomings, Justin is too clear here to be ignored. The account of Polybius that Euthydemus told Antiochus that he had "put the children of the rebels to death and that was how he happened to be the king" (XI, 34) also suggests ıhat Diodotus I was succeeded by his son.

5 A. Cunningham, *Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* p. 98 LP 1.

6 Justin X/i, 4. In this passage Theodotus is a mistake for Diodotus.

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his death removed the menace that stared the Parthians in the face. His successor Diodotus II seems to have entered into an alliance with Arsaces and his successor and brother Tiridates or at least adopted a favourable attitude towards them. In the result, Tiridates obtained a victory over Seleucos II and annexed the province of Hyrcania.[7] The rise of the independent power of the Parthians as a buffer between the Seleucids and the Diodoti gave a respite to the Bactrians to consolidate their hold over their newly-founded state.

3. *The advent of Euthydemus*

The career of Diodotus II was cut short by the rise of the satrap of Aria and Margiana named Euthydemus.[8] Strabo informs us that Euthydemus occasioned the revolt of all the country near the province of Bactriana[9] and Polybius states that he possessed himself of the throne by destroying the descendant[10] of Diodotus. Euthydemus pacified and strengthened his state and completely broke away from the Seleucids. We have referred to the march of Antiochus III against him in 208 B.C. in a preceding study of this collection. Antiochus strengthened and renewed his friendship with the Indian king Subhāgasena in course of this campaign. This struggle ended in a compromise between the belligerants. Euthydemus made a show of submission, as is clear from the remark of Polybius that " having caused a written treaty to be drawn up and the terms of the treaty to be confirmed on oath he marched away after liberally provisioning his troops and accepting the elephants belonging to Euthydemus."[11] However, the title of king was conceded to Euthydemus and Antiochus desired to marry his daughter to his handsome and polished son Demetrius. After the departure of Antiochus, Euthydemus occupied the Parthian satrapies of Astauene and Apavarktikene and perhaps part of Parthyene which became the Bactrian satrapies of Tapuria and Traxiane.[12] But Strabo, who is the chief authority of Tarn, does not expressly name Euthydemusinconnection with the conquest of the Parthian satrapies by the Greeks.

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7 R. Ghirshman, *Iran* p. 244.

8 A. Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 134.

9 Strabo's *Geography* tr. by Hamilton and Falconer Vol. II p. 251.

10 Polybius, *Historiae* XI, 39 tr. by W. R. Paton.

11 Polybius, *op. cit.* XI, 39.

12 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 88.

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4. *The reign of Demetrius* I

Euthydemus was succeeded by his son Demetrius. A. D. H. Bivar has suggested that Euthydemus had designated Demetrius as a sub-king during his own reign.[13] The entanglement of Antiochus III in the affairs of the West which culminated in his defeat in Magnesia in 189 B.C. gave an incentive and opportunity to the energetic and enterprising Bactrian monarch to expand his realm. He conquered Arachosia and founded a city called Demetria there after his name. This city was situated somewhere between Seistan and Gazni, as is clear from the account of Isidore of Charax. It is noteworthy that the early Scytho-Parthian kings of Arachosia employed the coin-types of Euthydemus and Demetrius.[15] The fact that some coins of Demetrius have been found in Seistan may be taken to indicate that he annexed this region to his kingdom. Likewise, his influence is deemed to have spread in the eastern part of Gedrosia. In the north the Greeks advanced beyond Sogdiana and marched up to the Seres and the Phyrni that denote the regions of Kashghar and Tashkurghan. From these regions came the nickel which was used by the Greeks for minting coins. Since the first Greek king to issue nickel coins is Euthydemus II, who is distinguished from Euthydemus I on numismatic considerations, it has been conjectured that he directed and led the campaign in Central Asia. It has also been surmised that he was a brother of Demetrius, whom his father Euthydemns I entrusted with the charge of the operations in the North, whereas the other brother was commissioned to conquer the South.[16] But there is no sound evidence in support of this guess.

While Demetrius was busy with his conquests, a certain Antimachus, who assumed the title of Theos, carved a kingdom in Badakhshan, where his coins have been found in a number larger than that of the coins of Demetrius, in the hoard discovered at Qunduz.[17]

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13 A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Bactra Coinage of Euthydemus and Demetrius' *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th series Vol. XI pp. 22-39.

14 Tarn, *op. cit.* p. 94.

15 R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore* Vol. I *Indo-Greek Coins* PL XIV, 379, 385-6.

16 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 27.

17 A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Bactrian Treasure of Kunduz' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1956) Vol. 17 Part I. p. 37. In this treasure there are 14 coins of Antimachus Theos and 8 of Demetrius.

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From there he penetrated into the Kabul and Upper Indus valleys and led an expedition up to Takṣaśilā. He was the first Indo-Greek king to strike square copper coins on the Indian model.[18] On the basis of physiognomy Mme. Trever holds that he was a Hellenised Sogdian.[19] It appears that after the death of Euthydemus he started on a career of conquest as a rival of Demetrius. This tussle between two factions of the Bactrian Greeks led by Demetrius and Antimachus seems to have delayed the effective conquest of the Indus valley and resulted in an internecine conflict among them which curbed and stopped the promising activity of Demetrius.

Scholars have set up the theory of the conquest of the Gangetic valley up to Pāṭaliputra and the Indus valley up to Saurāṣṭra by Demetrius I. Tarn has suggested that Demetrius I was fortunate in having two able commanders in Apollodotus and Menander. According to him, Apollodotus marched from Kabul to Broach conquering a territory of 900 miles, and Menander swooped down the plains of the Gangetic valley up to Pāṭaliputra occupying a land of 1100 miles between 182 B.C. and 167 B.C. during the reign of Puṣyamitra Śunga. Tarn is of the opinion that Demetrius kept Pāṭaliputra under occupation for seven years from 175 B.C. to 167 B.C.[20] Besides the aforesaid generals, the sons of Demetrius I, Euthydemus II, Demetrius II, Pantaleon and Agathocles managed the affairs of other parts of his empire.[21] Tarn's views about Demetrius' invasion of India have been accepted by many scholars with minor variations. H. C. Raychoudhury holds that the Yavana invasion under Demetrius took place during the reign of Puṣyamitra Śunga.[22] D. C. Sircar believes that this event occurred just after the death of the Maurya emperor Śāliśūka mentioned in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gargīsamhitā*.[23] A. N. Lahiri thinks that Demetrius crossed the Hindukush sometime before 185 B.C. and after staying in the north-western parts of India

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18 R. B. Whitehead, 'Notes on the Indo-Greeks' *Numismatic Chronicle* (1940) p. 104.

19 K. B. Trever, *Pamyatniki Greko-baktriskogo iskusstva* (Moscow 1940) p. 7.

20 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* pp. 155-6.

21 *Ibid* PP. 134, 137, 156, 157; *Cambridge History of India* I p. 401; J. N. Banerji, *A Comprehensive History of India* Vol. II (The Mauryas and Śātavāhanas) pp. 153-154.

22 H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* p. 383.

23 D. C. Sircar, 'The Yavanas', *The Age of Imperial Unity* pp. 106-108.

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for some time led a long-distance expedition upto Pāṭaliputra held by the weak Bṛhadratha Maurya[24]. P. C. Bagchi opines that Demetrius' invasion followed the death of Puṣyamitra at his hands.[25]

The aforesaid theory of the invasion of India by Demetrius I is controverted by A. K. Narain. He has shown that Justin does not call Demetrius the son of Euthydemus. He has hinted that the remark of Apollodorus of Artemita, in which Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, is bracketed with Menander as the conqueror of a realm larger than that subdued by the Macedonians, was looked askance at by Strabo, and that this Greek historian mistook Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, who was better known by reason of his association with Antiochus III, for Demetrius, king of the Indians, who ruled south of the Hindukush and issued bilingual coins.[26] He has further proved that the bilingual copper and silver coins bearing legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhi and disclosing Aniketos (*aparājita*) as the title of the king were struck by Demetrius II rather than Demetrius I who issued the Attic silver tetradrachms found in Bactria only.[27] The most important feature to distinguish the Demetrius of the bilingual silver coins from that of the Attic tetradrachms is that the former do not conform to the standard Attic weight. Had these coins been the issues of one and the same Demetrius, there is no reason why the bilingual coins should have deviated from the Attic standard. Since no coin of Demetrius I has been found in the north-western regions of the Panjab there is nothing to show that he had anything to do with India. Hence Narain dismisses the theory of the conquests of Demetrius in India *in toto*. As regards the reference to the invasion of the Yavanas after the reign of Śāliśūka in the *Yugapurāṇa*, which is taken by Sircar and Lahiri as evidence of the invasion of Demetrius during the reign of Bṛhadratha, Narain observes that there is no chronological sequence in the narrative of this chronicle, for, otherwise, Śāliśūka will have to be taken as the successor of Udāyin.[28] Thus, there is nothing to uphold the theory of the invasion of India by Demetrius I.

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[24] A. N. Lahiri, 'When did Demetrius invade India', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXIII (1957) p. 48.

[25] Bagchi, 'Kṛimiśa and Demetrius,' *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXII (1946) pp. 81 ff.

[26] A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 37.

[27] *Ibid*-pp. 29-30.

[28] *Ibid*-p. 85.

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5. *The career of Puṣyamitra Śunga*

It is also noteworthy that Bṛhadratha's reign is known to have been disturbed only by the *coûp de etat*, staged by his general Puṣyamitra which resulted in his death and the overthrow of his dynasty. There is no evidence to prove that his times witnessed any invasion of the Greeks. On the other hand, the appointment of Puṣyamitra as the commander-in-chief of army by Bṛhadratha shows that his military administration was tidy and strong. After his assassination and the accession of Puṣyamitra, the military system of the Magadhan empire was strengthened and revitalised. Relinquishing the snivelling ideals of peace and non-violence, the energetic warrior-emperor Puṣyamitra embraced the Brahmanical standards of aggression and expansion. His performance of two Aśvamedhas[29] at the climax of military campaigns shows that he made a valiant effort to resuscitate the falling structure of the Maurya empire. His attention was rivetted on the north-western frontiers. Hence he seems to have conquered the Panjab, which formed part of the kingdom of Subhāgasena, as we gather from the *Divyāvadāna*. This Buddhist work indicates that Puṣyamitra went out on an expedition killing Buddhist monks and destroying monastries and stūpas and reached Śākala, the capital of the Panjab, where he issued a proclamation that he, who would present a head of a Śramana to him, will get a reward of one hundred dināras.[30]

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[29] द्विरश्वमेधयाजी in the Ayodhyā stone Inscription of Dhanadeva, D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Ancient Indian History and Civilization* p. 90.

[30] *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell p. 426 यावत्पुष्यमित्रो यावत् संघारामं भिक्षूँश्च प्रघातयन् प्रस्थितः । स यावच्छाकलमनुप्राप्तः । तेनाभिहितं यो मे श्रमणशिरो दास्यति तस्याहं दीनारशतं दास्यामि·····तस्य मुनिहत इति संज्ञा व्यवस्थापिता ।

According to Tāranātha, Jalandhara and Śākala were included in the empire of Puṣyamitra, These legends are reproduced in the *Ārya—Mañjuśrī—mūla—Kalpa.* (K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (text) pp. 38 verses 530-533).

भविष्यति न संदेहस्तस्मिन् काले युगाधमे ।
राजा गोमिमुख्यस्तु शासनान्तधपको मम ।।
प्राचिं दिशिमुपादाय कश्मीरेद्वारमेव तु ।
नाशयिष्यति तदा मूढः विहारान् धातुवरांस्तदा (धातुधरांस्तदा) ।।

continued on page 218

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The account of the anti-Buddhist activities of Puṣyamitra is highly coloured and exaggerated. It is the renaissance of Brahmanical sacrifices and the extension of imperial patronage to this religion in preference to Buddhism and Jainism that resulted in the painting of Puṣyamitra as the arch-enemy of the Buddhists. But these accounts contain the historical nucleus of the victorious expedition of Puṣyamitra to Śākala in the Panjab. The suggestion of A. K. Narain that Śākala was situated somewhere near Pāṭaliputra[31] has no leg to stand upon, for no locality bears this name there. His argument that since Puṣyamitra is shown to have reached Śākala after marching from Pāṭaliputra, the former should be in the vicinity of the latter, is entirely conjectural, because the account here describes the two extremities of the empire. From Śākala in the Panjab the armies of Puṣyamitra advanced to the North-West to stem the menace of the Yavanas who were hovering over the frontiers. One of his grandsons Vasumitra is shown to have inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yavanas on the banks of the Sindhu in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa.[32] Attempts have been made to locate this river in Central India and identify it either with a tributary of the Chambal called Kali-Sindhu or with a river named Sindhu which joins the confluence of the Chambal and the Yamunā.[33] But as R. C. Majumdar has shown, these views are

continued from page 217

भिक्षवः शीलसम्पन्नां घातयिष्यति दुर्मतिः ।
उत्तरां दिशमाश्रित्य मृत्युस्तस्य भविष्यति ॥
अमानुषेणैव क्रुद्धेन सराष्ट्रापशुबान्धवः ।
आक्रान्तोऽद्रिखण्डेन पातालं यास्याति दुर्मतिः ।

31 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 87.

32 *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series). pp 227-228. स सिन्धोर्दक्षिणरोधसि चरन्नश्वानीकेन यवनेन प्रार्थितः । ततः उभयोः सेनयोर्महानासीत्सम्मर्दः—ततः परान् पराजित्य वसुमित्रेण धन्विना प्रसह्य ह्रियमाणो मे वाजिराजो निर्वर्तितः

A reference to the defeat of the Yavanas is found in *Mahābhārata* II, 4, 23

सततं कम्पयामास यवनानेक एव यः ।
बलपौरुषसम्पन्नान् कृतास्त्रानमितौजसः ॥
यथासुरान् कालकेयान् देवो वज्रधरस्तथा ।

33 Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *L' Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des barbares, Grecs, Scythes Parthes et Yue-tchi* p. 179; Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p 228.

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quite speculative and Sindhu is no other than Indus.[34] Puṣyamitra, who was an adept in military tactics, must have strengthened the defences of the north-western marches and deputed his grandson Vasumitra as their warden to keep the Yavanas in check. After the victory of Vasumitra over the Yavanas, Puṣyamitra performed the horse sacrifice mentioned in the play of Kālidāsa. But towards the end of his reign he himself undertook an expedition in the North-West. He marched at the head of his armies to subdue the Yavanas beyond the Indus. He penetrated into the region called Koṣṭhaka[35] which is the same as Sthūlakoṣṭha, Barakot or Virakot, modern Birkot and Udeygram in the region of Manglawar. This region represented the Bajira of the Greeks and the coins of the Indo-greeks, Parthians and Scythians have been found there in profusion.[36] According to the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, the Buddha visited this region and converted the mother of Uttarasena. As Uttarasena is associated with Udyāna (Uḍḍiyāna) by Hiuen T'sang,[37] it is certain that Koṣṭhaka was included in this province. The king of this region is called Daṅṣṭrānivāsin in the *Divyāvadāna*. This name recalls the legend of the tooth-relic of the Buddha, which was venerated in the North-West, according to Buddhist writers.[38] Being unable to face Puṣyamitra, Daṅṣṭrānivāsin invited a Yakṣa Kṛmiśa from the North for his assistance. Kṛmiśa is said to have hurled a rock under which Puṣyamitra was crushed to death. In other words, in the war with Kṛmiśa the Śunga emperor was killed. This event took place in 154 B.C. or 149 B.C., the date of the death of Puṣyamitra, if the Jaina traditions assigning a reign of 30 years or 35 years to him are believed,[39] or in 148 B.C., if the Puranic chronology specifying the

[34] R. C. Majumdar, 'Some Observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire,' *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1925) pp. 91 ff. 'North India after the Maurya Empire' *Journal of the Numismatic Society* Vol. XXII (1960) pp. 47-55.

[35] *Divyāvadāna* ed. Cowell p. 434.

[36] Aurel Stein, *An Archaeological Tour in Upper Swat and Adjacent Hills* (M. A. S. I.) 42.

[37] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol. I p. 128.

[38] James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien* pp. 105, 107; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*. Vol. I pp. 45, 67, 68, 92.

[39] According to the *Vicāraśreṇī* of Merutuṅga, Puṣyamitra reigned for 30 years, but, according to the *Titthogālipainna*, his rule lasted for 35 years. (Muni KalyāṇaVijaya, 'Vira Nirvāṇa Samvat aur Jaina Kāla-gaṇanā, *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* Vol. X Part 4 pp. 620-621.

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duration of his reign as 36 years, is followed,[40] 184 B.C. being the starting point of his reign.

6. *Kṛmiśa and Demetrius II*

In the Chinese translation of the story of the *Divyāvadāna* prepared by Sanghabhara in 512 A.D. the name of Kṛmiśa appears as Ki-li-sho, which Bagchi takes to be a mistake for Ki-li (mi) Sho, and in that of Ngan Fa-Kin, done in 300 A.D., it occurs as Kin-mi-Sho.[41] The initial *kr* of these forms stands for *tr*, both these sounds being pronounced in the same manner in the north-western regions where the Dardic languages are spoken. In some of the Dardic languages, particularly in Pashai, Kafir and Gawar bati dialects, both *kr* and *tr* result is *θl*. As for *tr*, it represents *dr*. Termez or Termidh, a city in the Oxus valley founded by Demetrius after his name, is a variant of the name of this king, in which *tr* replaces *d* and a sibilant or spirant occurs in stead of the final dental stop. A metathesis of consonantal elements is also a possibility worth considering in the growth of the form 'termiz'. Thus, Bagchi concludes that Kṛmiśa is a variant of the name of Demetrius.[43] This shows that Demetrius desended into the north-western regions of India about the fifties of the second century B.C., when Puṣyamitra met his death by being crushed with a rock. Thus, it is clear that Demetrius was alive by that time. This Demetrius was, in all probability, Demetrius II Aniketos whose bilingual silver and copper coins have been found in the North-West[44] and who is remembered as "the grete Emetrius, the King of Ynde" in the *Knight's Tale* of Chaucer.[45] That this king could not be Demetrius, the son of Euthydemus, is manifest from the fact that he was of marriageable age when he met Antiochus in 206 B.C. and about 150 B.C. his age would have been about 85 or 90 years which is not borne out by the portraits on his coins. Whitehead has shown that his youngest portrait on the Heracles type of coins reveals him as a youth of 25 years.[46]. It is also clear that the portraits of his advanced years

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40 H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* p. 391.

41 Jean Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Asoka* pp. 302-303.

43 P. C. Bagchi, 'Kṛmiśa and Demetrius' *op. cit.*

44 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* pp. 52-53.

45 A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Death of Eucratides in Medieval Tradition,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1950) pp. 7-13.

46 R. B. Whitehead, 'Notes on the Indo-Greeks', *Numismatic Chronicle*' (1947) p. 43 PL I, 3.

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show him as a man of about 45 years only.[47] Hence it is out of the question that he lived upto 85 or 90 years.

7. *The struggle in India after the death of Puṣyamitra and the invasion of Demetrius II*

The death of Puṣyamitra in the fight with Kṛmiśa or Demetrius II in the north-western regions beyond the Indus unleashed a storm of fissiparous forces in India. Already in the time of the great Śunga general there had been trouble in central India. Yajñasena, a descendant of a minister of Bṛhadratha, had set up an independent state in Vidarbha, which Agnimitra, the son of Puṣyamitra, had brought into subjection after an armed conflict, as we gather from the *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa. After Puṣyamitra's death, Agnimitra ascended the throne at Pāṭaliputra and Balamitra-Bhānumitra succeeded him in Avanti and the western dominions. It is note-worthy that the Jaina texts refer to Balamitra-Bhānumitra after Puṣyamitra and assign them a reign of 60 years.[48] and take no notice of Agnimitra, whereas the Purāṇas pointedly mention Agnimitra as the son and immediate successor of Puṣyamitra.[49] The only inference these conflicting traditions suggest is that Agnimitra assumed the reins of the Śunga state at Pāṭaliputra and Balamitra-Bhānumitra set up an independent state in the western regions. Coins reveal the existence of a king named Bhānumitra who can be easily

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47 *White King Sale Catalogue* Part I (1904) PLX 955.

48 *Titthogālipainna*, 621-622

पालगरण्णो सट्ठी, पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि णंदाणम् ।
मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं, पणतीसा पूसमित्ताणम् (मित्तस्स) ।।
बलमित्त-भाणुमित्ता सट्ठा चत्ताय होन्ति णहसेणो ।

Vicāraśreṇī of Merutuṅga वर्ष ३० पुष्यमित्राणां बलमित्रभानुमित्रराज्यं ६० वर्षाणि ।

the Jaina texts refer to the joint rule of Balamitra-Bhānumitra. It appears that the real power vested in Bhānumitra and Balamitra was associated with him only in name. Hence, while we get enough coins of Bhānumitra, we have no issues of Balamitra.

49 Agnimitra is said to have reigned for 8 years. H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* p. 391; *Cambridge History of India* p. 467; F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* pp. 30-31, *Age of Imperial Unity* p. 97; V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* p. 191; *Vāyupurāṇa* cited by Pargiter,

तत्सुतोऽग्निमित्राष्टौ भविष्यति समा नृपः ।

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identified with his namesake of Jaina traditions. These coins of Bhānumitra have been found in Pañcāla-Kośala and Ahicchatrā as well as in the Kangra district of the Panjab.[50] They show that this king helds way over these regions. As a matter of fact, the coins of a large number of kings having *mitra*-ending names have been found at Pañcāla-Kośala, Ayodhyā, Ahicchatrā, Kosam, Mathurā, Avanti and other places. The names of 25 kings can be recovered from these coins and inscriptions.[51] They show that after Puṣyamitra the Śunga empire had broken up in fragments presided over by rival rulers. With the passage of time the process of balkanisation became more and more rapid and the Magadhan empire was reduced to a congeries of conflicting principalities. According to Jayaswal, Puṣyamitra had 8 sons[52] and, in the opinion of Bhaṭṭācārya, Agnimitra had this number of sons, named after the 8 Vasus worshipped at Gayā,[53] and they became independent in the regions that they administered. Allan believes that the Mitra kings refer to a dynasty different from the Śungas,[54] but, in view of the fact that many Śunga kings mentioned in the Purāṇas have names occurring on the coins, it is quite possible that this line is not different from the Śungas and is rather a combination of several offshoots of this dynasty.[55] However, it is clear that after Puṣyamitra there was dissension and discord in the empire and atleast Bhānumitra and Agnimitra reigned as rivals in the West and the East. There is also some evidence to show that Agnimitra led an expedition in the western regions and fought against Bhānumitra. The coins of Agnimitra have been found at Pañcāla-Kośala, Ahicchatrā and Mathurā which were included in the kingdom of

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50 Alexander Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India* pp. 69, 74, 79, 93; V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum* part I p. 184; Part II p. 166.

51 Tārāpada Bhaṭṭācārya, 'The Śunga Dynasty', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* (1949) Vol. XXXV pp. 47-48.

52 K. P. Jayaswal, 'Notes on the Brāhmaṇa Empire', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1930) p. 259

53 Tārāpada Bhaṭṭācārya, *op. cit.* p. 50.

54 John Allan, *A Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Coins of Ancient India* (London 1936) pp. 120-121.

55 K. P. Jayaswal, 'A Further Note on the Hāthigumpha inscription', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (1917) pp. 476; H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* pp. 392-395; Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares* etc. pp. 175-176.

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Bhānumitra, as the discoveries of his coins in these regions indicate. The finds of these coins of Agnimitra show that he occupied these territories in order to restore the integrity of the Śunga empire by liquidating Bhānumitra. In this atmosphere the Yavana invader Demetrius found a golden opportunity to plunge into the interior of the Indian plains and penetrate up to Pāṭaliputra. This raid is described in the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgisaṁhitā* and hinted in the remarks of the grammarian Patañjali about the siege of Sāketa and and Mādhyamikā by the Yavanas. The Purāṇas give some lucid and interesting details of this invasion to which due attention has not so far been paid.

8. *The Purānic accounts of the Indian invasion of Kālayavana*

In connection with the account of Kṛṣṇa the Purāṇas describe an invasion of Mathurā by the Yavana forces led by Kālayavana at the instance of King Jarāsandha of Magadha.[56] It is stated that after the defeat and death of Kaṁsa at the hands of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma and the setting up of an independent state at Mathurā, his father-in-law Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, laid siege to Mathurā with a large army of 23 akṣauhiṇis. But Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma defeated him and put him to flight. The attack of Mathurā and the disaster of Jarāsandha were repeated 18 times. Despairing of defeating the Yādavas led by Kṛṣṇa single-handed Jarāsandha thought of seeking the succour of the powerful king of the Yavanas named Kālayavana. He secured the service of the Śālva king and sent him on an embassy to Kālayavana to solicit his assistance for the invasion of Mathurā.[57] In his opinion Kālayavana was the only king who could vanquish the Yādavas of

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[56] *Brahmapurāṇa* Ch. 196 Verse 1; ch. 197 verse 7
Viṣṇupurāṇa, Aṁśa 5, ch. 23 verse 1; ch. 24 verse 7.
Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa ch. 273 verses 33-70
Harivaṁśapurāṇa, Viṣṇuparvan II chs. 50-57
Bhāgavatapurāṇa Xth Skandha, ch. 50 Verse 44; ch. 52 verse 5.

[57] *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, Viṣṇuparvan II ch. 54 verses 1-2

एवं कथयमानं तं शाल्वराजं नृपाज्ञया ।
उवाच परमप्रीतो यवनाधिपतिर्नृप ।।
धन्योऽस्मि अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि सकलं जीवितं मम ।
कृष्णनिग्रहहेतोर्यन्नियुक्तो बहुभिः नृपैः ।।

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Mathurā.[58] Śālva conveyed the message of the Magadhan monarch to the Yavana chief who agreed to the proposal chuckling at the prospect of reducing and destroying the nascent power of Mathurā.[59] With a vast army consisting of the Śakas, Tuṣāras (Tukhāras), Daradas, Pāradas, Śṛṅgalas, Khaśas, Pahlavas, Mlecchas and Haimavatas, equipped with various weapons and dressed in variegated costumes, the Yavana king Kālayavana invested Mathurā,[60] His fleet-footed cavalry of celestial horses, which moved like wind, and regiments of asses and camels shook the earth by their furious marches and charges.[61] So numerous and countless

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58 *Ibid* 52, 25-28

अद्य तस्य रणे जेता यवनाधिपतिर्नृपः ।
स कालयवनो नाम अवध्यः केशवस्य ह ।
एवं गार्ग्यस्य तनयः श्रीमान् रुद्रवरोद्भवः ।।
माथुराणामवध्योऽयं मथुरायां विशेषतः ।

59 *Idid* 53, 25

जातोऽयं जगतां बाधी कृष्णः परमदुर्जयः ।
विदित्वा तस्य दुर्वृत्तमहं हन्तुं समुद्यतः ।।

60 *Idid* 57, 15-20

शकास्तुषारा दरदाः पारदाः शृंगलाः खसाः ।
पह्लवाः शतशश्चान्ये म्लेच्छा हैमवतस्तथा ।।
स तैः परिवृतो राजा दस्युभिः शलभैरिव ।
नानावेशायुधैर्मीमैर्मथुरामभ्यवर्तत ।
गजवाजिखरोष्ट्राणामयुतैरर्बुदैरपि ।
पृथिवीं कम्पयामास सैन्येन महता वृतः ।।

From this account it is clear that the Yavana raid starte from the North-West. The peoples enumerated here are weld-known. The Sṛngalas may be identical with the Sṛngins lof *Mahābhārata*, II 47, 2 शकास्तुखारा कंकाश्च रोमशाः शृंगिणो नराः । They are probably reminiscent of the Viṣāṇins of *Ṛgveda* (VII, 83). It is noteworthy that several persons depicted in the art of Mathurā are shown as wearing headdresses consisting of ram's horns. They are a foreign people of northern origin.

The invasion and siege of Mathurā by the Yavanas and other northern peoples is also described in the *Mahābhārata* XII, 102, 5

तथा यवनकाम्बोजा मथुरामभितश्च ये ।

61 *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*, Viṣṇuparvan 53, 10

वाहितं दिव्यतुरगैर्मनोमारुतरंहसैः ।

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was this army that the sun also became invisible by the cloud of dust raised by it, and the excrements discharged by animals formed rivers.[62] Kṛṣṇa challenged the invader by sending a black poisonous serpent in a jar to him through an envoy who pointed out the resemblance of Kṛṣṇa to that snake. Kālayavana took the gauntlet by killing the serpent with ants.[63] Jarāsandha also was likely to attack Mathurā about the same time.[64] Considering himself sandwitched between these two perils Kṛṣṇa resorted to a unique strategy and ordered the women also to take up arms[65]. But considering himself unequal to the task of withstanding the attack of the Yavanas and the Magadhans he decided upon quitting Mathurā. He sent his people to the newly-founded city of Dvārakā which was situated on a tongue of land reclaimed from the sea.[66] There the Yādavas,

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62 *ibid*, 54,21-22

रेणुना सूर्यमार्ग तु समवच्छाद्य पार्थिव ।
मूत्रेण शकृता चैव सैन्येन संसृजे नदीम् ।।
अश्वोष्ट्रशकृतां राशेर्निस्सृतेति जनाधिपः ।
ततोऽश्वशकृदित्येव नाम नद्या बभूव ह ।।

Earlier in connection with the siege of Mathurā by Jarāsandha it is stated that Mathurā was fortified and its walls were pierced by four strong gates.

63 *ibid* 57,32-34

ततः कुम्भे महासर्पं भिन्नाजंनचयोपमम् ।
घोरमाशीविषं कृष्णं कृष्णः प्राक्षेपयत्तदा ।।

64 *Brahmapurāṇa* ch. 196,9

कृष्णोऽपि चिन्तयामास क्षपितं यादवं बलम् ।
यवनेन समालोक्य मागधः संप्रयास्यति ।।

Viṣṇupurāṇa, Aṁśa 5,23,9

कृष्णोऽपि चिन्तयामास क्षपितं यादवं बलम् ।
यवनेन रणे गभ्यं मागधस्य भविष्यति ।।

Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa 273,37

मगधाधिपतेस्तस्य सहायार्थं महाबलाः ।

65 *Brahmapurāṇa* ch. 196; 11; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V, 23,11

तस्माद्दुर्गं करिष्यामि यदूनामतिदुर्जयम् ।
स्त्रियोऽपि तत्र युध्येयुः किं पुनर्वृष्णियादवाः ।

66 *Brahmapurāṇa* ch. 196, 13-14; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V, 23, 13-14

इति संचिंत्य गोविन्दो योजनानि महोदधिम् ।
ययाचे द्वादशपुरीं द्वारकां तत्र निर्ममे ।।
महोद्यानां महावप्रां तडागशतशोभिताम् ।
प्राकारशतसंबाधामिन्द्रस्येवामरावतीम् ।।
मथुरावासिनं लोकं तत्रानीय जनार्दनः ।

Padmapurāṇa, Uttarakhaṇḍa 273, 39-40

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Andhakas and Vṛṣṇis flourished for a long time. Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma went out to fight the enemy and had a severe contest with the Yavanas, according to the *Padmapurāṇa*.[67] But the *Brahmapurāṇa* and the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* do not refer to the fight but simply state that Kṛṣṇa presented himself in the Yavana camp and recognizing him as his chief enemy Kālayavana gave him a hot pursuit.[68] All the Purāṇas concur in stating that Kṛṣṇa fled before Kālayavana and reached the cave in which King Mucukunda was lying in a sound sleep in consequeuce of a divine boon that he, who would disturb his sleep, would be burnt to death by his fiery look. There Kṛṣṇa concealed himself in some crany and Kālayavana mistaking the sleeping Mucukunda for Kṛṣṇa kicked him violently[69] so as to

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[67] *Padmapurāṇa*, Uttarakhaṇḍa 273, 45 H

यवनेन तदा योद्धुं रामकृष्णौ महाबलौ ।
विनिर्ययतुरात्मेशौ मथुराया बहिस्तदा ॥
रामो लागंलमादाय मुसलं च महारथः ।
जघान समरे क्रुद्धो यवनानां महद्बलम् ॥

[68] *Brahmapurāṇa* 196, 16-18; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V, 23, 16-18

बहिरावसिते सैन्ये मथुरायां निरायुधः ।
निर्जगाम स गोविन्दो ददर्श (ददृशे) यवनश्च तम् ॥
स ज्ञात्वा वासुदेवं तं बाहुप्रहरणो नृपः ।
अनुयातो महायोगिचेतोभिः प्राप्यते न यः ॥
तेनानुयातः कृष्णोऽपि प्रविवेश महागुहाम् ।
यत्र शेते महावीर्यो मुचुकुन्दो नरेश्वरः ॥

[69] *Brahmapurāṇa* 195, 19-20; *Viṣṇupurāṇa* V, 23, 19-20.

सोऽपि प्रविष्टो यवनो दृष्ट्वा शय्यागतं नरम् ।
पादेन ताडयामास कृष्णं मत्वा स दुर्मतिः ॥
दृष्टमात्रश्च तेनासौ जज्वाल यवनोग्निना ।
तत्क्रोधजेन मैत्रेय भस्मीभूतश्च तत्क्षणात् ॥

Harivaṁśapurāṇa, Viṣṇuparvan 57, 55.

ददाह पावकस्तं तु शुष्कं वृक्षमिवाशनिः ।
क्षणेन कालयवनं नेत्रतेजो विनिर्गतः ॥

Padmapurāṇa, Uttarkhaṇḍa 273, 54-55-56.

पादेन ताडयामास मुचुकुन्दं महामुनिम् ।
ततः प्रबोधमागम्य मुचुकुन्दो महामुनिः ॥
क्रोधात् संरक्तनयनो हुंकारं कृतवानसौ ।
तस्य हुंकारशब्देन तथा क्रोधनिरीक्षणात् ॥
निर्दग्धो भस्मतां प्राप यवनस्त्यक्तजीवितः ।

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disturb his sleep. Mucukunda woke up furiously and cast an angry glance at Kālayavana. With the fire radiating from his eyes Kālayavana was instantly burnt to ashes. Thus freed from the menace of his formidable rival, Kṛṣṇa returned to Mathurā and took possession of the army consisting of elephants, horses and chariots, but he elected to repair to Dvārakā and coronated Ugrasena there.[70]

9. *The identity of Kālayavana and Demetrius II*

In this account of the invasion of Mathurā by Kālayavana there are several suggestive points which assume a singular importance in the light of historical facts. Kālayavana was the king of the Yavanas or Greeks. He belonged to the north-western regions as the composition of his armies of northern and central Asiatic peoples like the Śakas, Tukhāras, Daradas, Pāradas, Khasas, Pahlavas and the Himalayan tribes demonstrates. The Purāṇas obviously erred in referring his birth to the southern regions, as is manifest from the composition of his troops. Kālayavana's invasion is symbolic of a raid of these northern peoples equipped with contingents of horses, asses and camels in the Gangetic valley. His attack was launched at the invitation and instigation of the king of Magadha who was desirous of reducing the power of Mathurā and bringing this region under his control. His success was facilitated by the antagonism and animosity between the kingdoms of Mathurā and Magadha that were at war with each other. His adversary could not meet him on the battle-field and took to flight leaving him a free passage to advance further. His victory proved pyrrhic, for he met his death just after his invasion and that his onslaught, though smashing, disastrous and irrepressible, ended in a vain march of northern peoples and armies in the plains of the Gangetic valley, leaving only a bleak trail of devastation without achieving any lasting military or political result.

These facts fit in very closely and adequately with the history of the Graeco-Bactrian invasion of India after the death of Puṣyamitra Śunga. We have observed how Puṣyamitra breathed his last while fighting with Kṛmiśa or Demetrius II in the trans-Indus reg-

[70] *Brahmapurāṇa* 197, 6-7.

कृष्णोऽपि घातयित्वारिमुपायेन हि तद्बलम् ।
जग्राह मथुरामेत्य हस्त्यश्वस्यन्दनोज्ज्वलम् ।।
आर्याय चोग्रसेनाय द्वारवत्यां न्यवेदयत् ।
पराभिभवनिःशङ्कं बभूव च यदोः कुलम् ।।

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ions. He appears to have fallen down in a defile and been crushed to death by collision against some boulder or rock. The Greek invader came there at the instance of the local Buddhist chieftain menaced by the triumphant advance of Puṣyamitra as the barbinger of the movement of the Brahmanical renaissance. After the death of Puṣyamitra his empire broke up into at least two parts ruled by Bhānumitra and Agnimitra respectively. We have suggested above that Agnimitra marched in the West to reclaim the allegiance of the recalcitrant clique led by Bhānumitra and campaigned in Kośala, Ahicchatrā and Mathurā. This event has its reminiscence in the besieging of Mathurā by the Magadhan king Jarāsandha to quell the rebellion of the Yādavas and suppress the uprising of Kṛṣṇa. But, being unable to vanquish the army of Mathurā, he sent for Kālayavana through Śālva. It appears that Agnimitra invited Kṛmiśa or Demetrius from the the North-West to invade and invest Mathurā and facilitate the reduction and defeat of Bhānumitra. It was in response to this invitation that Demetrius descended trough the Panjab into the Gangetic Valley at the head of a vast army of northern peoples and swept off the nascent power of Mathurā and Pañcāla. A. K. Narain has suggested that it was rather at the invitation of and in collaboration with the peoples of Mathurā and Pañcāla that the Greeks invaded the Gangetic valley and descended up to Pāṭaliputra.[71] He prefers the reading of verses 94-95 of the *Yugapurāṇa* of the *Gārgīsaṁhitā* given in some manuscripts to the effect *tatah sāketamākramya pāñcālā māthurāstathā. Yavanāśca suvikrāntāh prāpsyanti kusumadhvajam* to that adopted by Jayaswal which is as follows: *tatah sāketamākramya pañcālān mathurāmstāthā yavanāh duṣṭavikrāntāh prāpsyanti kusumadhvajam.*[72] According to him, the discovery of a coin of Indramitra in the Kumrahar excavations and the occurrence of the names of Bhānumitra and Indramitra in the inscription on the Bodh-gaya railings show that these kings raided Pāṭaliputra. His opinion is that the Greek invasion, which was led by Menander rather than Demetrius, took place about 150 B.C. at the fag-end of the rule of Puṣyamitra. But there is nothing to establish that Indramitra succeeded Puṣyamitra in the Mathurā-Pañcāla region. Such an assumption is clearly contradicted by the consistent

[71] A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* pp. 86-87. A similar view has been expressed by R. C. Majumdar, 'North India after the Maurya Empire', *Journal of The Numismatic Society* Vol. XXII (1260) pp. 47-55.

[72] *ibid.* pp. 175-176

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Jaina tradition that Balamitra-Bhānumitra succeeded Puṣyamitra at least in the western dominions. We have seen that coins of Bhānumitra are found not only in Pañcāla, Mathurā and Ahicchatrā but also in the Panjab. Hence there is no question of Indramitra succeeding Puṣyamitra. If he at all occupied a kingly position it was after Bhānumitra and Agnimitra, that is to say, after the lapse of some years after the death of Puṣyamitra. Thus, the occurrence of the Greek raid at the time of Indramitra does not accord with the theory of its taking place about 150 B.C. In view of these considerations the so-called numismatic basis of the preference of the reading *pāñcālā* and *māthurā* to *Pañcālān mathurām* falls through. As for the figuring of these variants in some manuscripts of the *Yugapurāṇa*, A. S. Altekar has observed that" on such points of controversy we can, however, arrive at definite conclusions not by any critical examination of a text, which is admittedly corrupt, but by the discovery of fresh and conclusive evidence"[73] Altekar emphasises the fact that the *Yugapurāṇa* "while describing the retreat of the invaders, refers only to the Yavanas and not also to their allies:

madhyadeśe na sthāsyanti yavanā yuddha-durmadāh.

If the Yavanas are described here as *Yuddhadurmadāh*, one presumes that in the earlier passage also they should by described as *yavanāh duṣṭavikrāntāh* and not as *yavanāśca suvikrāntāh*"[74] Thus, there is no reason why the definite conclusion that the Greeks were assisted by the Māthuras and Pāñcālas in the invasion of Pāṭaliputra should be based merely on some variant readings of the corrupt text of the *Yugapurāṇa*. On the other hand, the clear statement in the Purāṇas about the invitation of Kālayavana by the king of Magadha for attacking Mathurā, supported by the discovery of the coins of Agnimitra in Pañcāla, Mathurā and Ahicchatrā, lend colour to the correctness of the reading *pañcālān mathurām* in the text of the *Yugapurāṇa* and shows that the primary aim of the Yavana invader was to reduce and occupy Mathurā. But, thereafter, he made the policy of inviting foreign armies recoil on the head of Agnimitra and after conquering Mathurā and Pañcāla moved forward to capture Pāṭaliputra, the celebrated capital of the Indian empire. Since the chroniclers of the Purāṇas were concerned with the narrative of Kṛṣṇa only, they finished their account of the Yavana invasion with

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[73] *Journal of the Numismatic Society* (1957) Vol. XIX Part II p. 212.

[74] *ibid* p. 212.

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the investment of Mathurā and the flight of its inhabitants implying the conquest of this city and its kingdom.[75] Besides this, the reduction and capture of Mathurā was the most spectacular achievement of the Greek invaders and their further march and hasty retreat proved a vain cavalcade. Hence the authors of the Purāṇas concentrated and confined their attention to this part of the invasion. Only the author of the *Yugapurāṇa*, concerned as he was with the affairs of Pāṭaliputra, as the entire trend of his narrative from Udāyin, Śāliśūka, etc. shows, gave some information on the further course of this invasion. While the authors of other Purāṇas described this episode from the standpoint of the account of Mathurā, the writer of the *Yugapurāṇa* narrated it from the standpoint of the account of Pāṭaliputra. Hence, whereas the other Purāṇas left the thread of the narrative with the conquest of Mathurā, the *Yugapurāṇa* carried it further to the siege of Pāṭaliputra.

According to the *Yugapurāṇa*, the tide of Yavana invasion clashed with the mud fortifications and embankments of Puṣpapura.[76] But a sudden outbreak of rebellion in the heart of the Yavana state forced the invaders to retrace their steps from the outskirts of Pāṭaliputra.[77]

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[75] It is noteworthy that the chroniclers of the Purāṇas did not describe the Yavana invasion led by kālayavana as the main and central theme of their narrative. They were concerned with the affairs of Mathurā only and had to refer to this invasion only so far as it related to the affairs of that city and Kṛṣṇa. Hence, it was natural for them to omit the subsequent course and stages of the invasion. This part of the invasion was adventitious to their narrative.

[76] *Yugapurāṇa*, ed. Mankad p. 33 ; Kern, *Bṛhatsamhitā* (introduction) p. 37

ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते (कर्दम प्रथिते हिते) ।
आकुला विषया सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।।

[77] *Ibid* lines 113-116, Mankad's edition P. 35

मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदाः ।
तेषामन्योऽन्यसम्भावा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।।
आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं युध्दं परमदारुणम् ।
ततो युगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये ।।

Just after referring to the raid of the Yavanas upto the fortifications of Pāṭaliputra and the terror spreading in the country the chronicler of the *Yugapurāṇa* mentions a western war in line 98 शस्त्रद्रुममहायुध्दं तद्भविष्यति पश्चिमम् This suggests

continued on page 231

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Hence the chronicler of the *Yugapurāṇa* described their retreat without bringing in any Indian power. Thus, to sum up, the tradition of the invasion of Mathurā by Kālayavana at the instance of the Magadhan king Jarāsandha enshrines the memory of the invasion of Mathurā and Pañcāla by the Bactrian Greeks in the atmosphere of the internecine scramble for power among the successors of Puṣyamitra probably on the invitation of Agnimitra who was out to liquidate the growing power of the rival state of Bhānumitra in Pañcāla and the West.

The Purānic account, summarised above, shows that the people of Mathurā took to their heels and quitted Mathurā when it was invested by the Yavanas. They are stated to have migrated to Saurāṣṭra in the south-west. This explains the association of Bhānumitra with these regions including Bhṛgukaccha in the Jaina traditions. Thus, avoiding the struggle with the overwhelming armies of the Yavanas, Bhānumitra was able to rule for a long time, hinted in the Jaina traditions. But the advancing tide of Yavana onslaught had to roll back as a result of its own internecine pressure. The appearance of disruptive forces led by Eucratides in the heart of the Greek empire and their movement towards the Panjab endangering the very existence of the invaders of Mathurā and Magadha forced them to march back to the North-West. But this vast army swollen by Indian captives and retainers was somehow outmanoeuvred by the picked warriors of Eucratides and Demetrius was probably killed in the affary, for he his heard of no more. The death of Demetrius just after the Indian invasion has its counterpart in the death of Kālayavana just after the invasion of Mathurā. The role of Eucratides has been transferred to Mucukunda by a quaint process of the evolution of legends.

10. *The war of Eucratides and Demetrius II*

We learn from Justin that Eucratides started his career in Bactria when Mithridates I ascended the throne of Parthia.

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continued from page 230

that just at the approach of the Yavana forces at the ramparts of Pāṭaliputra a great war broke out in the West. This western war is the internecine conflict which is described in line 115. Thus, it is clear that the Yavanas returned from the ramparts of Pāṭaliputra on account of some war in the West without occupying or conquering Pāṭaliputra or fighting any battle there.

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Mithridates I is held to have started his reign about 171 B. C. Hence it is assumed that Eucratides also began his activities about that time. According to Justin, he waged several wars with great valour and was much weakened by his losses in them, yet[78] "when he was besieged by Demetrius, king of the Indians, with a garrison of only three hundred soldiers, he repulsed by continual sallies a force of sixty thousand enemies." The account of Justin is so loosely connected that its historical value has been rightly questioned by Tarn and others.[79] Yet taking the said passage as it is, one cannot conclude that the rise of Eucratides about 171 B.C. synchronised with his war with Demetrius in which the latter saw his end. On the other hand, Justin here implies that the rise of Eucratides ushered in a bout of warfare as a result of which his power was considerably reduced. Though he displayed remarkable valour in these wars, his losses told so heavily on his military strength that he could not marshal more than 300 soldiers when he tried conclusions with the mighty Demetrius equipped with an army of 60,000 soldiers.[80] It appears that when Demetrius was busy consolidating his hold over the newly-occupied regions of the Paropamisdae and Gandhāra, Eucratides rose in Bactria and proclaimed himself the ruler of that country. But the times were troubled and the expansion of the Parthians under Mithridates I in particular subjected Eucratides to a severe military strain. It is well-known that Eucratides had to cede the two satrapies of Turiva and Aspionus to Mithridates. The reference to the military losses of Eucratides in the account of Justin probably denotes this surrender of territory to Mithridates. But when Demetrius defeated the armies of Puṣyamitra in a battle in the North-West and swooped down the Panjab into the Gangetic

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[78] Justin X/i, 6 Multa tamen Eucratides bella magna virtute gessit, quibus adtritus cum obsidionem Demetrii, regis Indorum, pateretur cum ccc militibus IX milia hostium adsiduis eruptionibus vicit.

[79] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* P. 199 ; A. N. Lahiri, 'The Diodotus Coins', *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1957) Vol. XXXIII p. 222

[80] Tarn, (*op. cit* pp. 140, 155, 156) doubts the story of 300 soldiers of Eucratides outmanocuvring the 60,000 men of Demetrius. In fact, nothing is known about the last days of Demetrius. He may have been killed in the fighting in Bactria.

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valley up to Pāṭaliputra to fish in the troubled waters of Post-Puṣyamitra rivalries and conflicts and conquer an empire in India, Eucratides found a golden opportunity to pounce on the kingdom of Demetrius. This menace forced Demetrius to return to the North-West hurriedly and suppress the power of Eucratides. But, as luck would have it, he expired in the encounter, though equipped with a vast army. A dashing and desperate sally of the besieged soldiers of Eucratides made short shrift of Demetrius. This event took place about 150 B.C. Narain has conjectured that Demetrius II died in 165 B.C.[81] but there is no evidence in support of this view. On the other hand, there is cogent proof of the fact that Demetrius died after undertaking his Indian campaign. The reference to the death of Kālayavana just after the invasion of Mathurā in the Purāṇas and the outbreak of internecine strife among the Greek invaders in the *Yugapurāṇa* complements and corroborates the remark of Justin about the insurrection and war of Eucratides and the disaster of Demetrius. It is noteworthy in this connection that for about two decades Eucratides and Demetrius ruled over Bactria and Paropamisdae respectively. The history of the Indo-Greeks furnishes several parallels of the simultaneous rule of more than one king over different parts of the same realm. It is held by scholars that Euthydemus I entrusted the conquest of the south to his son Demetrius I and that of the north upto the Seres and the Phyrni to his second son Euthydemus II and that both of them struck coins and ruled as joint kings.[82] Even the powerful Menander ruled his big realm with joint-kings or sub-kings. Antimachus II ruled over Gandhāra and his coins have been found in the Swat valley and northern Arachosia. In the first Bajaur hoard his coins numbered 152 and in the second, 17, whereas in the Mir Zakah treasure their number was 133.[83] Another such king was Polexenus, who assumed the grandiloquent titles of "Epiphanes' and 'Soter', and whose coins have been found mostly in the Peshawar and Utmanzai regions.[84] A third king of this

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81 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 53.

82 Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* p. 111.

83 M. F. C. Martin, 'A find of Indo-Greek Hemidrachms in Bajaur, '*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement* (1926-27) Vol. 40 pp. 18.

84 H. L. Haughton, 'Miscellanea, Notes on Greek and Kushan

continued on page 234

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category was Epander whose coins have been discovered in the upper Kabul valley. A fourth contemporary of Menander was Heliocles I, whose 204 coins[85] figure in the Kunduz treasure indicating his flourishing rule, and who is stated to have died in 140 B. C. when Menander was at the height of his power in western Panjab. Indeed, there is some evidence to show that Menander crossed the Hindukush in an effort to recover Bactria and issued Attic tetradrachms one of which has been found there. According to Plutarch, he died in the camp in course of the campaign beyond the Hindukush. The substance of the above discussion is that even in its palmy days the Indo-Greek kingdom was a thin veneer covering a number of kingships which were virtually independent and occasionally at loggerheads among themselves. It is, therefore, no wonder that Eucratides and Demetrius II ruled side by side in Bactria and the Paropamisdae, the former struggling with the waxing power of the Parthians and the latter entrenching his dominion in the mountainous retreats on the north-western frontiers of India. It was only when Eucratides tried to wrest the seat of Demetrius during his absence in the Gangetic valley that hostilities broke out between them with the results mentioned above. Thus, the remark of Justin about the rise of Eucratides about 171 B.C. is in harmony with the dating of his war with Demetrius about 150 B.C.

As regards the identity of Kālayavana, we have to note that *Yavana* is a tribal designation and *kāla* is a personal appellation. We have observed in the discussion about the name 'Kṛmiśa' how *kr* represents *tr* or *dr* of the eastern version of the name of Demetrius as available in the name Tremiz or Trimid. In the initial conjunct consonant the cerebral liquid becomes dental very frequently. As seen above, in the translation of the *Divyāvadāna* the name of Kṛmiśa figures as *ki-li-sho.* In some Indian versions also *kr* may naturally become *kl* which gets Sanskritised as *kāla.* Thus, *kāla*

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Coins from N. W. India, '*Numismatic Chronicle* (1947) pp. 141 F.

R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Trésors monétaires d'Afghanistan* (Paris 1953) p. 78.

[85] A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Bactrian Treasure of Kunduz,' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1956) Vol. XVII Part I P. 37.

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has a phonetic connection with the name of Demetrius as current in the eastern versions. This Sanskritisation has also a semantic value in as much as it shows that the person hearing this name was dreadful as death or relentless as time. There is no other name in the history of the Indo-Greeks to which the name *kāla* may correspond. The synchronism and association of Kṛṣṇa and Demetrius became current in legends. A remote echo of the tradition of this association is found in the Middle-East. The Armenian historian Zenob de Klag relates that during the reign of Valarsace two Indians named Gisane and Demetr fled from their country as a result of the persecution of their king Tinaskeh and sought the protection of this Armenian king. Valarsace gave them the province of Daron where they refounded the city of Vishap. Soon afterwards they reached the neighbouring city of Achtichtat and set up the idols of the gods worshipped in India there. Their son installed two copper idols on a mountain named Karke. This Indian colony prospered and flourished and remained faithful to Indian Gods. In the fourth century the Christians had to contend hard with these people.[86] Lassen has equated the name Gisané with Kṛṣṇa and Sylvain Lévi has also identified the name Gisané with Kṛṣna and Demetr with Demetrius. According to Lévi, the association of Gisane and Demetr or Kṛṣṇa and Demetrius in the aforesaid legend is symbolic of the cooperation of the Indians and Greeks in founding an Indian colony in Armenia[87]. Though in this legend Gisane and Demetr are not given any kingly position and there is no suggestion that they correspond to Kṛṣṇa, the Indian hero, and Demetrius, the Indo-Greek king, yet the association of their names appears to be reminiscent of the traditional association of Kṛṣṇa and Demetrius in popular tales and legends. In the light of this datum the fact that the name *kāla* can be linguistically connected with the first syllable in the name of Demetrius assumes significance.

Thus, the legend of the invasion of Mathurā by Kālayavana reflects the history of the raid of Demetrius in the Gangetic valley just after the death of Puṣyamitra about 150 B. C.

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[86] Zenob de Klag, 'Histoire de la province de Daron' *Journal Asiatique* (1864); *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (1837) Vol. I P. 235; Emin, *Paganisme Armenien* P. 30.

[87] Sylvain Lévi, 'Le Bouddhisme et les Grecs', *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* p. 211.

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11. *The criticism of the theory of the Indian Invasion of Menander.*

Some scholars hold that the credit of leading the armed expedition in the interior of India goes to Menander rather than Demetrius;[88] others treat it as a joint venture of Demetrius and Menander.[89] The remark of Strabo that "more tribes were subdued by them rather than by Alexander, mostly by Menander" is wrapt in doubt by his own conditional expression: "at least if he actually crossed the Hypanis towards the east and advanced as far as the Imaus." In the following sentence this author couples Demetrius to Menander as regards the Yavana conquests in India. Evidence for Menander's invasion of Mathurā is sought to be extracted from an illustration of the use of the imperfect tense given by Abhayanandin in his *Mahāvṛtti* on the *Jainendra Vyākaraṇa* which purports to show that a certain Mahendra besieged Mathurā (*aruṇan-mahendro mathurām*). V. S. Agrawala has amended the reading *mahendra* as *menandra* for which there is no sound basis at present.[90] Hence A. K. Narain has rightly cast doubt on the alleged historical worth of this evidence.[91] As for the story of the Buddha prophesying to Indra that a king Milinda would erect a stupa at Pāṭaligrāma, given by Kṣemendra[92], it has no evidentiary value, because, besides being very late in date, it is not corroborated by any ancient source and is rather contradicted by the *Yugapurāṇa* which categorically states that the Yavanas retreated from the ramparts of Pāṭaliputra by reason of the breaking out of a a dreadful war in their homeland. As regards numismatic evidence of Menander's so-called invasion, Narain has convincingly shown that it does not bear out his reign to the east of the Ravi. Of course, stray coins of Menander have come to light in Hoshiyarpur, Kangra, Saharanpur, Sonipat and Bundelkhand but "they are evidence not of his rule in these districts but of the popularity of

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88 V. A. Smith, *Early History of India* pp. 211-212; A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* pp. 78-90.

89 W. W. Tarn, *op. cit* P. 155; E. J. Rapson, 'The Successors of Alexander the Great', *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I p. 490; H. C. Raychoudhury, op. cit.

90 V. S. Agrawala, 'An Ancient Reference to Menander's Invasion', *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXI, (1953) P. 180.

91 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* P. 84.

92 T. W. Rhys Davids, *The Questions of Milinda* Part II Page XVII

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his money is commercial circles"[93] As Allan has shown Mathurā was in the hands of the local kings until its conquest by Rājuvula who, like his son Sodāsa, copied the local type on his coins. Had the Yavanas been already there, there would have been a break in the Hindu coinage earlier"[94] and the Saka kings would have imitated the Indo-Greek coin-types rather than those of the local rulers. On the other hand, there are definite traces of the advance of Demetrius in Madhyadeśa. Agrawala has shown that on some clay-seals found at Rajaghat in Benaras Pallas Athene is depicted as standing holding shield in left hand and a spear in right as on the coins of Demetrius. Similarly, on some seals the naked figure of Heracles is portrayed with one elbow resting on a club just as on some coins of Demetrius. Several sealings depict the head of an Indo-Greek king which resembles the head of Demetrius on his coins. These finds indicate the invasion of Demetrius in these regions.[95] The most damaging objection to the theory of ascribing the Indian invasion to Menander arises from the remark of the *Yugapurāṇa* that a serious internecine disruption and revolt flared up in the heart of the Yavana kingdom, when they were nearing the purlieus of Pāṭaliputra, which compelled them to retreat in haste. The *Yugapurāṇa* further states that this internal disastrous struggle brought about the destruction of the Yavanas[96] and their disappearance from Madhyadeśa[97]. The traditions of the other Purāṇas also show that the Yavana leader was killed soon after his raid of the Gangetic valley. We know that Menander enjoyed a long flourishing rule memorable for literary, scientific and philosophical activities[98] which made his name and

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93 A. K. Narain, *The Indo-Greeks* p. 89.

94 John Marshall, *Taxila* II p. 862.

95 V. S. Agrawala, 'An Ancient Reference to Menander's Invasion,' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, op. cit. p. 182.

96 *Yugapurāṇa* line 116 ततोयुगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये ।

97 *Ibid.* line 113 मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदाः ।

98 The peace and prosperity of the age of Menander is manifest form the *Milindapañho*. This work is a product of the impact of Buddhist philosophy on Greek mind. This unique treatise of logic and dialectics has an Indo-Greek setting. Its dialogues breathe the spirit of Sāgala (Śākala) where Milinda with his entourage of 500 courtiers including Devamantiya, Anantakāya, Mankura, Sabbadinna etc.

continued on page 238

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fame travel far and wide and earned for him a lasting place in Buddhist traditions. There is no suggestion that Menander faced any revolt of his rivals or that he was killed in 150 B. C. in some internecine struggle soon after the demise of Puṣyamitra. The comparatively long, peaceful and prosperous rule of Menander definitely gives the lie to the suggestion that it was he who led the ill-fated invasion referred to in the tradition of the Purāṇas. Rather, the tragic end of Demetrius in a desperate encounter with Eucratides accords with the tradition of the death of *Kālayavana*, when he was leading the invasion of the Middle country, and of the

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continued from page 237

argues with an open and eager mind with the Buddhist patriarch Nāgasena. As shown by Tarn, the author of the *Milindapañho* knew the current Greek of the Hellenistic East and had read a little current literature. The picture of an ideal Budhist city in which all men are wise and faithful, depicted in the second part of this work, recalls the account of Plato. There is a Greek original of a part of the framework of the first part of this text, which reached Alexandria, as shown by Tarn.

Menander was not only interested in philosophy and logic but also in astronomy. It is a well-known fact that the Greeks made a substantial contribution to Indian astronomy (Sylvain Lévi, 'La Grèce et I'Inde d'après les documents Indiens' *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* PP 197-198) Varāhamihira notes in his *Bṛhatsamhitā* (11, 14) that the Yavanas are Mlecchas but they were honoured like ṛṣis since astrology was studied and cultivated among them. He mentions a writer called Yavaneśvara and his commentater Utpala quotes at least 200 verses from him. (P. V. Kane, 'The problem of the introduction of Rāśis in Indian Astronomy and Astrology, '*Bhāratiya Vidyā* Vol. IX (1948) F. 315). Recently a treatise entitled *Vṛddhayavanajātaka* composed by Yavanācarya Mīnarāja known as the overlord of the Yavanas has come to light and in it occur the twelve verses which Utpala has cited from the work of Yavaneśvara. This Yavana king Mīnarāja seems to represent the Greek king Menander (P. V. Kane, 'Yavaneśvara and Utpala,' '*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bombay* Vol. XXX (1955) Part I). In this connection it is significant to recall the description of king Milinda given in the *Milindapañho:* "as a disputant he was hard to equal, harder still to overcome, the acknowledged superior of all the founders of the various schools of thought". (T. W. Rhys Davids, 'The Questions of Milinda' *Sacred Books of the East* Vol. XXXV PP. 6-7)

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outbreak of serious dissension among the Yavanas, when they were heading towards Pāṭaliputra. Thus, the evidence at our disposal, meagre as it is, suggests the inference that it was Demetrius rather than Menander who led the invasion of the Gangetic valley.

This invasion synchronised with several other Greek irruptions towards Saurāṣṭra and Mādhyamikā referred to by western writers and the grammarian Patañjali. In this connection it is significant to note that Patañjali's presence during the life-time of Puṣyamitra does not preclude the possibility of his surviving him and living up to the time of the Later Śuṅgas so as to be able to refer to the Yavana invasion of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā as instances of the use of imperfect tense.[99]

[99] The fact that Puṣyamitra had passed away during the life time of Patañjali is manifest from his reference to that king in the past tense. He cites a line from some poem in which the followers of Puṣyamitra are said to have sounded the proclamation on hearing his speech. महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः *Mahābhāṣya* vii, 2,23 ed. Kielhorn Vol. III P. 228). Vallée-Poussin remarked (*L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-tchi*, P. 202) that the classing of Śakas and Yavanas and their treatment as Śūdras, who were not considered so impure as to be debarred from eating from the plate of an Ārya, shows that Patañjali was conversant with the state of affairs of the later Śunga and Post-Śunga periods. After a consideration of the various data Winternitz recorded the conclusion that Patañjali flourished in the second century B. C. (M. Winternitz, *Geschichte der Indische Literatur* Vol. III P. 390). Thus, Patañjali's reference to the Greek invasion of Sāketa and Mādhyamikā can be dated to a period following the death of Puṣyamitra.

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CHAPTER X

Thākura

1. *Connotations of the word 'ṭhākura'*

The word *ṭhākura* and its variants are used in almost all the languages of northern India. In Nepali the word *ṭhākur* (feminine *ṭhākurāni*) means a master and is the title with which a master is addressed by a slave; in Shina *ṭhākūr* stands for a barber; in Assamese *ṭhākur* signifies a Brāhmaṇa and in Bengali and Oriya it denotes the same as well as a deity; in Hindi it is used for a landlord and is employed by the Rajputs as their surname and is also a synonym of God; in Panjabi *ṭhākar* connotes a landlord; in Sindhi *ṭhākuru* is used to designate a beggar (faqir); in Kashmiri *ṭhokur* has the sense of an idol; in Gujrati *ṭhākor* or *ṭhākar* is a tribe of Rajputs and in Marathi *ṭhākur* is the name of a jungle tribe of North Konkan. All these words are derived from the Sanskṛt word *ṭhakkura* and the Prākṛt words *ṭhakkura*, *ṭhākura* or *ṭhakura*.[1] In Prākṛt the aforesaid words mean a Kṣatriya or Rajput and the owner, head, chief or leader of a village etc.[2] In Sanskṛt the word *ṭhakkura* means a deity, an object of reverence, a man of rank and a chief, according to Monier Williams,[3] an idol, a deity and a title of the Brāhmaṇas (dvijas) according to the *Vācaspatya*[4] and "Gottheit, ein Gegenstand der Verehrung, als Ehrentitel nach dem Namen ausgezeichneter Persönlichkeiten", according to Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth.[5] In Pāli we do not come across this word. But G. P. Malalasekera notes a word *ṭhakuraka* in his *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names*[6] which is used in the *Cūlavaṁsa*[7] as the name of the chief

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1 Ralph Lilly Turner, *Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* p. 251

2 Pandita Hargovind Das Seth, *Pāia-sadda-mahaṇṇavo*, p. 460; Vijaya Rajendra Suriśvara, *Abhidhāna-Rājendra*, Vol. IV, p. 1379.

3 Sir Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* p. 430.

4 *Vācaspatya*, Part IV, p. 3189.

5 Otto Böhtlingk and Rudolph Roth, *Sanskrit Wörterbuch*, p. 182.

6 G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names* Vol. I, p. 979, 288.

7 *Cūlavaṁsa*, Xc 16, 24, 27.

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of the *Ariyakkhattayodhā* who were the mercenary soldiers employed by Bhuvanekabāhu I for assassinating his adversary Mitta and regaining possession of the throne of Siṁhala. Wilhelm Geiger thinks that these mercenaries must have come from South India, but Malalasekera holds that they were Rajputs as the name of their general *ṭhakuraka* indicates. In order to determine the original import of this word it is necessary to study its early uses.

2. *Literary uses of the word 'ṭhākura'*

The word *ṭhākura* occurs in the *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri, who flourished in 585 (Vikrama era) or 529 A.D. according to Jaina tradition, but whose date has been worked out as 788-820 A.D. by Hermann Jacobi.[8] In this work the word *ṭhakura* is used in plural[9] and refers to the people who fought with the Śabaras. The fact that the *ṭhakuras* are contrasted with the Śabaras shows that they were a tribe like the latter. No peculiar prestige or honour attaches to this word here. It is the name of a people like other ordinary tribal designations.

In the 9th century the siddha Kaṇhapā (Kṛṣṇapāda) used the word *ṭhākura* and *ṭhakuraka* in his songs to denote the state of mind characterised by nescience (*avidyācitta*). He sings that by the true and beneficent teaching his sense of dualism is removed, his nescience (*ṭhākura*) is destroyed and he has attained unision with Jinapura.[10] Again he says that by his wisdom he has turned his mind, enveloped in suffering and ignorance (*ṭhākuraka*), into an enlightened state.[11] Here *ṭhākura* symbolises the state of ignorance, suffering and sin. It is used in a derogatory sense. In the beginning of the tenth century Rājaśekhara, the court poet of the Gurjara Pratihāra king

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[8] *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra Sūri, ed. H. Jacobi, Introduction p. 8.

[9] आवडियं पहाणजुज्झं, पाडिया कुलउत्तया, भग्गा धाडी, वाणरेहि विय वुक्कारियं सवरेहि । ततो अमरिसेण नियत्ता ठकुरा, थेव सवरा ति वेढ़िया आस असाहणेणं । सम्पलग्गं जुज्झं । महया विमद्देन निज्जिया सबरा । पाडिया कुमारपल्लीवइ । गहिया च णेहिं । कुमारचरिएण विम्हिया ठकुरा को उण एसो त्ति चिंतियमणेहिं ।

[10] *Cāryāgītikoṣa* ed. P. C. Bagchi and Śāntibhikṣu p. 41.

फीटउ दुआ मादेसि रे ठाकुर ।
उआरि उएसें काह्न निअड जिणउर ।।

[11] *Ibid.*

मतिएँ ठाकुरक परिनिविता ।
अवश करिआ भवबल जिता ।।

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Mahendrapālā, used the word 'ṭhākurá' in his Prakrit play *Karpūramañjarī* (III,8) in the sense or a chief or king.[12]

After Haribhadra Sūrī the historian Kalhaṇa, who completed his chronicle *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in 1150 A.D., mentioned the *ṭhakkuras* in his account of the events of the reigns of Kalaśa and Harṣa (1089 A.D.-1101 A.D.) in Kaśmīra. The account begins with the death of the king of Rājapura (Rajauri) and the coronation of his son Sangrāmapāla. The latter's uncle Madanapāla rose in revolt and as a result of his fear the sister of Sangrāma and the *ṭhakkura* Jassarāja implored the assistance of Kalaśa.[13] But the people of Rajauri suspected Kalaśa and his armies came back. The *ṭhakkuras* were the supporters of Kalaśa's successor Harṣa. He sent them from the jail to keep the royal armies neutral at the time of his release. There is also a reference to the *ṭhakurkas* of the Lohar fort[14] situated in the Lohrin valley which was attacked by Maḥmūd Gaznavī according to Ferishta and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*. These references show that *ṭhakkura* was a designation of warriors.

About the same time Lakṣmaṇagaṇin, a pupil of Hemacandra, used the word *ṭhakkura* in his *Supāsanāhacaria* that was completed in 1143 A.D.[15] In it there is a story of a merchant named Navadhana residing at Udayapura. Once a *ṭhakkura* purchased utensils worth ten thousand dammas from his shop and then clothes of the value of twenty thousand dammas on credit. Navadhana demanded the price and at last went to the public officers for help but everybody demanded a bribe. In this story this *ṭhakkura* is represented as a rich man.[16]

In the works of the Muslim historians of the period of Arabian and Ghazavide invasions the warrior class of India is generally

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[12] भइट्ठो ठक्कुरो मनोरहमोदएहिं अत्ताणं विडम्बेदि ।

[13] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 533-537.

[14] *Ibid*, VII, 706-739.

[15] *Supāsanāhacaria* of Lakṣmaṇagaṇin, ed. Hargovind Dass T. Seth (introduction) p. 9.

[16] *Supāsanāhacaria*, *op. cit.*, p. 412:

तह सुविसुद्धनएणं नवधणवणिओ करेइ वाणिज्जम्
नियहट्ठे उवविट्ठो विसिट्ठपणिएहिं नियएहिं
अह कोवि ठक्कुरो किणइ तस्स हट्टम्भि दससहस्साणम्
भण्डं दाउं दम्मे लेइ पुणो तह पुणो देइ ।।
अह अन्नया य तेणं उद्धारे बिससहस्सदम्माणम्
गहिया कप्पडमाइ मग्गइ तो नवधणो मुल्लम् ।।

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referred to as *ṭhākura*. The word Kṣatriya is seldom met with and the term Rājput had not yet become current. Thirteenth century authorities divide this *ṭhākura* class into the three grades of *rais, rānās* anb *rāwats*.[17]

Thereafter the word *ṭhākura* is used in thirteenth century of the Vikrama era by Nemicandra Bhaṇḍāri in his *Saṭṭhisayapayaraṇa*.[18] Here *ṭhākura* is a man of position and authority who commands and demands submission.

Then, in the fourteenth century A.D. Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śekharācārya (about 1324 A.D.), the friend of King Harisiṁha, notes the word *ṭhakkura* in his *prahasana* entitled *Dhūrtasamāgama*. The reference here is to the hermitage of one *Mṛtāṅgāra ṭhakkura*.[19]

Between 1400 A.D. and 1550 A.D. the author of the *Kāvyapradīpa*, a commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, named Govinda Thakkura, bears this surname *ṭhakkura*.

In the *Anantasamhitā* quoted in the *Smṛtyarthasāgara* of Chhalāri Nṛsimhācārya (later than 1675 A.D.) the word *ṭhakkura* is taken to mean a deity.[20]

In the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jāyasi (1540 A.D.) the word *ṭhākura* is used to denote the Rājputs and *ṭhakurāyī* is used for the generality of Rājputs.[21]

A study of the above references to the word *ṭhākura-ṭhakkura* in a more or less chronological order shows (1) that this word was first used in Prākṛt and thence became current in Sanskṛt, (2) that at

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17 Elliot and Dawson's *History of India as told by its own Historians*, Vol. II *Introduction* by M. Habib p. 38.

18 *Saṭṭhisayapayaraṇa* of Nemicandra Bhaṇḍāri, gathā, No. 98:

इयराणं ठकुराणं आणाभंगेण होइ मरणदुहम् ।
किं पुण तिलोयपहुणो जिणिन्ददेवाहिदेवस्स ॥

19 *Dhūrtasamāgama* of Jyotirīśvara 75, 9;

मृताङ्गारठक्कुरस्याश्रमोऽयम्

20 *Anantasamhitā* cited in the *Vācaspatya, op. cit.*, Part 4, p. 3189.

सुदामा नाम गोपाल श्रीमान् सुन्दरठक्कुरः ।

21 *Padmāvat* 42, 503, 3-4, ed. V. S. Agrawala,

खत्री ओ पंचबान बघेले ।
अगरवाल चौहान चंदेले ॥
गहरवार परिहार सो कुरी ।
मिलनहंस ठकुराई जुरी ॥

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first it signified a tribe like the Śabaras but later it became an honorific and was employed as such by men of prestige and position, (3) that the title *ṭhakkura* was given to the Kṣatriyas or warriors but later on it came to be used by the Brāhmaṇas also and lastly it became a synonym of God, (4) that this word was not current in the literature of the early period but came into vogue after the eighth century, (5) and that this word was borrowed from some exotic source.

3. *'Thākura' and 'Tegin'*

It was suggested by Sylvain Lévi that the word *ṭhākura* is derived from the Turkish word *tegin*, *tekyn* or *tengin*. S. K. Chatterji accepted this equation observing that "phonetically as well as semantically *tengin* could be easily connected with *ṭhākura*. In a large number of languages, final 'r', 'l' and 'n' are interchangeable; the vowel in the second syllable in this word in the original old Turkish was not a proper 'i' but a kind of spread-lip 'u' which could easily become a 'u' in Indian adaptation. The interior consonant is either a 'k' or a 'g', and the vowel in the first syllable 'e' or 'a' can easily be rendered by short or long 'a' in India, while the alveolar 't' of the original Turkish word could normally become cerebralised and aspirated."[22] In fact, a Western Turk king is known to have adopted the title of Sāhi-tegin between 630 A.D. and 658 A.D. The coins of this king bearing legends in Brāhmi and Pehlvi have been published and studied by R. Ghirshman.[23] It is believed that this ruler received Hiuan-T'sang at his capital on the Kunduz in 614 A.D.[24] But there is nothing to show that this ruler had anything to do with India, nor is there any evidence to prove that the kings bearing the title of *tegin* played any significant part in Indian history so as to lend their honorific permanently to Indian languages. Unless and until it is established that the kings or people using the word *tegin* had intimate and important connections with India, it is difficult to hold how a word of theirs became so wide-spread and came to acquire such sanctity and prestige in India. Linguistic exchange presupposes a cultural intercourse and in the absence of evidence showing cultural or social affinity the mere resemblance of phonetic elements cannot warrant the inference of a loan of words. Besides this, *tegin* is a

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[22] Sunitikumar Chatterji's letter to me, dated 12th April, 1955.

[23] R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp. 48-49.

[24] E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-K'iue Occidentaux*, p. 197.

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kingly title in Turkish rather than a tribal name, whereas in India *ṭhakura* is first used as the name of a people or the designation of a tribe. There is no suggestion of kingly status or honorary position in the early uses of this word, as seen above. Hence it is far-fetched to connect it with the Turkish title *tegin*. In the words of H. W. Bailey "Turkish *tegin* is not likely to be concerned here."[25]

4. *The word 'ttaugara'*

In order to determine the etymology of the word *ṭhākura* it is necessary to consider a group of words relating to the Tokharians. A study of these words has assumed a new significance since the discovery of the word *ttaugara* in the manuscript known as the Stael-Holstein Scroll.[26] This manuscript contains a list of names of places and peoples and the relevant passage has been translated by W. B. Henning as follows : "The royal clan Yaghlaqar, the five tribes Buqu, Busqut, Kürābör, Qorbar : these are Tölis. The royal clan Sikär (the five tribes) *ttaugara*, Eyäbör, Carigh, Yabütkar and other Ghilpabut in the Black mountains : these are called Tardus. In Sulmī the Turk Bayirqü and the Cumul...."[27]

H. W. Bailey identifies *ttaugara* with an important city in Kan-su on the silk-route named θογʏρʏ mentioned in the itinerary of a si merchant Maes Titianos. Bailey finds in it the name of the Tokhanians "toghara-tokhara" and after a brilliant discussion records his conclusion as follows : "It has been argued that 'toghara-tokhara' is the indigenous name of the people of the θρoʏʏ–δrw'n region who are later known in the Bactrian region under the same name tokhara. Their history thus coincides with that attributed by Chinese historians to the Ta Yue-Che."[28]

Henning disagrees with this conclusion and holds that the occurrence of *ttaugara* in a list of purely Turkish tribes shows that it designated a Turkish tribe of the Tardus group, and that a reference to the Tokharians or Yue-che is out of the question. According to

[25] H. W. Bailey's letter to me dated 4th March, 1955.

[26] F. W. Thomas and Sten Konow, "Two Medieval Documents from Tun-huang", *Oslo Ethnografiska Museums Skrifter*, (Oslo, 1929), pp. 128.

[27] W.B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. IX Part 3 (London, 1938), pp. 546-571.

[28] H. W. Bailey, "Ttaugara", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, Vol. VIII (1937), p. 916.

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him, this word becomes *ttaumgara* with a nasal (anusvāra) and stands for a Tölis tribe named *tongra* which is mentioned in the Orkhon inscriptions and whom the Chinese have called *t'ung-lo*.[29] Expressing his agreement with this view Pelliot observed : "nous avons accepté un instant que le nom khotanais '*ttaugara*' représentait celui des tokhares sur la foi de H.W. Bailey et malgré des objections de temps et de lieu. Mais le khotanais est plein de pièges. On a reconnu depuis lors que '*ttaugara*' est une médiocre transcription khotanaise du nom de la tribu turque des Tongra (les T'ong-le des *Documents sur les T'ou-kiue* de Chavannes) bien connus á l'époque des T'ang."[30] But the mere presence of *ttaugara* in a list of Turkish tribes does not necessarily mean that it had nothing to do with the Yue-che. It is a common phenomenon that a name of a locality or territory survives changes in population. It is quite conceivable that remnants of the Little Yue-Che had joined the Turkish confederacy and lent their pristine name to their tribal designations. Gustav Haloun has shown that a Chinese envoy to Khotan thought it possible to recognize them as late as 938-942 A.D.[31]

The occurrence of the word *ttaugara* - θογαρα as a place-name in the homeland of the Yue-che lends colour to the view that their indigenous name was akin to this word. Bailey has attempted to show that the Chinese word *Ta Yue-che* is a transliteration of this word θογαρα. According to him, *che* signifies a clan and in the opinion of Henning it is an indigenous plural ending, whereas *Ta Yue* is a representation of the original word which Henning determines as *t'ghur*, *θ'ghur*, *t'ghuer*, *θ'ghuer* etc. These suggestions are open to serious objections, as shown by Pelliot. Similarly the conjectures that *Yue-che* is a transcription of *Arśi*, *Suguda*, *Tangut* or *Skuja* made by Müller, Laufer and Boodberg have no strong leg to stand upon.[32] It is likely that this word, pronounced as *gut-tia*, according to Karl-

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[29] W.B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians", *loc. cit.*

[30] Portion of a letter cited by A. Foucher, *La vieille route de I'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 238; see also P. Pelliot, "Ā propos du 'Tokharien'," *T'oung Pao*, Vol. XXXII (1936), p. 258.

[31] G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tṣi Frage", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XC (1937), 285.

[32] Berthold Laufer, *The Language of the Yue-che or Indo-Scythians*, p. 12; Peter A. Boodberg, "Two notes on the history of the Chinese frontier", *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1936), p. 291.

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gren, and meaning "the moon people"[33] was not only a transcription, but also a translation of some word signifying the "moon" in the language of those people. In this connection it is significant to note that in the Chinese translation of the *Sutrālankāra* Kaniṣka is given the title *Chan-t'an* (*tsian-dan*) which was also borne by the rulers of Gandhāra and Hu-mi as late as the eighth century and another title used by him was *Chen-t'o* (*tśien-da*) which also denotes 'candra' or 'the moon',[34] that the king Chou-chen t'an (Candana of India) is brought into relation with the king of Fu-nan, both of whom presented tame elephants to the Eastern T'sin king Mu-ti, in their annals,[35] and that, according to the *Mahābhārata*, Ṛsika is mentioned with Candra (moon) and Diti.[36] The Prākṛt forms *aṣi* and *iśi* demonstrate the equation of *arśi-asii* which Sten Konow traces to the Saka word *arzi*. Analogous to it are the Saka words *aljsa* meaning 'silvery' and *āljsata* meaning 'silver' which are akin to the Avestan word *erezata* (silvery), the Sanskṛt word *rajata* (silver), and the Persian word *arziz* (tin).[37] All these words have the original sense of whiteness and brightness, the characteristics of the moon. From the same word *arzi* has come the form *erzuna* meaning a 'leader' or 'chief'.[38] In an inscription of kadphises this word 'erzhuṇa' means a prince. This latter word has unmistakable resemblance with the Sanskṛt word *arjuna*, which besides being the name of a tribe in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya[39] and the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta,[40] signifies 'white,' 'clear,' 'bright,' 'silvery'. It is highly significant that Arjuna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata* war,

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33 Jari Charpentier, "Die ethnographische Stellung der Tocharer," *ZDMG* (1917), pp. 347-388.

34 Sylvain Lévi, "Kaniska et Sātavāhana", *Journal Asiatique* (1936), pp. 61-121.

35 Sylvain Lévi, "Deux peuples méconnus", *Mēmorial Sylvain Lēvi*, p. 239.

36 *Mahābhārata* (Ādiparvan), I, 61, 30.

37 Sten Konow, *Saka Studies* p. 115.

38 Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhi Inscriptions* (introduction), p. 61.

39 *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya III. 72 (ed. R. Shamshastri), p. 194. प्राज्जूणक-गांधारादीनां च जनपदोपवादा व्याख्याताः

40 J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III (*Gupta Inscriptions*), No. I. मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च

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was so called because he was 'white' and 'pure in action.'[41] This Arjuna is known to have hailed from the Candra-vaṁśa or moon-family. This name also occurs repeatedly in the royal genealogies of the Central Asiatic oasis-states of Kūca and Qarashahr.[42] All

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41 *Mahābhārata*, Virāṭparvan IV, 39, 18

पृथिव्यां चतुरन्तायां वर्णो मे दुर्लभः समः ।
करोमि कर्म शुक्लं च तेन मामर्जुनं विदुः ।।

42 H. Lüders, *Weitere Beitrage zur Geschichte und Geographie von Ostturkestan* 1930), p. 28; Sylvain Lévi, "Le Tokharien," *Journal Asiatique* (1933), reprinted in *Fragments de Textes Koutchéens*, pp. 22-24. The first king of Yen Ki (*Agnideśa*), modern *Qarashahr*, known to history was *Shoen* (75 A.D.), whose name is a Chinese transcription of *Arjuna*. A later king of Qarashahr was called *Li Po-shoen*, whose name is conserved in the *Tseu-cha-tong-kien* in the form *Sien-na-choen*, which stands for *Senārjuna*. Another king of this region was *Indrārjuna*. Kūca had a line of kings with whose names the title *po* (white), that stands for *arjuna*, was invariably associated. In a narrative of the Chinese writer Yen-yang-tsa-tsu the hero is named *A-chu-eul* (*Arjuna*) and in a manuscript of Tokharian B dialect preserved in the Leningrad museum a king *Kśemārcune* (*Kṣemārjuna*) is referred to. In the Uighur redaction of the Hiḍimbāvadha the name of *Arjuna* figures as *Arcuni*.

The word *arjuna* occurs in Vedic literature also. (*Ṛgveda* I, 112, 23; IV, 26, 1, VIII, 1, 11,; *Yajurveda* X, 21; *Śatapathabrāhmaṇa* II, 1, 2, 11; V, 4, 3, 7). There it denotes 'white' and 'white leprosy' and is also an epithet of Indra. But it does not denote a tribe or a human hero. On the other hand, we come across the name of a northern tribe Arjunaka or Ārjunāyana or Prārjuna in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra gupta, as seen above. This tribe seems to be connected with the name *arjuna*. The use of this word in the sense of a tribe or human hero is foreign to Vedic literature. But in Central Asia among the states and principalities founded by the Śakas it invariably denotes an eponymous hero. Among Central Asiatic tribes black is regarded as the colour of the common people and white the colour of the aristocracy. Thus, the use of *arjuna* in the sense of a human hero or a tribal progenitor appears to have been derived from Central Asiatic Śaka sources.

Vedic and Śaka both branched from the same parent Indo-European language. Hence many words were common to both. But whereas *arjuna* in Vedic lost its pristine sense and was only used as an adjective signifying 'white-

continued on page 241

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these facts tend to show that the lunar clan of Arjuna is reminiscent of the old Yue-che people of Central Asia.[43] That the Yue-che were in occupation of the northern states of the Tarim

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continued from page 240

ness', in Śaka it meant a tribe and a human hero and later on this sense was imparted to this word in India as a result of the impact of the Śakas in the Xth and IXth centuries B.C. [Buddha Prakash, *Mahābhārata, A Historical Study* (in Hindi) *Nāgarī Prācariṇi Patrikā* Banaras Vol. 62 p. 145].

[43] As regards the question of Śaka influence on the *Mahābhārata*, it is pertinent to quote the intuitive suggestion of Arnold J. Toynbee that "it is tempting to conjecture that the otherwise extraordinary phenomenon of a revival, in the Indic world in this age, of an interest in a 'heroic' tradition descending from the Aryan invaders of the Indus Valley in the second millennium B.C., may partly be accounted for by the arrival in force, in the course of the last two centuries B.C. and the first two centuries of the Christian Era, of Śaka swarm of barbarian invaders who had lately acquired the same literary tastes, as a result of the same social experience, as their Aryan predecessors who had trodden the road from Eurasia to India more than a thousand years earlier." "When the Śakas felt a need for 'heroic' poetry," Toynbee goes on to add, "they addressed themselves to their Indic subjects; and it is evident that, when this demand is made upon a subject population, its poets will be prone, like the householder in the parable, to bring forth out of their 'treasure things old and new'." (Arnold J. Toynbee, "The Völkerwanderung of the Aryas and the Sanskrit Epic," in *A Study of History*, Vol. V, pp. 604-605). According to Toynbee, the advent of the Śakas in Iran left a lasting imprint on the Persian epic in the form of the legends of Rustam and Zal. "The Rustam cycle, which is so distinct, both in its local colour and in its fabulous atmosphere, from the rest of the matter of the Iranian epic—may be a literary reflexion of the social experience of the Śakas in their Völkerwanderung in the second century B.C." (*Ibid*, p. 602). In support of Toynbee's thesis it may be added that the antagonists of Rustam call him '*sagzi*' in the *Shāhnāmā*. Moreover, Rustam is known to have killed the great champion and propagator of the new religion of Zarathushtra, Isfandayar. It is significant that his name is not found in the Avesta. In the light of these facts and the Śaka affinity of the name of Arjuna, a new approach has to be made to the history of the Śakas in Iran and India and the contributions they made to the culture and literature of these regions.

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basin long before the foundation of the Kuṣāṇa Empire is manifest from the names of the places Kutsi, Ku-shih and Kao-chang (K. *chan*) which were known to the Chinese already in the early Han period.[44] But in the second century B.C. the pressure of the Hiung-nu resulted in the dispersal of the Yue-che from their homeland in Kan-su and Ning-sia, and while a part of them fled to the eastern Altyn Tagh and the Richthofen mountains in the vicinity of the Kiang and came to be known as Little Yue-che, their greater part migrated to the West, defeated a number of Śaka tribes in the northern Tien-shan on the Upper Ili, Chu, and Naryn, and settled there for about three decades when the Wu-Sun pounced on them and drove them further west towards Sogdiana and Bactria[45] where Chang K'ien found them in 129-8 B.C.[46] These Yue-che came to be known as Ta Yue-che. They gave their name to the territory they occupied. Hence from the 4th to the 8th centuries A.D. the region between Sogdiana at the Iron Gates and Bamiyan was called Togharistan or Tokharistan.

5. *Movements of the Yue-che*

The Yue-che, who invaded Sogdiana and Bactria, were a composite people consisting of many cognate tribes. We learn from the *Hou Han-shu* and *Ts'ien Han-shu* that Ta-hia (Bactria), where the Yue-che settled, was divided into the realms of five *hi-heu*, and that the *hi-heu* of Kuei-shuang K'ien-tsieu-kio (K'ien-tsieu-kie) or Kuzula Kadphises seized the territories of other *hi-heu* and became dominant over the Yue-che. There is a difference of opinion as to whether these *hi-heu* including the Kuei-shuang were the indigenous people of Ta-hia different from the Yue-che or the Yue-che themselves.[47] But

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44 Otto Maenchen-Helfen, "The Yueh-chih Problem Re-examined" *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 65 (1945), p. 77.

45 E. Chavannes, *Memories de Sse-ma-Ts'ien*, I, pp. 71-72.

46 Friedrich Hirth, "The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 37 (1917), p. 96.

47 Following the Japanese scholars Kuwabara Jitzuzo and Haneda Toru, Sten Konow and Paul Pelliot hold that the five *hi-heu* represented the indigenous population of Ta-hia rather than the Ta Yue-che [Sten Konow, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology," *Journal of Indian History* (1933) p. 1; Paul Pelliot, "Tokharien et Koutchéen," *Journal Asiatique*

continued on page 243

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it is commonly accepted that the Kuśans were intimately connected with that vast complex of nomadic tribes who are now called Sarmatians.[48]

continued from page 242

(1943), p. 38]. Gustav Haloun and Aurel Stein have left the question open (G. Haloun, "Zur Üe-tsi Frage," *ZDMG* (1937), p 257, fn 7; Sir Aurel Stein, *Serindia*, p. 287). W. W. Tarn (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 287, fn. 4) and Otto Maenchen-Helfen ("The Yueh-chih Problem Re-examined" *JAOS* (1945), pp. 72-73) have adhered to the old theory that the *hi-heu*, particularly the Kuei-shuang (Kuśan), were the Yue-che themselves. Maenchen-Halfen goes to the extent of holding that Yueh-chih is the transcription of the word *kuśa* (*Ibid.*, pp. 77, 80).

It is noteworthy that even Pelliot, who distinguished the Kuei-shuang from the Yue-che, holds that the *tokhri* of the Uighur colophons is the Tokharian which Hiuan T'sang found in Tokharistan and *Kusan* of the same colophons is the language of Kuca and that both these languages belong to one family. "Si j'ai raison," he observes, "les Tokhariens et Kusana appartiennent a une grande unité linguistique qui aurait essaimé a date fort ancienne, par vagues successive, peut etre, non seulement au Tokharistan, mais a Kuca, a Qarasahr et meme dans la région de Turfan" ("Tokharien et koutchéen, *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 105).

That the Kuṣāṇas in India considered themselves related to the Śakas is manifest from the fact that in the ancestral gallery (*devakula*) of the Kuṣāṇa kings found at Mat near Mathurā the statutes of Wima Kadphises and Kaniṣka have been found along with that of Caṣṭana, the son of Ysamotika, one of the Western Satraps of Saurāṣṭra and Malwa [J. Ph. Vogel, "Explorations at Mathura", *Archaeological Survey of India* (1911-12), p. 126]. This shows that Caṣṭaṇa, a Śaka by birth, was treated as a member of their own clan by the Kuṣāṇa emperors. It is also significant that in the same gallery a head wears a high Scythian cap with the tip tilted forward, which reminds us of Śaka *tigrakhaudā* [J. Ph. Vogel, "La Sculpture de Mathura," *Ars Asiatica* (1930), p. I, IV a-b].

48 The costumes and armaments of the Indian Śakas and Kuṣāṇas resembled those found in the graves of the Sarmatians. These Sarmatians used the long sword in place of the short *akinakes* and gave up the use of the *gorytos*; among them bow and arrow no longer played the important role of former times and the lance as well as the heavy scale

continued on page 244

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Greek sources also refer to the political changes that overtook the Yue-che in Bactria. Strabo (XI, 51, 11) states that between 140 and 130 B.C. the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tokharoi and Sakarauli seized the province of Bactria from the Greeks and Trogus Pompeius narrows the list to the Asiani and Sacaraucae only. As Haloun has proposed to correct *asiani* as *cusani*[49] and according to Trogus they were the lords of the Tochari (*reges Tocharorum Asiani*), it is plausible to correlate this development to the predominance of the Kuei-shuang over the Yue-che hordes referred to in Chinese sources noted above. In course of time the Asii (*arsi*) and the Twghr (y) came to signify one and the same people. The *cahār toghrista* (n) or the 'four *twghry*' and the *Toquz Arśin* or the 'nine' *Arśi* were the two names of the same country, nation, and language. About the beginning of the ninth century the Uighurs were fighting with the Tibetans and the four Twghry, and about a century before that date the Northern Tu-K'iue were waging war against the Toquz Ärśin (*ṛsn*), the next-door neighbours of the Tibetans. Henning believes that *tughr*, *T'ghur* or *twghry* stands for the Yue-che and *arśin-arsi* signifies the U Sun (Wu Suen). These two elements had been indiscriminately mixed up about the T'ang period.[50]

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continued from page 243

armour or ring armour began to be prominently employed. On the coins of Azes the king is clad in a long Central Asian coat having a curious chequered pattern and with sleeves consisting of rings or coils which signify a ring armour. On the statue of Wima Kadphises the long and strong lance is displayed and on that of Kaṇiṣka the long sword is strapped to the coat. On his coins Kaniṣka is often shown with a long lance. The armour which is not shown on the coins of Wima and Kaniṣka become prominent under Vāsudeva and his successors. Small gold plaques characteristic of the Sarmatian dress are also sewn on the garments of the seated Kuṣāṇa king whose statue has been found at Mat. The dress and deportment of the Saka Kuṣāṇas strongly point to their nomadic origin and militate against their identification with a sedentary people of a region Ta-hia [for a discussion of this problem see Ludwig Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 61 (1941), pp. 247-249]. For the Sarmatian or Alain affinity of the Kuṣāṇas see also R. Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. X.

49 Haloun, "Zur Üe-tṣi Frage", *ZDMG.* (*op. cit.*), 253, note 4.

50 W. B. Henning, "Argi and the Tokharians", *BSOAS* (*op. cit.*), pp. 546-571.

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The *Arśi-tokhara* tribes migrated further west and left their imprints on a large number of peoples. The Siraci and the Aorsi living on the shores of the Black Sea had been in relation with the Greeks since the middle of the first century B.C.[51] Later, when the Alans occupied the region inhabited by the Aorsi, the latter mixed up with them and the tribal name *Alanorsi* recalls their merger. From the coasts of the Caspian Sea another branch of the Aorsi expanded towards the Don and in the Kurgans of the Kuban region their culture is well represented in archaeological remains.[52] With the Aorsi a tribe called *Tagorae* also went west as we learn from Pliny. In fact the Aorsi-Ärśi and Tagorae were in the same wave of migration and Maenchen-Helfen[53] is right in identifying them with the *Asii-Asiani reges Tocharorum*. After the conquest of the Mongols some of these tribes entered into their groupings and came back to the Far East. The Asud and the Tokhuraut, the branches of the Dzhalair, were those Tokharians who mixed up with the Mongols. These people mixed up with the Turks also. One of the chief Oguz tribes was the Duker which has been identified with the Tokhara by S. P. Tolstov. The Asiani-Wu-sun have survived among the Kazaks up to the present times. Likewise the four tribes of the Ossets: (1) Digor on the the Urukh and its tributaries, (2) Allagir on the Ardon, (3) Kurtat on the Sandon and Fiagdon, and (4) Tagate on the Giseldon and its tributaries contain Tokharian elements. Their western-most branch, the Digor, speak a dialect of their own and call their country *Digor* (*digur* or *diguron*), which name occurs in the *Geography* of Moses of Khorene as *Ashtigor* or *As-Digor* or *Arsi-Tagare*. These Digor-Digur were the descendants of the Tochar-Tagorai.[54]

6. *The Yue-che and India*

This brief survey of the expansion and migration of the Yue-che-Tokharians from Kan-su up to the Danube and from the Aral Sea up to the plateau of the Deccan in India shows that "wherever they came to live they left traces in the shape of names indubitably derived

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51 J. Junge, *Saka Studien*, pp. 54, 75.

52 M. Rostowzew, *Skythien und der Bosporus*, p. 604.

53 O. Maenchen-Helfen, "The Yueh-chih Problem Re-examined", *JAOS*, Vol. 65 (1945), p. 79.

54 W. Miller, *Die Sprache der Osseten* (*Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*); V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Alam*, p. 445.

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from a word 'toghara'."[55] In India the Yue-che played a dominant part up to the fourth century A.D., and their power reached its zenith under Kaniṣka. Sylvain Lévi has shown that Kaniṣka was in control of the port of Barygaza and Kalyana. He identifies him with Sandanes mentioned in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* on the ground that this title corresponds to the name Chan-t'an or Candana which is used for the famous Kuṣāṇa monarch in the Chinese translation of the *Sutrālankāra*. After the establishment of the supremacy of the Kuṣāṇas over the port of Kalyāṇa the Greek ships bound for that port began to be conveyed under guard to Barygaza.[56] The prominence of the Kuṣāṇas in the Deccan is suggested by the references to the Ṛṣikas along with the Māhiṣakas in the *Rāmāyaṇa*[57] and the *Kāśikā*.[54] Though the reading of the coin-legends on some coins ascribed to one 'Māna', in view of which a theory of Śaka domination in the South has been set up,[59] is doubtful, it is highly significant that even such a late author as Bilhaṇa (1062-1064 A.D.) refers to the presence of Kuṣāṇa cavalry in the South and calls them by their old name *Tukkhāra* at a time when this nomenclature had practically fallen into disuse.[60]

55 Ludwig Bachhofer, "On Greeks and Sakas in India," *JAOS*, Vol. 61 (1941), p. 245.

56 Sylvain Lēvi, "Kaniska et Satavahana," *Journal Asiatique* (1936), pp. 61-121.

57 *Rāmāyaṇa, Kiṣkindhā-Kāṇḍa*, 41, 10.

58 *Kāśikā* on *Pāṇini*, IV, 2, 132: ऋषिकेषु जातः आर्षिकः, माहिषिकेषु जातः महिषिकः the Nasik cave inscription of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi, line 2: असिक-असक-मुढ़क-सुरठ-कुकुरापरत-अनूप-विदभ आकरवतिराजस (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, *Collected Works*, Vol. I, p. 231).

59 V. V. Mirāshi, "The Spread of Śaka Era in South India," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. (1950), pp. 216-222; for the contrary view see D. C. Sircar, "The Spread of the Saka Era in South India," *I. H. Q.* Vol. 27 (1951), pp 174-176; V. V. Mirashi has given the rejoinder in "The Spread of Śaka Era in South India", *Ibid* (1951), pp. 341-346. This discussion has been recently revived by D. C. Sircar in his "Presidential Address" to the Numismatic Society of India (Calcutta session 1955); vide *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVIII, part I, p. 7. Mirashi has given his rejoinder in his "Numismatic Notes" (*ibid.*, pp. 116-119). A. S. Altekar has also come to support Mirashi ("Numismatic Studies and Researches in India," *Ibid.*, p. 129).

60 Bilhaṇa, *Vikramānka-deva-carita*, XVIII, 93:

continued on page 247

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Sylvain Lévi goes to the extent of holding that the Kuṣāṇas penetrated into the Far South and established their sway in the land of the Drāviḍas. He adduces evidence in support of this view from the *Later Han Annals* where it is stated that the Great Yueh-chih attacked the kingdom of Tung-li and enslaved it. Lévi identifies Tung-li with Drāviḍa.[61] But this view is contested by F. W. Thomas who holds that Tung-li cannot refer to the Dravidian South since the use of camels is not attested there and the residents of that country are not so tall as the *Later Han Annals* state. According to Thomas, Tung-li is not a transcription but a translation of Sanskrit *Prācya* (*Pūrva*) *Vibhāga* or *Prāgdeśa*, meaning 'Eastern Division'. This term is equivalent to the Prasioi which denotes the Prācya people or the Magadha empire.[62] Should this view be correct, we would get evidence of the expansion of the Kuṣāṇas up to the confines of Magadha in the east, which accords well with the tradition of the conflict of Kaniṣka with the rulers of Soked (Sāketa) and Pāṭaliputra,

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continued from page 246

काल: कालञ्जरगिरिपतेर्य: प्रयाणे धरित्रीम्
तुक्खाराणां खुरपुटरवै: क्ष्मापशून्यां चकार ।
श्री डाहालक्षितिपरिवृढ: सोऽपि यं प्राप्य वृत्तं
कर्ण: कर्णामृतरसभरास्वादमन्तस्ततान ।।

In medieval times the word *tukhāra* had lost its ethnic connotation and had become a synonym of 'horse'. It is well-known that the horses of Tukharistan were very famous. Hence the word *tukhāra* came to mean a horse exclusively in course of time, just as *China* in modern times means pottery and porcelain, or *damask* stand for a particular cloth manufactured in Damascus, or *mudrā*, derived from the name of Egypt, denoted the flat seal in ancient Iran and India. In the *Padmāvat* of Malik Muhammad Jayasi (1540 A.D.) *tukhāra* is used in the sense of 'horse'. Vide *Padmāvat* 42, 512, 5-6, ed. V. S. Agrawal, p. 544:

करहिं तोखार पवन सों रीसा ।
कंध ऊंच असवार न दीसा ।।
का बरनौं जस ऊंच तोखारा ।
दुइ पैरीं पहुँचई असवारा ।।

Ibid, 26, 276, p. 262.

61 Sylvain Lévi, *Kusana et Satavahana*, *op. cit.*

62 F. W. Thomas, "Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniska: Tung-li, Pan-chi and Chinese Turkestan", *New Indian Antiquary* Vol. VII (1944), pp. 81-101.

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recorded by Tibetan writers, as well as the finds of his inscriptions at Mathurā, Śrāvasti and Sarnath and the discovery of his coins at Ghazipur and Gorakhpur. The tradition of the rule of the Muruṇḍas at Pāṭaliputra is avouched by the Jaina texts, which associate a teacher Pādalipta-sūri with a Muruṇḍa ruler, and the notices in the Chinese Encyclopaedia *Ku-hin-tu-chu*. From Magadha the Muruṇḍas had established their relations with Fu-nan.[63]

The eastern portion of Kaniṣka's empire was governed by the Mahākṣatrapa Kharapallāna and the Kṣatrapa Vanaspara.[64] Thus we observe that the Kuṣāṇa empire under Kaniṣka embraced the vast territory from the north-west including Khwārazm, Kāpiśi and Peshawar to Gorakhpur and Sarnath in the east, and the plateau of the Deccan. This big empire was the chrysalis of that wide and deep cultural impact which resulted and expressed itself in a word of such exalted and extended prevalence as *ṭhākura*.

7. *'Thākura' and 'ttaugara': a linguistic study*

After a study of the historical and cultural matrix of the word *ṭhākura* let us now approach its linguistic aspects. It is well-known that the Kuṣāṇas were a branch of that vast group of tribes which is called *Tokharian*. The *Asii* or *Asiani* were one of their constituent tribes and later came to be identified with them. In India the *Asii* were called *Ṛṣika* and the *Tokharians* were known as *Tukhāra*. In the Chinese translations of Sanskṛt works *Tukhāra* is transcribed as *Tu-ho-lo* and translated as *Yue-che*. For instance, in a list of languages translated into Chinese in 431, Guṇavarman substituted the name of Yue-che for *Tukhāra*, and in his translation of the great commentary of the *Prajñāpāramitā* (*Ta-che-tu-luen*), Kumārajīva transcribed this word as *Ta-kia-lo* and explained it as *Siao Yue-che*.[65] Another spelling of this word is *teou-k'ie-lo* (*teu-kia-lek*) which shows that the original Indian form was *tukāraka*, that is to say, it had an unaspirated guttural surd *k* in place of *kh*. Another spelling of this word had a cerebral sibilant *ṣ* instead of the guttural surd *k* or *kh*. In the Chinese translation of the *Saṁyuktāgama*, made between 435 and 443 A.D.,[66] this

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63 Sylvain Lévi, "Deux Peuples méconnus," *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi*, pp. 235-242.

64 Adris Banerji, "Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire," *I. H. Q.*, Vol. 27 (1951), pp. 294-303; H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th edition), p. 473.

65 Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de textes Koutchéens*, pp. 24-25.

66 Paul Pelliot, "Tokharien et Kouchéen" J *A* (1934), p. 34.

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word was transcribed as *Teou-sha-lo* which presupposes the form *tuṣāra*. This pronunciation resulted from the confusion in the guttural aspirated surd and the cerebral sibilant.[67] The semantic use of this word denoting 'frost' is not likely to be concerned here.

The word *tukhāra* or *tukāra* is analogous to *ttaugara* of the Stael-Holstein Scroll, θογαραα of Ptolemy, and *thod-kar*, *phod-kar* of the Tibetan texts. After the migration of the Tokharian-Yue-che in the West this word came to be pronounced as τοχαροι (*tokharoi*). The words *tuo-kh-vālā* (G. τοχοροι), *tochari*, and its variant *thogrii* in Latin, *tukhārik* or *tokhārastan* in Armenian, *twkhry* in Turkish, and *Tukhāra* in Sanskṛt are based on this pronunciation. Henning determines its pristine form as *etkhuāre*, *tekh-uār*, *ta-kh-uār*, *to-khuār* or *t'kh-uār*. But side by side with this the spelling containing the guttural spirant *gh* was also current. The Greek *Taghoroi*, Latin *Tagare*, Sogdoian *'tgh-w'r'k*, Arabic *Taghāristan* or *Taghāra*, Tibetan *tho-gar*, *tho-dkar* for the western Tokharian as against *thod-kar*, *phod-kar* for those of the East are instances in point. Henning fixes its form as *tughr* (Tibetan *Druga*) (**t'ghur*). According to him *yueh* is a rendering of *t'ghur*, *θghur*, *t'ghuer*, *θghuer*. In Uighur, which, as a rule, follows Sogdian in matters of orthography, the name of Bactria-Tokharistan, *tkhuār*, would normally be written as *t-gh w'ry*. Hence Henning holds that *tw'ghry* cannot refer to Tokharistan but rather denotes Qarashahr, Qoco and the adjacent districts. But he admits that *tughr* is a variant of the tribal name *Tochari*. In fact, as Bailey observes, the *toghara* language is indifferent to the quantity of vowels as is manifest from the variety of vowels in the variants of the word *tokhara* or *tughr*, noted above.

The above discussion of the variants of the word *tukhāra* shows that a final liquid *r* is attested in all the forms and that the medial consonant was *kh*, *gh* as well as *k*. Even in the Indian variants of *tukhāra* the form *tukāra* is known. This form *tukāra* presupposes *tughr* with a guttural sonant. Many languages of Central Asia have a tendency to replace the sonants by surds. In both the dialects of Ārśi the four kinds of Indo-European occlusives—surds, aspirated surds, sonants, and aspirated sonants—are reduced to only *p*, *t*, *k*. Kutchean, in particular, does not possess any sonant stops except nasals and avoids the use of aspirates, e.g., skt. *agaru* < K. *akaru*, *aśvagandha* < *aśvakānta*, *tagara* < *takara*, *bhṛngarāja* < *pṛnkarac*, *yoga*

[67] J. Marquart, *Eranśahr*, p. 539.

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< *yoka*.[68] Similarly, Sogdian had no sonants, though it possessed the spirants γ,δ,β. Usually the sonants were replaced by the surds in it e.g. skt. *ghaṇṭikā* < *kul'ykh*, *nirghātana* < *nyak'tn*, *sivaghoṣa* < *sβkws*, *gṛddhakūṭa* < *krytkwty*, *gandharva* < *knt'rβ*, *gotama* < *k'wt'm'*, *gotra* < *kwttr*, *mahādeva* < *mγ'tyβ*, *mahāsamudra* < *my-nsm'wtry*.[69] This feature is noticeable in a dialect of Paiśāci called *Cūlikā-Paiśācī*. Hemacandra in his *Siddha-hemacandra-śabdānuśāsana* (IV, 325) describes this feature in the rule *cūlikā-paiśācike tṛtīya-turyayo-rādya-dvitīyau*.[70] Commenting on this rule he observes: *cūlikā-paiśācike vargāṇām tṛtīyaturyayoḥ sthāne yathāsankhyamādyadvitīyau bhavataḥ. nagaram* < *ṇakaram*, *mārgaṇaḥ* < *makkaṇo*, *giritaṭam* < *kiritaṭam*, *meghaḥ* < *mekho*, *vyāghraḥ* < *vakkho*, *gharmaḥ* < *khammo*, *rājā* < *rācā*, *jarjaram* < *caccaram*, *jīmūtaḥ* < *cīmūto*, *nirjharaḥ* < *niccharo*, *jharjharaḥ* < *chaccharo*, *ṭaḍāgam* < *taṭākam*, *maṇḍalam* < *maṇṭalam*, *ḍamarukaḥ* < *ṭamaruko*, *gāḍham* < *kāṭham*, *ṣaṇḍaḥ* < *saṇṭho*, *ḍhakkā* < *ṭhakkā*, *madanaḥ* < *matano*, *kandarpaḥ* < *kantappo*, *dāmodaraḥ* < *tāmotaro*, *madhuram* < *mathuram*, *bāndhavaḥ* < *panthavo*, *dhūlī* < *thulī*, *bālakaḥ* < *pālako*, *rabhasaḥ* < *raphaso*, *rambhā* < *ramphā*, *bhagavatī* < *phakavatī*, *niyojitam* < *niyocitam*. *Kvacillākṣaṇi kasyāpi*. '*paḍimā*, *ityasya sthāne* '*paṭimā*'. '*dāḍhā*' *ityasya sthāne* '*tāṭhā*.' Like Hemacandra, Vararuci in his *Prākṛtaprakāśa* makes a reference to his feature in his aphorism *vargāṇām tṛtīyacaturthayorayujoranādyorādyau*.[71] Thus, according to Vararuci, the initial and conjunct sonants are not changed into surds, whereas in the opinion of Hemacandra the change takes place in all cases.

The word *cūlikā* or *cūlika* is a variant of *śūlika* which represents the Chinese *Su-li*, that is based on an original **Sulik* < **suwdhik*, an eastern and southern dialectical form of Sogdian **sughdik*[72] and *culika-paiśācī* was a variety of north-western dialect spoken by the Sogdians. It has been shown by P. C. Bagchi that the Sogdians penetrated deeply into Indian population and culture following their far-flung commercial contacts. The *Sulki* rājputs of the Shāhpur district, the *Solgi* and *Solkah* jats of the Multān region and the *Sud*, *Suda* or *Sudgi* of Amritsar, Ludhiana and Macchiwara in the Panjab at present,

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[68] Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de textes Koutchéens*, p. 160.

[69] E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, pp. 255-260.

[70] Hemacandra's *Kumārapāla-carita* (Prākṛta-dvyāśrayakāvya), ed. P. L. Vaidya, p. 593.

[71] Vararuci's *Prākṛtaprakāśa* (X, 3), ed. P.L. Vaidya, p. 111.

[72] Robert Gauthiot, *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne*, p. vi.

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and the *Cālukyas* of the Deccan and the *Sólankis* of Gujrat in ancient times, appear to be the remnants of the Sogdians who came and settled in India.[73] It may also be suggested that the name of the famous city of *Mathurā*, whose ancient name had the aspirated dental sonant '*dh*', e.g., in the form *Madhuvana*, and which has assumed its present form in accordance with the rule of *cūlikā-paiśācī*, noted above, betrays a Sogdian influence that bespeaks the settlement of the Sogdians in Middle India.

Thus, it is clear that the form *tukāra* having a guttural surd instead of a sonant shows a Sogdian influence. Evidently it was from Sogdiana and through her people that this form became current in India.

Ordinarily in Prākṛt the medial surds and sonants k, g, c, j, t, d, p disappear, e.g., *mukula* < *maulo*, *nakula* < *ṇaulam*, *sāgaro* < *sāaro*, *nagara*<*ṇaaram*.[74] But since in *culikā-paiśācī* the sonant is transformed into a surd and that surd retains its sound, the said rule of ordinary Prākṛts, *Mahārāṣṭṛi* or *Śaurasenī* has no application. Hence there is no grammatical or philological difficulty in the form *tukāra* or its variants.

As regards the vowel of the first consonant in the word under consideration it is clear from the analysis of Henning that it was not universally *u*. The forms *t-kh-uār* and *t-a-khuār* have no such *u*. That these forms were actually in use is manifest from the forms *takoraioi*, *takara*, *thagora* used by Ptolemy and *tazora*, *tahora* on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, north of Alexandria Bucefalos. Thus it is certain that the vowel of the initial consonant was *a*. In this way a variant of *tukhara* was *takara*. As for the cerebralisation of the dental surd there are numerous instances of such change in Prākṛt. We know full well how the dental in the word *pattana* becomes *ṭ* and results in *pāṭana* and survives in the name *Aṇahillapāṭaṇa*. This phenomenon has been noticed by ancinet grammarians also. Vararuci formulates a special rule to explain this change.[75] According to him 'rt' usually becomes 'ṭ', though there

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[73] P.C. Bagchi, "Sulika, culika and culikā-paiśācī", in *India and Central Asia*, pp. 146-147.

[74] Vararuci, *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, III, 2, p. 30: *Kagacajatadapayavām prāyo lopaḥ*; Hemacandra VIII, 1, p. 177: *Ka-ga-ca-ja-at-da-pa-ya-vām prayo luk.*

[75] Vararuci, *Prākṛtaprakāśa*, III, 23 *pattane.*

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are also certain exceptions to this rule.[76] Hemacandra notes the cerebralisation of the initial dental surds in some words, e.g., *tagara* <*ṭayara*, *trasara* < *ṭasara*, *tūvara*<*ṭūvara*.[77] In modern Sindhi this feature is very prominent and connects it directly with Vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa, e.g. skt. *tāmra* < Hindi *tāmbā*<Sindhi *ṭāmo*, Hindi *denā*<Sindhi *ḍiaṇu*. Hence the change of *t* into *ṭ* in *takara* presents no difficulty and the form *ṭakara* becomes easily understandable. That the vowel of the second consonant was alternately *u*, *o*, *a*, *u*, *uā* is abundantly clear from the large number of forms cited above. Thus *ṭakara* easily becomes *ṭakura* in Indian variants. That the initial surd becomes aspirated is patent from the form θαγορα *thagora*, noted above. In this way, we get the form *ṭhakur*, *ṭhākhura* from *tukhāra* and its several variants. In this phonetic and orthographical change the basic indifference of the *toghara* or *tukhari* language to vowels has played a dominant part.

This word *tukhāra-ṭhākura* is of Iranian origin, according to Bailey. The significant presence of *gh* or *kh* in it is a pointer to this fact. Its wide-spread use from the *Urheimat* of the Yue-che in Kan-su up to the heart of Europe and the interior of India proves that it was the native name of these people.

Our study has led us to the conclusion that the word *ṭhākura-ṭhakkura*, is a word of the Yue-che Tokhari language and was brought by its speakers to India. Originally it denoted the Yue-che, but since they came to hold a dominant position in India, it was invested with a sense of prestige and respect and came to mean a chief, warrior, noble, lord in general. The long association of the Yue-che and Śakas with India and their consequent deep penetration into her population and culture made the word popular in this country. As a result, it gradually lost its tribal or territorial connotation as the word *dahyu-dasyu* and *śūdra* had done earlier. From being a synonym of 'lord' or 'chief' it was but one step to signify a man of the high caste—Kṣatriya or Brāhmaṇa—and at last to stand for the highest divine power. Thus, the semantic difficulty in respect of this

[76] *Ibid*, III, 22 *rtasya ṭah*, for exceptions see III, 24 *na dhūrt-ādiṣu*.

[77] Hemacandra, *Siddha-hema-śabdānuśāsana* VIII, 1, 205 *tagara-trasara-tūvare ṭah*. To illustrate this rule he has composed the following verse in *Kumārapālacarita* (III, 39) ed. P. L. Vaidya p. 54:

Aṇatuccha-ṭayara-kappūra-dhuva-mahamahia-ṭasara-sui-vattho.
Kumāra-vihāre patto ṭūvara-paḍihāra-dinna-karo.

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word melts away, as there are numerous instances of tribal names becoming common titles.

To sum up, the word *ṭhākura* is a link connecting Indian culture with the vast Eurasian Tokharian word. It is a symbol of the deep imprint left by the Tokharians on Indian culture and is also an indication of the marvellous assimilative character of Indian civilization.

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CHAPTER XI

Samudragupta and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas

1. *The reference to the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta*

In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta the "daivaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi-śaka-muruṇḍa" and the dwellers of all the islands like the Ceylonese are stated to have offered personal allegiance to Samudragupta, presented daughters in marriage and solicited royal charters bearing the garuḍa symbol for the governance of their own territories and, thus, acknowledged the suzerainty of Samudragupta.[1] According to Allan, the titles *daivaputra* (devaputra), *śāhi* and *śāhānuśāhi* denoted three rulers of small states into which the Kuṣāṇa empire had broken up;[2] Smith holds that this compound title refers to the Chionite king Grumbates who fought with the Romans in association with the Sassanid emperor Shahpuhr II below the walls of Amida in 359 A.D.;[3] Raychoudhury sees in this honorific a reference to the Sassanids themselves besides the Kuṣāṇas who had accepted their supremacy ;[4] and Majumdar thinks that a Kuṣāṇa ruler exercising sway over Kabul and a part of the Panjab and possibly other territories further to the west is intended here.[5] In the Purāṇas the Mlecchas, Śūdras and Vrātyas are said to have been ruling over the "Indus Valley up to Candrabhāgā (Rāvi) and Kathiawar and Kaśmīra"[6] at a time when the Gupta dominion was confined

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[1] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, lines 23-24.

दैवपुत्रशाहीशाहानुशाहीशकमुरुण्डैः सैहंलादिभिश्च सर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदन-कन्योपायनदानगुरुत्मदाङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासनयाचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहुवीर्यप्रसरधरणि-बन्धस्य

[2] John Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, pp. 26-27.

[3] V. A. Smith, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1897) p. 32.

[4] H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* (5th ed.), p. 547.

[5] R. C. Majumdar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 135.

[6] F. E. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 53.

सिन्धोस्तटं चन्द्रभागां कौन्तीं कश्मीरमण्डलम् ।
भोक्ष्यन्ति शूद्रा वात्याद्या म्लेच्छाश्चावह्मवर्चसः ।।

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to "Prayāga, Sāketa, Magadha and the regions along the Ganges" in the beginning of the fourth century A.D. I have identified these Mlecchas with the Kuṣāṇas who were in occupation of these regions at that time.[7]

That the title "devaputra-śāhī-śāhānuśāhī" refers to the Imperial Kuṣāṇas is manifest from the fact that in a Chinese text of the third century cited in a work of the T'ang period it is expressly stated that "the king of the country of Yue-che is called Son of Heaven."[8] Besides this, the Kuṣāṇa records indicate that the title "śāhī-śāhānuśāhī" was also employed by them. Thus it is clear that the aforesaid title in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription signifies some Kuṣāṇa ruler of eminent position and in order to ascertain his identity and period it is necessary to cast a glance at the history of the Later Kuṣāṇas.

2. *The debacle of the Kuṣāṇas*

We know, for certain, that the rise of the Sassanid power in Iran menaced and eclipsed the empire of the Kuṣāṇas in the north-west of India. The resurgence of independent tribes and peoples in the interior of the Indian plains: the Maghas at Kauśāmbī, the Nāgas or Bhāraśivas at Padmāvati and Mathurā, the Yaudheyas in the cis-Sutlej region, the Pauṇas on the banks of the Jumna near Jagādharī, whose epigraph has been recently unearthed at Jagatgrām near Chuhadpur in the Dehradun district, the Kunindas between the Sutlej and the Beas, the Ārjunayanas in the Agra-Jaipur area, the Madras in the Ravi-Chenab doab and the Mālavas in the Ajmer-Mewar territory and the modern province af Malwa as well as a host of other princes and chieftains mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar inscription spelled its doom in the east. While the realms of the Śakas, Śiladas and Gadaharas, the three Scythian houses that held sway in the Panjab, shrank to negligible proportions as a result of the pressure of these Indian peoples, the main nucleus of Kuṣāṇa power in Bactria, Afghanistan and the trans-Indus region was blighted by the attacks of Ardashir I (224-241 A.D.) and his son and successor Shahpuhr I (241-272 A.D.). According to Tabari, the Kuṣāṇa king sent ambassadors to Ardashir and acknowledged

[7] Buddha Prakash, *The Political Geography of India on the Eve of Gupta Ascendency*, Indian Culture, Vol. XIII (1946), p. 85.

[8] P. Pelliot, *T'oung Pao* (1923), p. 123 cited in Sylvain Lévi, *Devaputra*, Journal Asiatique (1933), p. 11.

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his suzerainty.[9] But the Kuṣāṇa kingdom continued to exist inspite of the profession of allegiance on the part of its rulers as is clear from a remark of the *Wei Lio*, which records the events up to the reign of emperor Ming (227-239 A.D.), to the effect that "the kingdom of Ki-pin, the kingdom of Ta-hia, the kingdom of Kao-fou (Kabul) and the kingdom of T'ien-Chou were subservient to the Ta Yue-che."[10] It was under Shahpuhr I that the fabric of the Kuṣāṇa empire was smashed. Shahpuhr I enumerates Turan, Makuran, Paratan, Hindustan and Kushanśahr with its frontiers reaching up to Pushkabur (Peshawar) in the south and extending up to Kaś, Sugd, Śasstan or Bukhara, Sogdiana and Taskand in the north as parts of his empire.[11] The sack of the second city of Begram (Kāpiśi) is to be dated in this period. It appears that the northern parts of the Kuṣāṇa empire were placed under the direct administration of the governor of Khurāssān who bore the title of Kushanshāh or king of the Kuṣāṇas. Peroz, the brother of Shahpuhr I, called himself the great Kushanshāh on his coins. After 252 Shahpuhr I made his son Hormizd the governor of Khurāssān with the pompous title of "the great king of the Kushans."[12] Ghirshman challenges this view on the ground that Hormizd, the crown-prince, is known as the "king of Armenia" and Peroz, the brother of the emperor, as "*Višpuhr*" (royal prince) in the Kāaba Zarathustra Inscription of Shahpuhr I.[13] But still the fact remains that the Kuṣāṇas received a severe set-back under Shahpuhr and their empire was badly shattered. The Latter Kuṣāṇa kings, Vāsudeva II, Kaniṣka II and Vāsudeva III exercised a nominal sovereignty over their shrunken and derelict dominion.

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9 Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, p. 36.

10 Edouard Chavannes, *Les pays d'occident d'apres le Wei Lio*, T'oung Pao (1905), pp. 519-571.

11 M. Sprengling, *Shahpuhr* I, *the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster*, American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literature (1940), pp. 353-358.

12 Ernst Herzfeld, *Kuśāno-Sassanian Coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 38 (1930) p. 32, *Paikuli*, I, p. 48; Joseph Hackin, *Repartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan*, Journal Asiatique (1935), p. 287; A Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 222-223.

13 René Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches Archeologiques et Historiques sur les Kouchans*, p. 165.

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3. *The relations of the Kuṣāṇas with Rome and the Sassanid empire*

Though the Kuṣāṇas were thus cornered and conquered, they continued to make themselves felt in Sassanid politics by maintaining diplomatic contacts with other imperial powers like Rome, which was at daggers drawn with the Sassanids, and by taking a significant part in the domestic rivalries and fratricidal conflicts which flared up in Iran after the death of Shahpuhr. At the time of the captivity of the Roman Emperor Valerian in 260 A.D. the king of the Bactrians is stated to have made an offer of help to Rome. Again in 274 A.D. the envoys of the king of Bactria offered presents to the emperor Aurelian on the occasion of a triumphal festivity organized in token of his victory over Queen Zenobia, This king of Bactria was in all probability a Kuṣāṇa king.

After the death of Shahpuhr I a war of succession broke out between his sons Hormizd and Bahram. Bahram (272-293) tried to propitiate the Roman emperor Probus by making suitable presents and concluding a treaty favourable to the latter.[14] But the death of Probus in 282 in course of the invasion of the Sarmatians nipped his plan in the bud. His successor Carus, however, suppressed the Sarmatians, marched against the Sassanids, defeated the Iranian armies and seized the whole of Mesopotamia. Then, crossing the Tigris, he invested the Sassanid capital Ctesiphon, but before he could carry his campaign to a decisive conclusion his assassination in July 283 made short shrift of his endeavour. In this turmoil Bahram II sued for peace and surrendered the whole of Mesopotamia to the Romans but subdued the recalcitrant Kuṣāṇas by conquering Seistan and appointing his son as its governor. Again the pressure of Rome under Diocletian prevented Bahram II from fully avenging the hostility of the Kuṣāṇas who helped and filliped his rebellious brother Hormizd and forced him to forgo the semblance of rule over Mesopotamia and Armenia.[15] After the death of Bahram II in 293 his son Bahram III occupied the throne for only a few months, for the revolt of his grand uncle Narse soon flared up resulting in the overthrow of his rule and the substitution of the younger branch of the Sassanids for his line.

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[14] H. Mattingly, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII, p. 306.
[15] Mattingly, *Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. XII, p. 328.

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Narse was the ruler uf Seistan, Turan and India, that is to say, the dominions of the Kuṣāṇas, at the time of the death of Shahpuhr I, as is manifest from his inscription on the Kaaba of Zarathustra. Hence it is likely that he was on terms of intimacy with the Kuṣāṇas, which he used to good purpose in his revolt against the line of Bahram and acknowledged in his reference to the king of the Kuṣāṇas in a vein of honour before the Caesar of Rome among the kings, who are stated to have come to felicitate him on his coronation, in the inscription of Paikuli.[16] Fortified by his alliances in the east Narse tried to wrest the lost provinces of the Sassanid empire from the Romans by marching against them at the time when Diocletian was busy in the affairs of Egypt, but fortune did not favour him and in a rout he even lost his family to the enemy. The victorious legions of Gelarius seized Ctesiphon compelling Narse to negotiate a treaty by which the protectorate of Rome over Mesopotamia and Armenia was confirmed and five small provinces beyond the Tigris were ceded to the Romans as a ransom for his imprisoned family. This disaster accentuated the necessity of a close Kushano-Sassanid alliance. On the part of the Kuṣāṇas also the move to come close to the Sassanids was urgent as a result of the relentless pressure of the Indian tribes. Hence Hormizd II (301-309), the son and successor of Narse, married the daughter of the Kuṣāṇa king of Kabul. This marriage was celebrated as a momentous event of those times and "the out-fit of the bride was remarkable for its splendour". Hormizd kept peace with the Romans till his death.

The death of Hormizd ushered in a bout of internecine wars. In the result, Shahpuhr II was crowned in 309 even before his birth, as tradition has it. During the period of regency the Shahrdars and Vaspuhrs raised their heads and the Arabs also tried to fish in troubled waters.[17] However, in the second year of Shahpuhr's reign, that is in 310-311, the protectorate of the Sassanids over the realm of the Kuṣāṇas was intact, for, in the first inscription of Persepolis we find the emperor's brother, who was also his namesake, holding charge of the kingdom of Seistan, Turan and Sind.[18] But soon afterwards the Kuṣāṇas utilized the disturbances of Iran for extending their realm and proclaiming their indepen-

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16 Herzfeld, *Paikuli* I, p. 117.

17 A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 229.

18 E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, p. 121; *Kuśāno-Sassanian Coins*, p. 36.

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dence. Tabari informs us that in this age the kings of the Turks, Rome and India raised the banner of revolt[19] and Marquart interprets this remark to mean that the Kuṣāṇas also grew assertive[20] and assumed their full imperial titles.

4. *The pressure of Shahpuhr II on the Kuṣāṇas*

On attaining maturity Shahpuhr II addressed himself to the task of healing the dagger-thrust that his predecessors had sustained at the hands of the Romans. His arms first fell upon Armenia whose king Tiran was brought into captivity in Iran. The Armenians appealed to the Roman Emperor Constantine the Great for help and the Roman armies readily came forth and defeated the Sassanian army in 336 A.D. But the death of Constantine in 337 A.D. gave a respite to the Persians and Shahpuhr stirred a revolt in Armenia against the Romans and laid seige to Nisibis. The following year, 338, the emperor Constance reformed the Roman army by the introduction of the armoured cavalry and in 339 drove the Persians from the frontiers of Mesopotamia. Thereafter for about one decade there was a lull in the fight which was punctuated by minor skirmishes. The only notable encounter was the battle of Singara in 344 A.D. in which Shahpuhr II lost his son who fell into the hands of the Romans. Ghirshman holds that in this calm Shahpuhr II liquidated the Kuṣāṇas in the east who were a thorn in his side and that the reference to the Kuṣāṇa king in the full panoply of imperial titles dated about 340 A.D. afterwhich their kingdom was annexed to the Sassanid empire.[21] This view is incorrect for it is on record that after the battle of Singara Shahpuhr had to contend with the descending avalanche of the Chionites or Hūṇas and had to fight with the Śakas of Śakasthana also. Marquart has corrected the reading of the word Gelanis as Segestanis in a passage of Ammianus Marcellinus (XVII, 5. 1).[22] On this basis Christensen holds that Śakasthāna (Sacestene) was independent up to that time.[23] Thus, from 350 onwards Shahpuhr was at war with the Chionitae and the Euseni or Cuseni or the Kuṣāṇas and it was about 358 that he finished off with them in order to concentrate his full resources on the war against the Romans which started with the seige of the

[19] Zotenberg, *Annales de Tabari*, II p. 91.
[20] J. Marquart, *Eranshahr*, p. 50.
[21] R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 71.
[22] J. Marquart, *Eranshahr*, pp. 36-50.
[23] A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 231.

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Roman fortress of Amida, modern Diarbekr, in 359. According to Ammianus Marcellinus, who fought in the Roman army against the Sassanids in Mesopotamia, the Chionite and Kuṣāṇa contingents fought on the side of Shahpuhr II in this campaign.[24]

Prof. Herzfeld has brought to our notice an inscription dated 47 of the reign of Shahpuhr II, corresponding to 356 A.D., found at Persepolis, which refers to a high Judge of Kabul, named Slok, who prayed that Shahpuhr would return to Kabul in safety.[25] If the date of this inscription is correctly determined, it shows that by 356 A.D. the Sassanids were in possession of the homeland of the Kuṣāṇas and that their participation in the siege of Amida on behalf of Shahpuhr was a result of their prostration. The date of the aforesaid Persepolis inscription is in accord with the remark of Ammianus Marcellinus that Shahpuhr spent the winter of 356-57 A.D. in the furthermost limit of his kingdom on the borders of the Chionitae and the Cuseni. Thus it is clear that the war against the Kuṣāṇas came to an end in 356 A.D. with their defeat and the occupation of their territories by the Sassanids. The Merv coins of Shahpuhr II discovered in the excavations at Taxila by Sir John Marshall also show that the Sassanid forces had penetrated up to this place in India and dislocated the Kuṣāṇas.[26] The discovery of the crest of the Sassanid empire depicting two winged horses facing each other in heraldic pose at Gunde-Peisa near Begram is also a pointer to this fact.[27] It was in commemoration of this victory over the Kuṣāṇas that Shahpuhr II issued a special type of coins bearing his name in Tokharian characters.

5. *The alliance of the Kuṣāṇas with Samudragupta between 350-356 A.D.*

Thus, it is clear that the victory of Shahpuhr II over the Kuṣāṇas resulted in their *debacle* for the time being. Hence it is evident that the title "devaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi" could be used for the Kuṣāṇa king only before 356 A.D. It appears that between 350 and 356, when the pressure of the Sassanids on the Kuṣāṇas was very great, the latter sought succour in another quarter by allying themselves with the nascent power of Samudragupta. This alliance is referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription, cited above. It is

[24] J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 36 note 5.

[25] E. Herzfeld, *Kuśāno-Sassanian Coins*, p. 36.

[26] J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India* (*Annual Reports*) (1914-15) nos. 48-49; (1915-16) nos. 51 and 52.

[27] R. Ghirshman, *Begram*, p. 70 plate C.

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significant that some coins of the Kuṣāṇa type have been found with the names of Samudra and Candra and some Scythian rulers of the West are known to have used some coins of the Gupta type. Hence in the words of R. C. Majumdar "the statement in the record of Samudragupta about his relations with the Śaka and Kuṣāṇa chiefs may not be regarded as altogether without foundation."[28]

A. S. Altekar holds that the Kuṣāṇa king referred to in the Allahabad Pillar inscription was Kidāra who founded his empire about 358 A.D.[29] The question of the Kidarites is highly controversial and Alfred von Gutschmid[30] Pelliot, Enoki, Robert Göbl[31] and Curiel and Schlumberger[32] hold that the Kidarites rose to power in the first half of the fifth century A. D. Göbl has based this finding on a study of Sassanian coinage. Curiel and Schlumberger hold that Kidāra was a contemporary of Yazdegird II (438-457 A.D.) on the ground that it was his crown, not that of Shahpuhr II, which he imitated on his coins. These authors base their identification on the work of Kurt Erdemann on the crowns of the Sassanian monarchs. [Kurt Erdemann, *Die Entwicklung der Sassanidischen Krone*, Ars Islamica Vol. XV-XVI (1951) pp. 87-123]. The view of these authors about the chronological position of Kidāra agrees with the opinion expressed by me on the basis of some data of Indian history and literature.[33] Besides these considerations, the coins of Kidāra bear the legend "Kidāra Kushāna Shā"[34] which does not bespeak any imperial position such as the

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28 *The Classical Age*, p. 11.

29 *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age*, p. 20.

30 Alfred von Gutschmid, *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarlander* pp. 168 ff; See also M. A. Stein, 'Zur Geschichte der Śāhis von Kabul, *Festschrift Rudolf Von Roth*, p. 196; Specht, '*Etudes sur l'Asie Centrale*, pp. 12 ff.

31 P. Pelliot, *Tokharien et Koutcheen*, Journal Asiatique (1934), pp. 43-45.

K. Enoki, *The Origin of the White Huns or Hephthalites*, East and West (1955), pp. 231-237.

R. Göbl's letter to me dated 20 June 1955.

32 R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Tresors Monetaires d' Afghanistan* (Parts 1953), pp. 119-124.

33 Chapter XV of this book.

34 M. F. C. Martin, *Coins of Kidāra and the little Kuṣāṇas*, Numismatic Supplement (Silver Jubilee Numer) (1938), p. 39.

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pompous title employed in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription conveys. The fact that the title of the Kuṣāṇas, devaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi, is different from that of Kidara renders the identification proposed by Altekar doubtful.

The upshot of the above enquiry is that the reference to "devaputra-śāhi-śāhānuśāhi" in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta and his alliance and subordination to the Gupta monarch mentioned in it relates to a Later Kuṣāṇa king who was at war with the Sassanid emperor Shahpuhr II between 350-356 A.D. and was in need of some aid to contend with this menace. This title reflects the state of the affairs of the said decade and shows that the reference in question cannot be latter than 356-358 A.D. From this it is clear that the Allahabad Pillar inscription was composed between 350 and 356 A.D. and the conquests of Samudragupta had been accomplished before this period.

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CHAPTER XII

Candragupta Vikramaditya and Ardashir II

1. *The rise of the Kuṣāṇas in the later part of the reign of Shahpuhr II*

About 355-356 A.D. the Sassanid emperor Shāhpuhr II worsted the Kuṣāṇas. But the Kuṣāṇas again raised their heads when Persia was engaged in a war with Armenia. Writing about the events of 367-368 Faustus of Byzantium observes as follows :—

"Although in that age the war between Persia and Armenia was stopped, however, the king of the Kuṣhāṇs, who was of Arsacid origin, started a (new) war with the king Sapor, the Sassanid. That prince having assembled all the armies and cavaliers, whom he had brought in capitivity from Armenia, ordered them to march and placed himself at their head. After the commencement of the war between the king of the Kuṣhāṇs and that of Persia, the armies of the former cruelly harassed those of Persia, captured many of their enemies and routed away the rest. In that affair Trasdamad distinguished himself by his bravery and saved the life of Sapor, the king of the Persians."

"From a little time before, the king of the Persians, of the Sassanid race, was at war with the great king of the Kuṣhāṇs, the Arsacid, who resided at the town of Pahl. The king of the Persians sent an army, reinforced by Armenian captives, to fight with the Kuṣhāṇs. After the commencement of the fight the Kuṣhāṇs gained advantage against the Persians who took to flight. The Kuṣhāṇs pursued them and made such a massacre of them that nobody could escape."[1]

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[1] Faustus of Byzantium V, VII and V, XXXVII, J. Marquart, *Erānśahr* p. 50; R. Ghirshman, '*Les Chionites-Hephtalites* p. 79. Quoting Marquart A. Christensen remarks that Faustus meant the Chionites by the word Kuṣāṇas (*L'Iran sous les Sassanides* p. 234). But Ghirshman takes them to refer to the Kuṣāṇas. It is certain that the Chionites established their power during the life-time of Shahpuhr. But there is nothing to show that they acquired so much power as to challenge the Sassanid monarch. The evidence at our disposal shows that they continued to owe allegiance to Shahpuhr. We can, therefore, easily distinguish between the Kuṣāṇas and the Chionites.

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Although this author describes the king of the Kuṣāṇs as an Arsacid, it appears that he had the Kuṣāṇa ruler of Balkh in mind while making the aforesaid observations. In 371 A.D. also we find Shāhpuhr II campaigning in the East after his defeat in the battle of Bagavan against the Armenians and the Roman armies of Valens. Towards the end of his reign Shāhpuhr II was busy with the affairs of Rome. After the worsening of relations between the Romans and the Armenians Valens started the talks of peace with the Persians as a result of which Persia acquired the right to control the throne of Armenia. Inspite of this treaty, the Romans installed Varazdāt on the throne of Armenia but he broke with Rome and was dethroned. Thereafter the Armenians sought the help of the Persians against the Romans. Shahpuhr profited from this occasion and sent an army to Armenia under the leadership of Suren which nominated Marzban on the throne of Armenia. Just afterwards Shāhpuhhr II passed away. In these entanglements and preoccupations the Kuṣāṇas resuscitated their power and just after the death of Shāhpuhr II, which almost coincided with that of Samudragupta in India, swooped down over the Panjab.

2. *The Kuṣāṇa invasion of India after the death of Samudragupta*

References to the Kuṣāṇa invasion of the Panjab just after the death of Samudragupta and the accession of Rāmagupta are found in the *Devicandragupta* of Viśākhadatta, the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, the *Kāvyamīmānsā* of Rājaśekhara and the Sanjan and Cambay copper plate inscriptions of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period. This evidence has been amply discussed and thrashed out by many eminent scholars. Sylvain Lévi, Altekar, Bhandarkar, Banerji and others have accepted the historical nucleus underlying these legends. Raychoudhury, Majumdar and others rejected these evidences as pure fiction. Their main arguments are that Rāmagupta did not strike any coins, his name does not occur in gupta genealogical records, the marraige of his widow Dhruvadevi with his younger brother Candragupta clashes with the cherished notions about morality and social custom prevalent in those times and that the inheritor of the mighty empire of Samudragupta could not be so decisively defeated by a Śaka king that he had no means of saving his kingdom save by consenting to surrender his wife. But, as Majumdar admits, "these objections are not unanswerable."[2] Rāmagupta could not strike coins

[2] R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka—Gupta Age*, p. 150

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due to the extreme shortness of his reign; his name could not figure in Gupta inscriptions since they are not records of successions of kings but are rather genealogical tables; the marriage of a widow with the younger brother of her husband is not prohibited by law or custom; and the north-western march of the Gupta empire remained so unsafe throughout that invaders could swoop through it whenever they felt strong or inclined to move. This happened under Kumāragupta, Skandagupta and even later. At the time of invading a kingdom the sturdy races of the north-west were more impelled by their innate drive or pressure than by considerations of the strength or weakness of the opposite party. If the Kuṣāṇas could hold their own against the redoubtable and indomitable Shāhpuhr II even after sustaining a defeat at his hands they could easily think of pouncing upon the Gupta empire after the death of the heroic emperor Samudragupta. Such junctures are usually the occasions of invasions or revolutions. Thus, the objections to the reconstruction of the history of Śaka invasion under Rāmagupta on the basis of the aforesaid sources are more apparent than real.

We know that Dhruvasvāminī or Dhruvadevi was the wife of Candragupta. Her former husband Rāmagupta was ready to surrender her to the Śaka invader. But Candragupta did not like this idea and devised an ingenious strategem to vanquish the voluptuous invader. He was attended by choice warriors dressed in female garbs. When their procession of palanquins reached the Śaka camp and the Śaka king confidently met the pretended Gupta queen, Candragupta pounced on him and made short shrift of his life. Likewise, other warriors wrought havoc in the ememy camp. After this dashing victory Candragupta, who was sure to have become immensely popular, murdered Rāmagupta, married his widow and ascended the throne with pomp and glory sometime before 380 A.D. At that time Ardashīr II was on the throne of the Sassanids. He succeeded Shāhpuhr II in 379 A.D. and reigned up to 383 A.D. After the victory of Candragupta over the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas and his coronation Ardashīr II was naturally so much struck with his power and prestige as to realise the need of establishing diplomatic contacts with him by sending an ambassador with adequate presents. On this point Pehlavi and Persian sources provide some interesting information which has not as yet been properly analysed and studied.

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3. *The Pehlavi and Persian traditions of the relations of Ardashīr and Kaid*

From the Pehlavi work *Karanāmāk-i-Ardashīr-Pāpakān* we learn that Ardashīr was connected with an Indian king Kaid.[3] Firdausi reproduces this account in his *Shāh-namā* verbatim.[4] After the decisive battle of Hurmuzdagān Ardashīr I advanced into and conquered Media and put to death the members of his rival's family. But there was no peace in the empire. Hence he sent an embassy to the wise Indian king Kaid for soliciting his advice. Kaid expressed the view that a union of the houses of Ardashīr and Mihrak could be the only guarantee of peace. Following this advice Ardashīr married a daughter of Mihrak who had escaped the massacre.

Warner has shown that the story of the marriage of Ardashīr with the daughter of Mihrak or Ardwan, who represents the Parthians, is pure fiction. It was an invention of later writers to connect the Sassanians with their predecessors, the Parthians. In fact, Ardashīr killed all the members of the family of his adversaries and there was no occasion for him to contract matrimonial relation with any person belonging to it.[5]

In fact, the contemporaneity of Ardashīr I and Kaid is also the result of some misunderstanding. Ardashīr I ascended the throne in 226 A.D. and was succeeded by his son Shāhpuhr I in 241 A.D. Let us see if there was a famous king in India bearing the name Kaid in that period. We have seen in a preceding study, included in this collection, that Kaid stands for the name Candra or Candragupta.[6] According to Persian and Arabic writers, Kaid was a contemporary of Sikander and formed an alliance with him in course of his Indian invasion. Evidently, this Kaid could not live upto the time of Ardashīr I. It has been conjectured that Candra was a *biruda* of Kaniṣka, but he flourished before the time of Ardashīr according to the chronology of Louhizen de Leeuw as well as that of Ghirshman. As regards Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty he is credited with the starting of the Gupta Samvat of

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[3] T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte des Artachir-i-Papakan aus dem Pehlvi übersetzt*, p. 65.

[4] *Shāh-nāmā* of Firdausi ed. Turner Macan Vol. III, p. 1397.

[5] Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner, English translation in verse of the *Shāhnāmā* Vol. VI, p. 256.

[6] *Candragupta Maurya in the Shāhnāmā of Firdausi*, Chapter V above.

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20 December 318 A.D. or of 26 February 320 A.D. Some scholars doubt this fact and hold that it was Samudragupta who really founded this era. In any case Candragupta I flourished in the opening decades of the fourth century A.D. or the closing decades of the third century A.D. He could not flourish in the second quarter of the third century A.D. so as to be a contemporary of Ardashīr. Thus we do not know of any famous Indian king bearing the name Candra or Candragupta who could be a contemporary of Ardashīr I. How then could this legend grow ?

We know that Ardashīr II came to the throne in 379 A.D. About the same time Candragupta II Vikramāditya was anointed as king for the earliest record of his reign is the inscription found at Mathura dated 61 G.E. corresponding to 380 A.D. Thus Ardashir II and Candragupta II were contemporaries. As seen above, Candragupta made a deep impression on his contemporaries by gaining a resounding victory over the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa invaders. In these circumstances, it is understandable that Ardashīr II thought of establishing diplomatic contacts with him and with this end in view sent an embassy to his court. But since Ardashīr II was not so illustrious or epoch-making as Ardashīr I the events of his time were transferred to the reign of his famous predecessor. Thus, the legend of the contemporaneity of Ardashīr I and Kaid arose. Firdausi strictly adhered to his sources. In the words of Warner, "no other great poet ever imposed such strict limitations on himself." "He puts himself at the mercy of his authorities and where they fail him, as they do sometimes in this portion of the *Shāhnāmā*, he makes no attempt to invent incidents, but leaves a blank and passes on."[7] Thus Firdausi repeated the mistaken notions or confused traditions of his predecessors without making any effort to correct them. This is how and why the tradition of Ardashīr I and Kaid has been taken over from Pehlavi sources in the *Shāhnāmā*.

4. *The embassy of Ardashir II in the court of Candragupta II*

According to the *Shāhnāmā*, Ardashīr sent an envoy of high family to Kaid with "many steeds, with gold and silk of Chin."[8] These presents are usually mentioned in Indian works in connection with northern peoples. The northern peoples, particularly the Kambojas, are stated to have brought the presents of horses to the court of Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 45, 19,; 20, II, 47, 3-4) and to Raghu in the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV, 70). They are also said

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to have brought the offerings of gold. The word *dīnār* used by Firdausi signifies the coins of the Sassanid period numerous specimens of which are available. Diñara was a famous word in India in Gupta times. As regards Chinese fabrics and silks, they were very popular in Gupta times. Kālidāsa refers to *Cīnāñśuka* in the *Abhijñāna-Śākuntalam* (Act I) and the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 22) speaks of the presents of Chinese silks brought by northern peoples to the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. Thus the presents sent by Ardashīr to Kaid are appropriately explained by the references in Indian literature.

The gesture of friendship made by the Sassanid monarch towards the Gupta emperor gave him some respite to put his house in order. This significant event of the sending of an embassy by Ardashīr II to Candragupta II Vikramāditya was buried in a mass of legends in which its basic import was lost and its context altered beyond all recognition. Even the role of Ardashīr II was assigned to Ardashīr I and Kaid was described as a mere soothsayer or astrologer known for his wisdom and ability. The alleged union of the houses of Ardashīr and Mihrak signifying the Sassanids and the Parthians was treated as an occasion for bringing in the episode of Kaid. But a critical analysis of the legend in the light of historical facts and situations has led us to discover the nucleus of fact in the mass of fiction. We have seen how an important event of the history of Gupta-Sassanid relations pregnant with superb significance was lost by posterity in the mist of floating legends.

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7 A. G. Warner and E. Warner, *Shāh-nāmā* (English translation, Vol. VI p. 249.)

8 *Shāh-nāmā* ed. Turner Macan Vol. II p. 1397 Chu bashunīd baguzīd Shāh Ardashīr. Jawāni garāñmāyā va tez-u-tīr. Farasād nazdīk-i-dānā-i-Hind. Ba-asp va dinār-u-chīn-i-parind.

Warner's translation; Vol. VI p. 266.

On hearing this the Shāh chose him a high-born youth of ready wit

To go as envoy to the sage of Hind.

With many steeds, with gold and silk of Chin.

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CHAPTER XIII

Kālidāsa and the Hūnas

1. *The Reference to the Hūṇas in the Raghuvaṁśa*

Kālidāsa has referred to the Hūṇas in his account of the north-western campaign of Raghu given in the fourth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa: "The horses, who removed the exhaustion of the journey by rolling on the banks of the Vankṣu (Sindhu), shook their manes that were smeared with saffron filaments. There, the exploits of Raghu, whose valour expressed itself among the husbands of the Hūṇa women, became manifest in the gashes of their cheeks."[1] In this passage it is controversial whether the reading *vankṣu* should be accepted or *sindhu* should be preferred. Mallinātha has accepted the reading *sindhu* and D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and Hodiwala[3] have agreed with him. On the other hand, K.B. Pāṭhak[4] has taken the variant *vankṣu* as correct and identified it with the Oxus. S. K. Aiyangar[5] has followed this view but equated *vankṣu* with a tributary of the Oxus named Wakshah rather than the Oxus itself. B. C. Law has also endorsed this view and identified Vankṣu with the Oxus and its tributaries.[6] Among ancient commentators Dinakara, Dharmameru and Vijayagaṇin have accepted the reading '*vankṣu*' and Cāritravardhana and Vallabhadeva have used the reading *vankṣṇu* according to some manuscripts of their commentaries. Sumativijaya has expressly employed the reading

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 67-68.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य वंक्षुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान् ।।
तत्र हूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटनादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम् ।।

[2] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters) Vol. XII, No. 1, (1947), pp. 36-37.

[3] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1930), pp. 282-83.

[4] *Indian Antiquary* (1912), p. 266.

[5] *Indian Antiquary* (1919), pp. 65-74.

[6] B.C. Law, *Geographical Aspects of Kālidāsa's Works*, (Calcutta, 1954), p. 2.

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vankṣu. In another manuscript of this commentary the reading is *mankṣu*. All these readings and variants are based upon *vaṇkṣu*. For the determination of the correct reading of this word the Nāgpur stone inscription of Naravarmadeva dated 1161 Vikrama era or 1104-1105 A.D. is very important. Verses 35-54 of this inscription allude to the victorious campaign of his brother Lakṣmadeva who is represented like Raghu as going from east to west and north to south conquering all the countries. Verse 54 refers to the encampment of Lakṣmadeva on the banks of the Vankṣu in connection with his encounter with the king of the Kīras. Kielhorn has translated this verse as follows :

"Being encamped on the banks of the Vankṣu, which were even softer than nature made them because the saffron filaments on them were withering under the rolling of the teams of frisky horses, presented by the Turuṣka, whom he had eradicated with ease, he taught the Kīra chief to utter most flattering speeches, who on account of the proximity of the Sarasvati was eloquent beyond measure and who was like a parrot shut up in a big cage."[7]

The first line of this verse paraphrases verse 67 of the IV canto of the *Raghuvaṁśa*, cited above. In it the reference to the withering of the saffron filaments as a result of the rolling of horses recalls the description of the smearing of the manes of the horses of Raghu with saffron by reason of their rolling down. A glance at the imagery and phraseology of these verses leaves no room for doubt that the author of the Nāgpur praśasti, who was probably Naravarmadeva himself, had in mind the conception of Kālidāsa and recapitulated it in almost the same style. This identity of idea and diction is a guarantee of the reading *vaṇkṣu* in the verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa*. Had the reading in this verse been *sindhu*, it is hard to comprehend how the author of the Nagpur praśasti contemplated the campaign of Lakṣmadeva on the banks of the Vankṣu where horses rolled freely in saffron fields. The use of the words and thought of Kālidāsa in a context foreign to his composition is quite unthinkable. The obvious inference it suggests is that

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 188.
खेलोत्खाततुरुष्कदत्तविलसद्वाहावलीवेल्लन-
क्लाभ्यत्कुङ्कमकेसराधिकमृदौ वंक्षूपकण्ठस्थले ।
येनावाप्य सरस्वतीसविधतासाधिक्यवाक्पाटव-
-चाटूनुत्कटपत्रपंजरगतः कीराधिपोऽध्याप्यत ।।

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Kālidāsa referred to the rolling of horses in the saffron fields of the Vankṣu regions in connection with the conquest of the northern quarter by Raghu and that Naravarmadeva attributed this exploit to his brother Lakṣmadeva following the model set by the great poet.

The problem of the reading of the word in dispute has to be tackled from another point of view also. Kālidāsa associates the saffron-producing regions with the river he has in mind. It is a well-known fact that saffron was cultivated in Bactria and the adjoining territories in ancient times. Berthold Laufer[8] has shown that saffron (*crocus sativus* of the family of *Irideae*) has been cultivated in western Asia from remote ages so much so that it is unknown in a wild stage. In China Chang K'ien is stated to have obtained the seeds of the *hun-lan* (carthamus) in the western countries (*Si Yu*). But the knowledge of saffron of the Chinese people up to the T'ang period was extremely confused and they did not easily distinguish between saffron (crocus sativus) and safflower (carthamus tinctorius). It was during the period of the Mongol domination under the Yuan dynasty that saffron began to be regularly imported into China through Arab merchants[9] as is manifest from its names *ki-fu-lan* (tsa-fu-lan) and *sa-fa-tsi* (sa-fa-lan) which are akin to Japanese *safuran* and Siamese *faran* and are the transcriptions of Arabic *zā'firān* or *zāfarān* that, on its part, has rseulted in Spanish *azafrān*, Portuguese *acafrão* or *azafrão*, Indo-Portuguese *safrão*, Italian *zafferano*, French *safran*, English *saffron*, Rumanian *sofrān*, Russian *safran*, old Armenian *zavhran*, New Armenian *zafran* and Uighur *sakparan*. This wide prevalence of the Arabic word *zā'firān* or *zā'farān* from the Pacific to the Atlantic proves that the trade of this commodity was mostly in the hands of the Arabs in medieval times and that it was an important product of western Asia where they had come to predominate. Generally the product of memecylon which was a cheap colouring substance was substituted for saffron in trade. The Chinese term *Yu-kin* denotes this product as well as saffron. Li Chi-chen states that Yü-kin was

[8] Berthold Laufer, *Sino-Iranica* (Chicago, 1919) p. 309.

[9] W. Watters holds that saffron was first imported into China from Persia direct or at least obtained immediately from Persian traders (*Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 348). But the word zā'farān is an Arabic loan-word in Persian and may have been brought to China by Arab traders, as held by Berthold Laufer (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 311 f.n. 3).

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produced in Hellenistic Orient (Ta T'sin). Hiuen-T'sang observes that to the north-west of the wall of the Bodhi tree at Buddhagayā was a stūpa called *Yu-kin-hiang* (Kunkuma) that was built by a merchant-chief of the country of *Tsao-kiu-ch'u* (Arachosia or Zabulistan) who had been rescued from a shipwreck by *Kwan-tsz'-tsai* (Avalokiteśvara Bodhisattva).[10] The name of this stūpa, Kumkuma stūpa, suggests that the merchant who built it dealt mainly in saffron which he used to bring from Arachosia to eastern India for purposes of trade. The T'ang Annals confirm this fact by mentioning saffron as a product of Uḍḍiyāna, Jāguda and Baltistan besides India. It is on record that in 719 A.D. the king of Nang (Bukhāra) presented thirty pounds of saffron to the Chinese emperor.[11]

Saffron was also known in Ancient Persia. The Chinese texts *Chou-shu* and *Sin Shu* counts *Yu-kin* among the products of *Po-se* (Persia). Aeschyles refers to the saffron yellow footgear of king Darius.[12] In the works of Istakhri and Idrisi saffron is mentioned among the products of Derbend, Ispahan and Transoxiana.[13] Yāqūt mentions saffron as the principal product of Rud-Derawer in the province of Jebal in ancient Media.[14] The Armenian customers esteemed most highly the saffron of Khurāssān, which, however, was marketed in such small quantities that the Persians had to meet the demand with exportations from caucasus. The share of the Persians in the distribution of saffron is vividly demonstrated by the Tibetan word for it, *gur-kum*, *gur-gum*, which is directly traceable to Persian *kurkum* or *karkam*. According to Friedrich Hirth, the Chinese word Yü-kin is also derived from this source.[15] It is also noteworthy that the Sogdian word for this product *kurhumba* and the Tokharian word *kurkama* belong to the same family. Besides kurkum, there are Persian *kākhān* and *kāfiśa* which denote saffron in the flower. It is likely that the latter word *kāfiśa* denotes some special variety of it which was grown

10 Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 126-127, 283-284, Vol. I, p. 62.

11 Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue Occidentaux*, p. 203.

12 Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 264.

13 A. Jaubert, *Geographie de al-Idrisi*, pp. 168-192.

14 B. de Meynard, *Dictionnaire Geographique de la Perse*, p. 267.

15 *Journal of the China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXI p. 221.

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in *kāpiśi* (Kaśmīra or Gandhāra). Thus, it is clear that the Oxus regions, Persia, Arachosia, Uḍḍiyāna, Balṭistān and Kaśmīra were the main saffron-producing lands in ancient times.

Indian sources are also conversant with the saffron of Bactria. In the *Amarakośa*[16] one of the synonyms of *kumkuma* is *vālhīka* which suggests its Bactrian origin.[17] The *Amarakośa* has been assign-

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[16] *Amarakośa*, Nṛvarga, verses 123-24 (ed. Sharma and Sardesai) p. 159.

तमालपत्रतिलकचित्रकाणि विशेषकम् ।
द्वितीयं च तुरीयं च न स्त्रियामथ कुङ्कुमम् ।।
काश्मीरजन्माग्निशिखं वरं वाल्हीकपीतनं ।
रक्तसंकोचपिशुनं धीरं लोहितचन्दनम् ।।

[17] According to Berthold Laufer it was from Persia that the saffron plant was propagated to Kaśmīra. He states that "reminiscence of this event is preserved in the Sanskṛt term *vālhīka*, a synonym of saffron, which means 'origination from Pahlava" (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 320.] Laufer errs in treating *vālhīka* as signifying *pahlava*. The two terms are in fact distinct. *Vālhi* unmistakably represents Balkh or Bactria. Hence *vālhīka* signifies the saffron of Bactria, which was far-famed in ancient times, as seen above. That saffron was an introduction in Kaśmīra is manifest from the Buddhist legend that Madhyāntika, the first apostle of Buddhism in Kaśmīra, planted the saffron plant. [Schiefner, *Tāranāthas Geschichte des Buddhismus in Indien* p. 13, Jean Przyluski *Journal Asiatique* (1914), p. 357].

The saffron of Kaśmīra also became famous in ancient time. Reference has been made to the Persian word for saffron *kāfiśa*, which is derived from *kāpiśi*. The Chinese writer Li Chi-Chen has given *Cha-ku-mo* (*dza-gu-ma*) as a synonym of *Yu-kin*. This term is also given with the translation *Yu-kin* in the Chinese-Sanskṛt dictionary *Fan-yi-ming-yi-tsi*. This word is equated by Laufer with Sanskṛt *Jāguda* through the medium of a vernacular form *jaguma*. (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 318). In the *Annals* of the Leang dynasty it is stated that *Yu-kin* is produced is Kaśmīra. In 647 A.D. the country *Kia-pi* in India is said to have offered it to the Chinese court. From India saffron was exported to Fu-nan (Cambodia) whose king Jayavarman offered it with storax and other aromatics to the Chinese Court in 519. (Paul Pelliot, *Bulletin de l'ēcole Francaised'Extreme Orient* II, p. 20). The saffron of Kaśmīra is also noted in the *Ain-i-Akbarī* (tr. Blochmann, Vol. I p. 84) and the *Memoirs* of Jahāngīr (H. M. Elliot, *History of India as told by its own historians*, (VI. p. 375).

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ed to the fourth century A.D. by K.G. Oak.[18] Hence it is clear that in the early Gupta period, which is generally taken to be the age of Kālidāsa, the saffron of Bactria was fairly well-known and popular in India. In his gloss on the *Amarakośa*, known as *Amarakośodghāṭana*, Kṣīrasvāmin[19] (later half of the eleventh century) explains *vālhīka* as a product of *Vālhi-deśa* or Bactria and adds that in the northern campaign of Raghu it is referred to as besmearing the manes of his horses. Here Kṣīrasvāmin quotes the actual verse of the *Raghuvaṁśa* (IV. 67)[20] which proves that he had the reading *Vankṣu* in this verse before him. Otherwise it passes comprehension as to how he could have cited this verse while commenting on the word *vālhīka* as a synonym of saffron.

It is thus settled that Kālidāsa located the Hūṇas conquered by Raghu on the bank of the Vankṣu or the Oxus[21] rather than the Sindhu or the Indus. We have now to ascertain as to when the Hūṇas lived in the Oxus regions and played a part in their history.

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[18] K. G. Oak, *Amarakośa with the commentary of Kśīrasvāmin*, *introduction* p. 8 ; Pandit Rāmāvatāra Śarmā holds that its author Amarasingha must have flourished before the sixth century A.D., when it was translated into Chinese by Guṇarāta, (*Kalpadrukośa* of Keśava, *introduction*, p. 17). Kṣīrasvāmin implies that Amara was prior to the Buddhist grammarian Chandragomin. Hence he should be taken to have lived before 450 A.D. (H.D. Śarmā and R.N. Sardesai, *Amarakośa, introduction*, p. 1).

[19] Rāmāvatāra Śarmā, *Kalpadrukośa of Keśava*, introduction p. 13.

[20] *Amarakośa* (ed. Śarmā & Sardesai), p. 159.
वाह्लीकदेशजं वाह्लीकं । यद्रघोरुत्तरदिग्विजये दुधुवुर्वाजिनः स्कन्धांल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ।

[21] The river Oxus or Āmu-daryā is called *Vankṣu*, *Vakṣu Cakṣu* in Indian literature, *Po-tsu* (formerly written as *Po-ch'a*) in Chinese (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I p. 12) and *Wakhsh-āb* by al-Idrisi (Bretschneider *Medieval Geography*, p. 166). It issues from the western end of the Sarik-Kul lake and after a course of upwards of a thousand miles, in a direction generally north-west, falls into the southern end of the Aral Sea (Wood, *Oxus*, pp. 232-233 *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, Vol. X, pp. 122-123 Vol. xlii, p. 507 ; Vol. xlviii, p. 221).

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2. *A flying survey of the history of the Hiung-nu*

In the second half of the third century B.C. we find a confederation of tribes organising itself in the whole of Mongolia which the Chinese have called Hiung-nu. The Chinese changed the spelling of this word to suit their different attitudes towards these people. In 10 A.D. emperor Wang-Mang changed *Hiung-nu, to Hiang-nu,* implying the idea of submission. Six years later when he was on good terms with these people, he ordered them to be called *Kung-nu,* denoting respect and esteem. Thus, the Chinese were concerned with the semantic value of this name and were oblivious of its phonetic signification implying an ethnic connotation. It is now almost established that the Hiung-nu were the Turks,[22] although the latter name, which was originally an epithet, was then unknown.[23] But

[22] The word *turk* is a Mongol word meaning 'strong', 'brave'. Its plural *turkut* underlies the Chinese word *t'u-kiue,* which was used to designate the people of Altai, who revolted against the Juan-juan in 551 A.D. and set up an empire of their own with its capital near the Orkhon in Outer Mongolia. It is for the first time in that year that we come across the word *turk* (Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie,* p. 12).

[23] Kurakichi Shiratori has, on the other hand, held that the Hiung-nu were Mongols. He bases his view on linguistic grounds. [K. Shiratori, 'Sur l'origine des Hiong-nou', *Journal Asiatique* (1923), p. 71]. The Russion Sinologist N. J. Bichurin was of the same opinion, But eorlier Shiratori himself has emphasized the Turkish origin of these people on other linguistic grounds. ['Uber die Sprachen der Hiung-nu und der Tung-hu Stämme', *Bulletin de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences* (1902), p. 2]. Chinese sources are consistent in maintaining that the Turks were the descendants of the Hiung-nu. According to the *Pei-Shih* the affinity of the Turks and the Hiung-nu is stressed. In it it is stated that "the Turks, who lived to the right of the Western Lake, are a separate branch of the Hiung-nu." In it we also read that "the Töläs are descendants" of the Hiung-nu." Further we learn that the speech of the Ka-ch'e (Red Ti) was like that of the Hiung-nu. In the *T'ang Shu* the presumed Hiung-nu origin of the Turks is restated. The Uighurs are likewise said to be of Hiung-nu origin. Thus, all tribes listed with little or no reservation as former Hiung-nu turn out to be Turkic. (William Samolin, 'Hsiung-nu, Hun, Turk,' *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. III no. 2 pp. 149–150). Altheim lists four Hunnic tribes, Amilzur, Itimar, Tunsur and Boisk for which he presents Turkish etymologies. [F. Altheim, *Attila und die Hunnen* (1951) p. 100]. But his method is not always acceptable.

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though the leading clan of this group was of Turkish stock, it does not follow that the confederation did not include Iranian elements. In fact, the costume and armaments—pantaloon, coat, belt, boots, long swords etc.—which the Chinese copied from the Hiung-nu in the beginning of the third century B.C. were Iranian *par excellence*, as shown by Berthold Laufer,[24] M. I. Rostovtzeff[25] and Otto Maenchen-Helfen,[26] and the Hiung-nu owed them to the Iranians who were their close neighbours in ancient times.[27]

Recent researches in linguistics and archaeology have demonstrated that the Hiung-nu had a strong Indo-European element also. The descriptions and representations of the Hiung-nu by the Chinese bear out their Indo-European affinites in unmistakable terms. For example, the barbarian whom Ho-Ch'ü-ping's horse is shown to be trampling under its hoofs has a mustache and a full beard uncommon among the Mongoloids, as pointed out by C. W. Bishop.[28] We learn from the *Chin-shu* that the Hiung-nu soldiers slain by the order of the Chinese Shih Min, who became the ruler of Chao in northern Honan in 349, were distinguished by high noses and full beards.

Following the recognition of the Indo-European element among the Hiung-nu the etymology of their name has also been subjected to a fresh analysis. Tomaschek had derived the name *Hiung-nu* from Turkish *on, ona.* meaning 'to grow'. Alföldi connected it with *qun*, meaning 'glutton, gulo'. Nemeth suggested the equation of *hun* with *kun* (*gun*), meaning a 'people', some analogous words being Mongol *kumun* 'man', Samoyed *Kum* and Latin *homo*. Bazin thought that *hun* came from *qvn* signifying 'force' and Bussagli conjectured that it is related to *hun* meaning 'ferocious' in an Anatolian

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[24] Berthold Laufer, *Chinese Clay Figures*, *Prolegomena on the History of Defensive Armour* (Chicago, 1914), pp. 218 ff.

[25] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922) p. 204 ; T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* pp. 193-196 ; S. Umehara, *Etude des bronzes des royaumes combattants*, (Kyoto, 1936) plates 87-88.

[26] Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'Crenelated mane and scabbard slide' *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol III. no. 2 pp. 95 et seq.; 'Are Chinese *hsi-p'i* and *Kuo-lo* Indo-European loan words ?' *Language* Vol. 21 (1945) pp. 256-260

[27] Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie*, p. 7.

[28] C. W. Bishop., 'The Tomb of Ho Ch'ü-ping', *Artibus Asiae* (1928-29) Vol I p. 37

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dialect.[29] Otto Maenchen-Helfen has come forth with the suggestion that the word *hun* is related to the Iranian-Avestan word *hūnarā* (skill) and *hūnaravant* (skilful).[30]

In the second half of the third century B.C. the confederacy of the Hiung-nu was headed by a *shan-yu* whose title is transcribed in Chinese as *Ch'eng-li kou-t'ou shan-yu*, in which the echo of the Turco-Mongol word *tangri* (sky) is discernible.[31] Below the *shan-yu*, whose capital was on the Orkhon, two great dignitaries called *T'u-k'i* (Turk, *doghri* meaning 'faithful' 'right') resided on the Kerulen and Mount Khangai respectively. Below these personages ranged the official heirarchy of the *ku-li* of right and left wings and corresponding to them in descending order were the generals, governors, great *tang-hu*, great *ku-tu* and chiefs of thousands, hundreds and tens.[32]

After an initial rebuff under Ts'in She Huang-ti (221-210 B.C.) whose general Mung T'ien completed the Great Wall and expelled the Hiung-nu from the the Ordos in 214 B.C., the Hiung-nu commenced their expansion in the west by attacking the Yue-che under their *shan-yu* Teu-man (210-209 B.C.). Mao-tuen (209-174 B.C.), the son and successor of T'en-man, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Yue-che in western Kan-su and his son Leo-shang (174-161 B.C.) killed their chief and made a drinking bowl of his skull and compelled them to migrate towards the west across the northern Gobi. Leaving a fraction of their kith and kin to settle to the south of Nan-shan among the K'iang, where they came to be known as Siao Yue-che, their main body reached the valley of the Ili and the Issik-kul, but were pushed out from there by the Wu-suen with the assistance of the Hiung-nu. This movement of the Yue-che was fraught with great consequences for the history of southern and western Asia, to which we shall revert later. Here it is sufficient to note that the expulsion of the Yue-che enhanced the

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29 *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1886) Vol III p. 763; *Archaologische Anzeiger* (1931) p. 393; Nemeth *Attila ēs Hunjai* (Budapest 1940) p. 225.

30 Otta Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Ethnic Name Hun' *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren dedicata* (1959) pp. 223-238.

31 Kurakichi Shiratori, 'A study of the titles of Khagan and Khatum', *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, I, p. 11; 'On the Territory of the Hsiung-nu prince Hs'u-t'u Wang and his metal statues for Heaven Worship,' *ibid.*, V, p. 71.

32 Edouard Chavannes, *Les Memoirs de Sse-ma Ts'ien*, I, p. 65.

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power and prestige of the Hiung-nu. In 167 B.C. they penetrated into Shen-si up to Huei-chong and burnt the royal palace and in 158 appeared near Ch'ang-ngan and again in 142 attacked the Great Wall in the Yen-men area. Thus, the meance of the Hiung-nu hovered over the whole of the Chinese frontier and was forestalled only by the advent of emperor Wu-ti (140-87 B.C.), whose ambassador Chang-K'ien tried to instigate the Yue-che against them (129 B.C.) and whose general Wei T'sing routed them from the march of Shao-fang in 124 B.C. Wei T'sing's nephew Ho K'iu-ping chased them away from Kan-su in 121 B.C. and with his uncle pierced into the heart of the Hiung-nu empire in Outer Mongolia up to the lower course of the Ongkin and surprised the shan-yu Yi-che-sie killing or capturing 19,000 soldiers. Ho K'iu-ping penetrated deeper up to the Upper Tula and the Orkhon and celebrated a solemn sacrifice of 80 Hiung-nu chiefs on the mountain-tops of their country.[33] But towards the end of his reign Wu-ti saw his disaster of Varus, when the young Chinese captain Li Ling rushed into Mongolia with 5000 soldiers and was overwhelmed and annihilated by the Hiung-nu hordes. But the Hiung-nu could not make any impression on the Han empire and diverted their attention to the oases of the Tarim basin where at last the Chinese succeeded in establishing their hegemony by 60 B.C. After 60 B.C. schism, secession and conflict tore the organisation of the Hiung-nu. Two rival claimants Hu-han-ye and Che-che disputed the title of shan-yu. In 51 B.C. the former submitted himself in the court of Siuan-ti at Ch'ang-ngan and solicited his assistance against his rival. With the aid of Chinese forces he defeated his antagonist and installed himself on the Orkhon. In 33 he returned to the imperial court to offer his allegiance and receive as a recompense the hand of a Chinese princess. The vanquished horde quitted Mongolia and sought fortune in the territory of Russian Turkistan—forcing their way through the Wu-suen of the Ili, confederating with the Ku-kie of the Imil and the K'ien-k'u of the Aral Steppes, encroaching on the land of the K'ang-kiu and laying their camp in the Steppes of Chu and Talas. But the Chinese hardly gave them the time to consolidate and their general Ch'eng T'ang pounced on Che-che in the Steppes of Chu and decapitated him in 36-35 B.C. Thereafter the Hiung-nu disappear from the western scene till in the fourth century A.D. we find

[33] Edouard Chavannes, *ibid.*, I, pp. 67, 68.

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another horde swarming in that direction that has been wrongly identified with these people and with which we shall deal later on.

While the western Hiung-nu were thus worsted, the eastern horde, cowed down for the time being, raised its head in the time of troubles and conflicts that marked the end of the Han dynasty (8-25 A.D.). In 10 A.D. their shan-yu siezed the kingdom of Turfan and plundered up to the frontier of the Chinese empire. But in 25 A.D. the establishment of the Later Han dynasty synchronized with the scission of the Hiung-nu hordes. The eight hordes of the south led by Pi rose against the shan-yu, P'u-nu and offered allegiance to the Chinese court. The emperor Kuang Wu-ti rehabilitated them along the *limes* of Kan-su and Shan-si as clients of the empire. As for the northen Hiung-nu, they were beaten by the Sien-pei and the Wu-huan who were set against them by Tsi Yong, the Chinese governor of Leao-tong.

In the first century A.D. dawned the golden age of Chinese expansion in the West. The reign of Ming-ti (58-75 A.D.) Chang-ti (76-88 A.D.) and Ho-ti (89-105 A.D.) saw the subjugation of the states of the Tarim basin by the armies of Pan Ch'ao. In the course of these operations Chinese generals often repelled the Hiung-nu. In 91, for instance, Keng K'uei marched up to the Orkhon and inflicted a bloody defeat on the Hiung-nu, capturing the household of the shan-yu and nominating in his place his brother Yu-ch'u-kien. The new ruler raised his head again in 93 but was crushed and killed by the Sien-pei. These northern Hiung-nu were finally engulfed in the empire set up by this Mongol horde of Sien-pi (Särbi, Sirbi or Sirvi)[34] in 155 A.D.

As for the southern Hiung-nu, they moved to the south under the pressure of the Sien-pei and settled inside the great bend of the Yellow River in the Steppe of Ordos and the regions adjoining A-la-shan. Their shan-yu, Hu-ch'u-ts'iuan (195-216 A.D.) began to live at P'ing-yang in the heart of Shan-si.[35] In the fourth century the fall of the Hans unleashed a turmoil of civil wars in which

[34] Paul Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique*, (*1934*), P. 35ff. Torii, 'Etudes archéologiques et ethnologiques des populations primitives de la Mongolie Orientale, *Journal of the College of Science*, Imperial University of Tokyo, Vol. XXXVI, pp. 9-19.

[35] Peter A. Boodberg, 'Two Notes on the History of the Chinese Frontier', *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (1936), pp. 292-298.

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the Hiung-nu of P'ing-yang put forth their claim to the Imperial throne under the cloak of legitimacy and in 304 A.D. their chief Lieu Yuan obtained from the court of the T'sing emperor the title of shan-yu of the five hordes. In 308 he was proclaimed emperor at T'ai-yuan as the legitimate heir of the Hans and founded a dynasty known as Pei-han or T'sien Chao. In 329 She Lei supplanted the line of Pei-han and inaugurated the dynasty called Hen Chao, which remained in power upto 350 A.D., when the Mu-jung of the Sien-pei race seized the whole of Ho-pei, Shan-si and Shan-tung and their chief Mu-jung Tsiun set up his capital at Yen or Ki (Peking). This empire known as Hen Yen lasted up to 407 and that of Si Yen founded by another member of the Mu-jung family maintained itself up to 417. Ultimately the Mu-jung empire passed into the hands of the T'o-pa or Tabgach Turks whose energetic leader T'o-pa Kuei (386-409 A.D.) established his régime under the dynastic name of Wei.[36]

This brief *resumé* of the history of the Hiung-nu up to the fourth century of the Christain era conclusively proves that they had nothing to do with the regions of the Oxus valley[37] and could not be referred to as occupying them by any author prior to that century. Let us now outline the events of the Oxus Valley from the first century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. in order to find out whether they fit in with the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus in the *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa.

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[36] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* (Paris, 1948), pp. 96.

[37] Recently K. Enoki has expressed his agreement with the view that the Hiung-nu never entered Bactriana. In an article entitled *Sogdiana and the Hsiung-un* published in the *Central Asiatic Journal*, (1955) Vol. I, Part I, pp. 43-62 Enoki has discussed the remark of the Wei-shu (book 102) that the Hiung-nu killed the king of Su-t'e, which was called Yen-ts'ai in ancient times and was also known as Wen-na sha, and conquered it and that Hu-i was the third ruler of this line of Hiung-nu. Enoki has shown that the identification of Su-t'e and Yen-t'sai is baseless and that the aforesaid remark does not prove the identity of the Huns and the Hiung-nu. In fact, the theory of the oneness of the Huns and the Hiung-nu is quite unfounded. Here a historical tradition of the Han period has been wrongly engrafted on the events of Sogdiana. See also Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *Byzantion* Vol. 17 (1944-45) pp. 225-231

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3. *A thumb-nail sketch of the history of the Oxus Valley*

It has been observed above that the Ta Yue-che migrated towards the west as a result of the pressure of the Hiung-nu and the Wu-suen. In 129-8 B.C. Chang K'ien found them in Sogdiana to the north of the Oxus.[38] At that time they were also occupying the country to the south of this river, called *Ta-hia*[39] in Chinese works. They put an end to the Greek kingdom of Bactria and possibly Sogdiana[40] and divided the country into five principalities ruled by the five Hi-heu (Yaghbu) of Hieu-mi, Shuang-mi, Kuei-shuang, Hi-tuen and Kao-fu or Tu-mi.[41] The advent of these

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38 Haneda Toru, 'À propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Houei-chouang,' *Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise* (1933), p. 13-14. Friedrich Hirth. 'The Story of Chang K'ien, China's Pioneer in Western Asia', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1917), p. 96.

39 Ta Hia signifies Tukharistan, the eastern part of Bactria. [Sylvain Lévi, 'Le Tokharien", *Journal Asiatique* (1933), p. 5] Bactria was, in fact, divided into two parts, Balkh and Tukharistan. This division was known up to the time of the Arab geographer Ibn Khurdadbeh. [J. Marquart *Erānśahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* p. 70] That the Ta Yue- che occupied this eastern part of Bactria rather than Balkh at that time is clear from the fact that their capital is located at Lan-she Ch'eng which has been identified by Marquart with Ishkamish in Badakshan. [J. Marquart, *Wehrot und Arang*. p, 86.]

40 The Chinese name of Sogdiana or Ferghana *Ta-yuan* has been equated with the Indo-Iranian name of the Greeks *Yavana*. (René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 75 f.n.). Should this view be correct, we would be entitled to hold that the Graeco-Bactrian empire extended beyond the Oxus.

41 J. J. De Groot (*Die Westlander Chinas in der Vorchlistlichen Zeit*, p. 97), has proposed the following identifications of these names: Hieu-mi=Wakhan, Shuang-mi = Chitral, Kuei-shuang=Kafiristan, Hi-tuen=Badakshan. J. Marquart (*Erānśahr*, p. 242), has, on the other hand, given the following equations: Hieu-mi=Wakhan, Shuang-mi=Chitral, Kuei-shuang=Parwan, Hi-tuen=Kunar-Panjshir. Kai-fu (Kabul) is evidently a mistake for Tu-mi, which remains obscure.

These five hi-heu were the Ta-hia. The *Heu Han-shu* states that the Yue-che divided the country among five hi-heu. From this remark it follows that the five hi-heu were the Yue-che themselves. But the *Ts'ien Han-shu* gives a different version from which it has been inferred that these

continued on page 290

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people is referred to in the remark of Strabo (XI, 511), based on the information of Apollodoros, who wrote between the fall of Bactria and the death of Mithradates II in 87 B.C., that between 140 and 130 B.C. the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tokharoi and Sakarauli seized the province of Bactria from the Greeks. S. P. Tolstov has placed the Asiani to the east and north-east of the Syr-darya and in the Ili and Chu river basins, the Apasiakae (Pasianoi) in the basin of the Jana-darya, the Tochari in the basin of the Kuvan-darya, and the Syr-darya doab, and the Sacaraucae (Sakarauli) in the basin of the Inkar-darya. [S. P. Tolstov, *Central Asian Scythians in the light of the latest archaeological discoveries*, contributed to the International Conference on Asian Archaeology, New Delhi, on 20-10-61] In place of these four tribes Trogus, whose source is dated shortly after 87 B.C.,

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continued from page 289

hi-heu were different from the Yue-che and represented the indigenous population of Ta-hia over which the latter had come to rule. The Japanese scholars Kuwahara Jitzuzo and Haneda Toru have advanced this view and Sten Konow ['Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology', *Journal of Indian History*, (1933), p. 38] and Paul Pelliot ['Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 38] have stood by it. Gustav Haloun has discussed this point in detail but reserved his judgment. [G. Haloun, 'Zur Üe-tṣi Frage', *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* (1937), p. 257, f.n. 1]. Likewise Sir Aurel Stein leaves the question open (*Serindia*, p. 287). W. W. Tarn, however, subscribed to the old theory that the Hi-heu including the Kuei-shuang (Kuṣāṇa) were the Yue-che themselves. (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 287. f. n. 4). Recently, Otto Maenchen-Helfen has endorsed the older view and stated that the "five hi-heu, among them the Kushānas, were great feudatories "dependent on their king," the Yue-che chief and were of his nationality." ['The Yueh chih Problem Re-examined', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1945). pp. 72-73]. He has further held that the Kusha of Kushanas were settled in the northern Tarim valley long before the Kushana empire was founded, as is clear from various place names, *e.g.* Kutsi, Ku-shih, Kao-ch'ang, etc. It is noteworthy that Kuca was known as Küśā or Küsān in Uighur texts and Kosan in the history of Rashiduddin. [Paul Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 59 f.n.]. O. Maenchen-Helfen thinks that *Yueh-chih* is a transcription of the word *kusha* (*ibid.*, pp. 77-80.)

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notes only two, Asiani and Sacaraucae.[42] Haloun has proposed to correct *asiani* as *cusani*.[43] This shows that the Kuṣāṇas (Kueishuang) joined the Śakas in the invasion of the Greek kingdom. Ludwig Bachhofer has held that the Greek realm was invaded by two waves of peoples: about 141-39 B.C. the Sacaraucae[44] and Asiani attacked Bactria more at the instigation of the Parthian monarch Mithradates than as a result of the pressure from the north and a decade later the Tokharians came and drove out the Sacaraucae but let stay the Asiani who acknowledged their suzerainty.[45] Otto Maenchen-Helfen rejects this view and states that Bactria was invaded only once by the Yue-che. He relies on the *T'sien Han-shu* 96 B where it is expressly stated that when the Śakas in the northern T'ien-shan were driven out by the Yue-che they went not to Bactria but to Ki-pin.[46] The Sacaraucae and Yue-che invaded the valley of the Oxus at one and the same time, the former occupying Bukhara to the north of the Oxus and western Bactriana and Margiana to its south and the latter settling in the eastern parts of the valley in a north to south direction.[47] It appears that Greek rule and authority continued to exist in the Kunduz area after the débâcle of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The discovery of a hoard of Graeco-Bactrian tetradrachms at a spot half-way between the towns of Kunduz and Khanabad in the Afghan province of Kataghan in 1948, in which the Graeco-Bactrian coins of Lysias Theophilus, Antialcidas, Amyntas, Archebius, Philoxenus and

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42 For an up-to-date and complete compilation of the passages in the Classical sources referring to the conquest of Bactria see J. Junge. *Saka Studien* (Leipzig, 1939) pp. 96-97.

43 Gustav Haloun, 'Zur Üe-tṣi Frage,' *op.cit.*, p. 253. f.n. 4.

44 R. Ghirshman identifies the Sacaraucae with the *sakarav* or *sakarau* of coin legends, [*Begram, recherches archēologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946) p. 114]. O. G. Von Wesendonk sees in them the *Sakaravaka* ['Kuśan, Chioniten und Hephthaliten,' *Klio* (1933) p. 337] while, according to J. Marquart they represent the *Śaka-haumavarka*. [*Das erste Kapitel des Gatha Uśtavati* (Rome, 1930) p. 43].

45 Ludwig Bachhofer, 'On the Greeks and Śakas in India,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1941 pp. 246-247).

46 Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Yueh-Chih Problem Re-examined', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1945) pp. 71-72 f.n. 7].

47 R. Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946) p. 114.

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Hermaes have also been found, has thrown new light on this point. The fact that these rulers struck these Graeco-Bactrian coins shows that they exercised some authority in the Kunduz region. In the opinion of A. D. H. Bivar, while the nomads were advancing in the south-west, the remnants of Greek rule concentrated in the Kunduz area and the rulers continued to issue the traditional unilingual Graeco-Bactrian coinage. It was about 100 B.C. that the Greek merchant or official-in-charge of the said hoard buried it on the eve of the final nomadic invasion of the Kunduz enclave.[48] That Harmaes was not the last Graeco-Bactrian ruler, that his reign was not disturbed by nomadic invasions and that his coins continued to be minted and imitated long after his death have been shown by G. K. Jenkins. He holds that Kāpiśi continued to be under Greek rule even after the advent of the Śakas in India. According to him, Azes and Azilises had nothing to do with the Upper Kabul Valley.[49] The Sacaraucae began to play an important part in the politics of Persia. Their part in the death of Phraates II and Artaban was significant. With their aid Sinatroces became the king of Persia in 77 B.C. and they were a decisive factor in the struggle of Phraates IV with his adversary Tiridates in 27-26 B.C.[50] From coins we know the names of their kings Artadr and his son Hyrcodes.[51] The legends on these coins are sometimes in Greek, sometimes in Sogdian or in both and their reverse is copied from the coins of Azilises, the successor of Azes I, whose reign falls in the second half of the

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48 A. D. H. Bivar, 'The Bactrian Treasure of Kunduz', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1955) Vol. XVII, Part I, pp. 45-46.

49 G. K. Jenkins, 'Indo-Scythic Mints', *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (1955), Vol. XVII part II pp. 20-22.

50 Albert Hermann, *Sacaraucae* in Pauly, Wissowa, Kroll, *Real-Encyclopadie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Vol. I, pp. 1161-1620.

51 A Gardiner, *The Coins of the Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, pl. XXXIV, 8. On these coins F.W. Thomas ['Parthian and Indo-Sassanian Coins' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*: (1883) p. 74-76] and A. Cunningham [*Numismatic Chronicle* (1883) pp. 48-5, *ibid.*, (1890) p. 114] read the title *tsanyu* or *chan-yu* which may correspond to *shan-yu*, the title of the Hiung-nu. Should this reading be correct, it would show that these Śakas had imbibed some features of the culture of the Hiung-nu. But this reading is disputed and almost rejected now. (W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 505-507).

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first century B.C. This shows that these kings ruled over the parts of Sogdiana and Bactriana, mentioned above. Contemporaneous with them was the Kuṣāṇa King Heraüs whose coin-design also resembles that of 'Azilises.[52] Ghirshman interprets the remark of Pompeius Trogus—*additae bis res Scythicae. Reges Tocarorum. Asiani interitusque Saraucum*'—to mean that Heraüs overthrew Hyrcodes about 20 B.C.[53] and conquered the realm of Sacaraucae and staged a *coup d'ētat* in his own country by supplanting the ruling families. These changes had their repercussions in the lands to the north of the Oxus occupied by the K'ang-kiu (*kaṇkas* of Indian works). The fall of the old ruling house of the Yue-che and the overthrow of the Sacaraucae gave an occasion to the K'ang-kiu to swoop upon Bukhāra. It was at that time that the independent Sogdian kingdom was formed to which the coins, bearing on the observe the bust of the king with face turned to the left and a legend in Sogdian and on the reverse an archer facing the right, that have been found at Tali Barzu near Samarqand, can be ascribed.[54] It was also then that the people of Choresmia (Khwarazm) felt the impact of the rising power of the Kuṣāṇas. The Russian archaeologist S.P. Tolstov, to whom the credit of excavating the ancient sites of Toprak Kala and Janbas Kala in Choresmia goes, has shown that the most ancient coins found there are exact copies of the tetradrachms of Heraüs. Thereafter the currency of the Choresmian kings ceases and in its place we find a large number of Kuṣāṇa coins. These coins suggest that they were made in this region rather than in India. This is a very important point for the problem of Indian chronology.[55] Side by side an Indo-Buddhist strain becomes manifest in Choresmian art which suggests the domination of the Kuṣāṇas. In the western part of Koikrylgan-Kala's central building a statuette of a sitting woman was found whose clothes are not typical of Khorezm. In one of the outbuildings of the same monument a miniature statuette of a mon-

[52] E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 9; R. B. Whitehead, 'Notes on the Indo-Greeks', *Numismatic Chronicle* (1940), p. 120. Whitehead has referred to the researches of the Russian numismatist A. N. Zograf.

[53] R. Ghirshman, *Bēgram*, p. 116.

[54] J. de Morgan, *Manuel de Numismatique Orientale* figs. 536, 37, 40, 41, 42, 43.

[55] R. N. Frye, *Notes on the Early Coinage of Transoxiana* (Numismatic Notes and Monographs, No. 113, New York, American Numismatic Society 1949) p. 9.

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key with a baby has been unearthed. In their stylistic peculiarities, both these statuettes, especially the monkey, are close to the works of art, produced in India. Of special significance is the "hall of the dark skinned guardsmen" in the ruins of the royal palace at Toprak Kala. The physical features of these dark-skinned warriors are very near to the ancient Indian population of South India. It is also interesting to note that several skulls of the same type were discovered in one of the sepulchres of the fortress. In the opinion of Tolstov "it is more probable to regard these dark-skinned warriors as the Kushan empire's military contingents recruited in South or Central India and stationed, as was widely practised in those days, on the empire's opposite border. The Indian warriors that remained in Khorezm after the collapse of the empire formed the core of the guard contingents kept by the rulers of independent Khorezm."[56] Tolstov is inclined to see in certain fortresses to the east of the Oxus like Ayaz Kala the advance posts of the Kuṣāṇa empire. The tide of Kuṣāṇa expansion reached further west and engulfed the town of Urartu in Transcaucasia whose ruins at the site of Arin-Berd (Gauli-Tapa) in Erivan have been excavated by the Russian archaeologist B. B. Piotrovsky. Advancing further west the Kuṣāṇas occupied Crimea and fortified the Greek town of Neapolis, which has been unearthed and explored by the Russian archaeologists P. N. Schulz and V. A. Golovkina. The similarity of the frescoes at Toprak Knalaad in Crimea suggest that they were made by the same population group which invaded both territories at about the same time.[57] Thus, we observe that the Scythian movement which spread along the Oxus Valley reached up to Crimea on one hand and penetrated into India on the other. In the third century A.D. the far-flung Kuṣāṇa empire having its bases in Central Asia in the Oxus Valley and the north-western regions of India suffered a set-back. It is only in the third century A.D., the period of the decline of the Kuṣāṇa empire, that the local coins of Choresmia, based on their own models, begin to reappear.[58]

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[56] S. P. Tolstov, *Ancient Khorezm and its Ties with India*, The Hindustan Times Weekly, March 3, 1957, p. 2.

[57] B. B. Piotrovsky and others, *Ourartou, Neapolis des Scythes, Khorezm* [L'Orient Ancien Illustré 8, Paris, 1954] pp. 56, 96, 132.

[58] S. P. Tolstov, *Drevnyj Khorezm* (Djanbaskala); *Po sledam drevnekhorezmyskoj civilizacii* (Toprak Kala).

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About the beginning of the Christian era the north to south division of the Oxus Valley was replaced by a new west to east demarcation with the Oxus as the natural frontier. To the south of this river lay the Kuṣāṇa empire and to its north the Sogdian kingdom. While the Kuṣāṇa empire expanded towards the south, Ngan-si (Parthia) Kao-fu (Kabul) P'u-ta and Ki-pin under K'ien-tsien-k'io (Kuzula Kadphises),[59] the Sogdian kingdom took part in the politics of the Tarim Valley and aided the states of the Kashghar regions in their struggle with China. When the Chinese general Pan Ch'ao invaded the king of Kashghar, namely Chong, the king of Sogdiana sent armies for his help. At that time the king of Sogdiana was matrimonially related to the Yue-che. Hence Pan-Ch'ao sent an embassy to the Yue-che asking their king to remonstrate with the Sogdian king and prevent him from aiding the king of Kashghar. At the instance of the Yue-che that king suspended hostilities and returned to his country with Chong. But soon afterwards Chong reappeared at the head of the Sogdian army and pretended to surrender. Pan Ch'ao discovered the intrigue and got him beheaded.[60] This shows that inspite of the mediation of the Yue-Che, the Sogdians continued to follow their own independent policy.

The political geography of the Oxus Valley remained the same under Wima Kadphises. The *Heu Han-shu* indicates that the ingdom of Sogdiana spread its tentacles to the north of the Aral Sea where the northern-most route connected eastern and central Asia with the Greek settlements on the shore of the Black Sea and the centres of the Sarmatians. The kingdom of Yen situated in the neighbourhood of the Yen-tsai or Alains was dependent on Sogdiana. This control of the commercial route raised the position of Sogdian traders in the ancient world.

The said balance of power on the banks of the Oxus came to an end with the conquest of Sogdiana by Kaniṣka on which recent archaeological excavations have thrown a flood of light. At Airam near Termez on the northern bank of the Oxus some sculptures have come to light which bear a deep imprint of the Mathurā school.[61]

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[59] Edouard Chavannes, 'Les Pays d'Occident d'après le Heu Han-shou', *T'oung pao* (1907), p. 190

[60] Edouard Chavannes, *T'oung Pao* (1906), p. 230.

[61] M. E. Masson, *Brief Communications, Academy of the Sciences of the U.S.S.R.* (1940), pp. 113-114 (in Russian).

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The coins found there range up to the time of Vāsudeva and a fragment of stone vase bears an inscription in Kharoṣṭhi. These facts together with the notice of Transoxiana as an integral part of the Kuṣāṇa empire and the mention of Bukhara, Samarqand and Tashqand as its northern limits in the Kaaba Zarathustra inscription of Shāhpuhr I[62] prove that Sogdiana was annexed by Kaniṣka to his kingdom.

The advent of the Sassanid empire meant the doom of the Kuṣāṇa empire of Kaniṣka. We learn from Tabari[63] and the *Res Gestae divi Saporis*[64] that Ardashīr, the founder of the Sassanid dynasty, invaded the Kuṣāṇa empire. But the Kaaba Zarathustra inscription of Shāhpuhr I shows that the empire of Ardashīr did not cross the line going from Merv via Herat to Seistan. His work was taken up by his son Shāhpuhr I who carried his arms upto the confines of the Kuṣāṇa empire and conquered *Puśkabur* (Peshawar) *Kaś* (the south-western part of Transoxiana with Bukhara as the centre) *Sughd* (the north-western part of Transoxiana including Samarqand or, according to Arab geographers, the lower valley of the Zaraſshan[65]) and *Śasśtan* (the region of Tashkand).[66] The burnt and deserted remains of the second city at Begram and the temples at Surkh Kotal[67] and the abandoned sites of Termez and the fourth city at Tali-Barzu[68] are evidences of these vicissitudes. Similarly the coins, bearing royal effigies with crowns resembling those of the Sassanid kings from Ardashīr I and Shāhpuhr I to Hormizd IV (574-590), found at the Choresmian sites, and the new ceramic, decorated in Sassanian style and having forms

[62] M. Sprengling, 'Shāhpuhr I the Great, on the Kaabah of Zoroaster,' *American Journal of Semetic Languages and Literatures* (1940), pp. 354-357.

[63] T. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur zeit der Sassaniden, Aus der Arabischer Chronik des Tabari*, p. 17.

[64] E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae* (Bruxelles, 1953), pp. 106-107.

[65] R. Frye, 'Sughd and the Sogdians,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1943), pp. 14-16.

[66] M. Sprengling, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-356.

[67] Daniel Schlumberger, 'Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane', *Journal Asiatique* (1954), p. 178.

[68] G. Grigorieff, *Tali-Barzu*, Gossaudarstveniy Ermitage troudi otdela istorii koultouri i iskoustva II (1940) p. 95-97 (in Russian). A. L. Mongait, *Archaeology in* the *U.S.S.R.*, p. 248.

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approaching Persian silver-ware discovered in stratum V at Tali Barzu in Sogdiana as well as in stratum III at Begram, prove that these regions came within the sphere of influence of the Sassanids in III-IV centuries A.D. The later Kuṣāṇas became, in fact, subservient to the Sassanids.[69]

[69] The chronology of this period mostly depends on the date of Kaniṣka which is a puzzling problem of ancient history. Fleet held that Kaniṣka started the era of 58 B.C., known as Vikrama era. Fergusson, Oldenberg, Thomas, Banerji, Rapson etc., think that he founded the era of 78 A.D. Sten konow fixed 128-29 A.D., as the starting point of his reign while R. Ghirshman favours the date 144 A.D. R. C. Majumdar believes that the era in question was the Traikūṭaka-Kalachuri-chedi era of 248 A.D. (for references see H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* 5th edition, pp. 465-472). Recently Mrs. J. E. Van Lohuizen de Leeuw in her book *The Scythian Period* and Dr. N. P. Chakravarti in his *Presidential address* to the Ahmedabad session of the Indian History Congress (27 Dec. 1954) have pleaded for the date 78 A.D. A. L. Basham has also endorsed this view though he held that "from the point of view of India the evidence still favours 78 as the date of Kaniṣka's accession, but from that of Central Asia it appears to support 144." [A. L. Basham, 'The succession of the line of Kaniṣka', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1957) Vol. XX p. 88]. Earlier, Basham held that Kaniṣka and Rudradāman could not be contemporaries. Hence, the date 144 for Kaniṣka which makes him a contemporary of Rudradāman is not probable. ['A new study of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1953) Vol. XV pp. 91-96] But now he has began to accept the possibility of the date 144 on archaecological considerations. Recently A. K. Narain in a paper *Date of Kaniṣka*, submitted for discussion in a seminar held in London, suggested that the accession of Kaniṣka took place in 103 A.D. He cites the *Hou Han-shu* to show that An-kuo, king of Su-le, exiled his uncle Ch'en P'an to the Yue-che. An-kuo died issueless and the people anointed I-Fu, a son of a uterine younger brother of Ch'en-P'an, as king of Su-le. Ch'en P'an solicited the assistance of the Yue-che king to get the throne who readily agreed to help him. With the arrival of Ch'en P'an with Yue-che armies the peoples divested I-Fu of the royal seal and anointed Ch'en P'an Narain identifies Ch'en P'an with the hostages that a tributary state of China to the west of the Yellow River sent to the Yue-che king Kaniṣka through fear and whom he treated with courtesy and

continued on page 298

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This flying survey of the history of the Oxus Valley from the second century B.C. to the third century A.D. clearly shows that the Hūṇas never lived on the Oxus during this period and the

continued from page 297

kindness, according to Hiuen T'sang. But there are so many differences and discrepancies in these two accounts that it is difficult to identify the events mentioned in them. Whereas Ch'en P'an was an exile and fugitive, who left Su-le on account of resentment and with a view to get the throne with the assistance of the powerful Yue-che, the hostage in the account of Hiuen T'sang was purposely sent by the king and he willingly came to the court of Kaniṣka under the king's order. Ch'en P'an's visit to the Yue-che did not imply their control over Su-le, much less the idea of the submission of that state, since the Yue-che king did not intervene in the affairs of of An-Kuo till his death, inspite of his sympathy for Ch'en P'an. But the king, who sent the hostage to Kaniṣka, according to Hiuen T'sang, did so for fear of the Yue-che monarch to evade his wrath and to express his readiness to make submission to him. The account of *Hou Han-shu* shows a state of discontent and strife in Su-le, but the narrative of Hiuen-T'sang does not indicate any such state of affairs. According to the former, the visit of Ch'en P'an to the Yue-che court resulted in the intervention of the Yue-che armies in Su-le after the death of An-Kuo, but, according to the latter, the arrival of the hostage was the result of the campaigns and conquests of Kaniṣka to the east of the T'sung-ling. For these reasons it is not possible to subscribe to the theory of Narain. It is not necessary to express any final opinion on this point here. Yet some facts may be referred to which tend to throw light on this point. The Chinese text *San-Kuo Che* (III, 3a) has a notice of a king Po-tiao, which has been rendered by Pelliot as follows : "la troisième anneé *t'ai-houo*.....la 12e lune.....(le jour) Kouei-wei (5 Janvier 230) le roi des Grands Yue-tche, Po-tiao (*Puâ-d'ieu, lire P'o-tiao *Buâ-d'ieu, =Vasudeva ?) euvoya an ambassadeur offrir des présents ; on donna à (P'o)-tiao le titre de roi des Grands Yue-tche apparanté aux Wei" ('Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) p. 40). This king P'o-tiao has been identified with Vāsudeva of the dynasty of Kaniṣka. He seems to be the same as the Kuṣāṇa king Vehsadjan who aided the Armenian king Khusroe I against Ardashir in 227 A.D. (vehsa=vāsu) [M. K. Patkanian, 'Essai d'une histoire de la dynastie des Sassanides', *Journal Asiatique* (1866) p. 133-134]. This Vāsudeva is the last Kuṣāṇa king whose coins are found in the second

continued on page 299

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reference to them in the *Raghuvaṁśa* can by no stretch of imagination be dated before the 3rd-4th century A.D. Even Indian works, which advert to the geographical conditions of earlier periods, mention the Śakas, Tuṣāras (Tukhāras) (the stock of Yueche) Lampakas (a people akin to the Śakas according to the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* of Hemacandra *lampakāstu muruṇḍāḥ syuḥ*

continued from page 298

city at Begram and at Termez. His coins are conspicuous by absence at Surkh Kotal though coins of Huviṣka are abundant there. (Daniel Schlumberger, 'Le Temple de Surkh Kotal en Bactriane', *Journal Asiatique* (1954) pp. 177-179). These coins of Vāsudeva are different in form, execution, design and legends from the coins of other kings bearing this name. On the coins of another Vāsudeva the form of the altar is shorter and less large and has no trace of fire. A striped trident is placed behind the altar and the legend commences on the top to the right of the head of the king [Ludwig Bachhofer, 'Herrscher und Münzen der späten Kuṣaṇas', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1936), pp. 429-439, Nos. 11, 13]. From this pronounced difference it is manifest that the latter belonged to a different Vāsudeva who copied the coins of Wima Kadphises. There is also a third group of coins which purport to be issued by another Vāsudeva. From the artistic point of view they represent a marked decline. The disproportion between the head and the body of the king is striking. The cutting and arrangement of the characters and symbols are confused and uneven. The letters a, o and △ take the form of o. The pieces are larger and less thick. These peculiarities mark out the king of these coins as a third Vāsudeva.

In the second stratum at Begram it is the coins of the first Vāsudeva rather than the second or third that are available. This Vāsudeva belonged to the line of Kaniṣka I. It is thus clear that the dynasty of Kaniṣka came to an end in the reign of Shahpuhr I between 241-250 A.D. Since the latest known date on the coins of the Kuṣāṇas belonging to the line of Kaniṣka is 98, it is plausible that the initial year of this reckoning was about 144 A.D. (R. Ghirshman, 'Le problème de la chronologie des Kouchans,' *Cahiers d' histoire mondiale* Vol. III (1957) pp, 689-722) In this paper Ghirshman argues the case for 144 with full reference to archaeological data. But there is nothing conclusive about this date of Kaniṣka and it is an open question whether he came to the throne in 144 A.D. or 78 A.D. For the purpose of the present enquiry it is sufficient to note that in the first century B.C. the Yue-che were predominant in Transoxiana and the Hūṇas did not appear on the scene.

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Kankas (K'ang-Kiu) etc., as the inhabitants of the Oxus regions.[70] In the *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*, where Arjuna is stated to have led an expedition in the north-west just as Raghu is said to have done in the *Raghuvaṁśa*, the Bālhikas (Bactrains) Daradas, Kāmbhojas (Lampakas) Parama-Kāmbhojas and Ṛsikas and Paramarṣikas rather than the Hūṇas are mentioned as his main antagonists.[71] Again in the same *parvan* the Śakas, Tuṣāras and Kankas are said to have presented horses to Yudhiṣṭhira on the occasion of his sacrifice.[72] The juxtaposition of these peoples agrees with the settlement of the Sacaraucae, Yue-Che and K'ang-Kiu in the Oxus Valley in the first century B.C. Thus, it is crystal clear that the Hūṇas are not associated with the Oxus regions in early Indian literature. Hence the theory that Kālidāsa lived in the first century B.C. is quite baseless. We had better desist from reiterating it in view of his reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus and the absence of the conditions prevailing in the north-west in the first century B.C. from his account of the campaign of Raghu.

The above enquiry led us to conclude that Kālidāsa could not have flourished before the fourth century A.D. and certainly did not live in the first century B.C. In order to specify the year, in which the mention of the Hūṇas on the Oxus by him can be dated,

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[70] *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 47, 44.
Matsya Purāṇa, 121, 45.
For references from other Purāṇas see D. C. Sircar, 'Text of the Purāṇic List of Rivers, *Indian Historical Quarterly* (1951), Vol. XXII p. 233.

[71] *Mahābhārata* II, 27 22-26.

ततः परमविक्रान्तो बाह्लीकान् पाकशासनिः ।
महता परिमर्देन वशे चक्रे दुरासदान् ॥
गृहीत्वा तु बलं सारं फल्गु चोत्सृज्य पाण्डवः ।
दरदान् सह काम्बोजैरजयत्पाकशासनिः ॥
प्रागुत्तरां दिशं येच वसन्त्याश्रित्य दस्यवः ।
निवसन्ति वने ये च तान् सर्वानजयत्प्रभुः ॥
लोहान्परमकाम्बोजानृषिकानुत्तरानपि ।
सहितांस्तान् महाराज व्यजयत्पाकशासनिः ॥

[1] Variant Campakān. [2] Variant *isi* or isī.

[72] *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 26.

शकास्तुखाराः (तुकाराः) कङ्काश्च रोमशः शृंगिणो नराः ।
महागमान्दूरगमान्गणितानर्बुदं हयान् ॥

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it is necessary to study the history of these people in the fourth century A.D. But before undertaking this enquiry it would be better to tackle the thorny question of the race and culture of the Hūṇas.

4. *A brief outline of the history of the Hephthalite-Hūṇas*

The Hūṇas are known as Hyaōna in Iranian works. Viśtāspa demands divine favour to repel the Hyaōn bandit Arejatâspa and prays to be able to liberate the people from the thraldom of Hyaōna and kill them in multitudes.[73] The *Bahman Yasht* speaks of the *Xyon ut Turk ut Xazar ut Tupit* [the Khyōn (Hyaōna), the Turks, the Khazars and the Tibetans] as non-Iranian peoples.[74] The *Bundahishn* contains a passage of great historical interest which reads as follows: anōśakrawan Xusraw ē kavadhan ōyśān hiyōnān kēśān aspatāk ō ērānśahr hame kirt spōkht vitarg hast ērānśahr apēbīm kirt[75] (Anosharwan Khusrau, son of Kawadha, drove the Hiyon who made repeated attacks on Erānśahr, closed the passes and made Erānśahr free from fear). In this passage the Hiyon or Hyaōna are identical with the same people who invaded the Sassanid empire under Kawadh in the fifth century A.D.

The King who invaded Iran under Peroz (459-484 A.D.) and killed him is called Akhshunwar by Tabari, Khushnuwaz by Firdausi, Akhshuvān by Dinawari and Khshunvaz in the *Bundahishn*.[76] F. W. K. Müller holds that all these variant readings are based on the

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[73] *Yasht* IX, 30; IX, 31; XVII, 50-51 in J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta* II, p. 439, 607-68.

[74] H. W. Bailey, 'Iranica', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London* (1943, pp. 1-2). *Bahman Yasht* ed Anklesaria VI, 6 ēton bē ōzanēnd ān ī avēśān ēśmtōxmakān satakānak ut 1000 akānak ut bēvarakānak; apāc vartēnd drafś niśān (i) a - mar spāh ī avēśān devām ī vicārt-vars; bē rasēnd ō ēn ērān dēhān ī man ī ohrmazd dāt hēn ī frāxvēnitār frāxvanik duśman tūrak ut karmir hat val - drafś hand.

"Thus, those men, offspring of fury, will slay a hundredfold, a thousandfold and ten thousandfold. The banners and standards of the numberless army of those demons with dishevelled hair will return. There will come into these Iran lands of mine Ohrmazd-created, the troops with broad front, the hostile Turak (Turk) and the Red Hyon whose banners are uplifted."

[75] *Bundahishn* ed. Anklesaria, p. 215.

[76] J. Marquart, *Eranśahr*, p. 60; Anklesaria, *Bundahishn*, p. 215.

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Sogdian word "*khshevan*" meaning 'a king'.[77] On the other hand, R. Ghirshman thinks that these words represent *khevan*, the name of the Khionites.[78] It is not unlikely that the very name Khevan or Khion or Hion or Hyaōn or Hūṇa is akin to the Sogdian word *khshevan*, noted above, which means a king.

Western chroniclers know these people as *kiyonāye* or Khionite. Joshua counts them among the enemies of Peroz and Ammianus Marcellinus refers to them and their king Grumbates as fighting on the side of Shāhpuhr II under the walls of Amida.[79] Chinese annals call these poeple *Hoa* or *Hua* which was written as *Hoa-tun* under the later Wei. The *Leang-Shu* refers to the king Ye-ta-i-li-to of the people Hoa. According to Albert Hermann, it is clear from this passage that the name of the people was Hoa and that of the dynasty of kings which ruled over them was Ye-ta-i-li-to or Hephthal.[80] In the *Suei Shu* also mention is made of a people *Un* which is based on Hoa-tun.

Curiously enough two coins found in the stūpa of Hadda have a legend reading as KTV,\AA⊕HIONO (Katulph Hion).[81] Likewise a large number of coins which are attributed to the adversaries of the Sassanids, namely the Khionites, bear the name of *Hion*. This word *hion* is the same as Avestan *hyaona*, Pehlvi *khiyon*, Syriac *kiyonāyē*, Chinese *hoa*, *hoa-tun* and *un* and Sanskṛt *hūṇa*. Thus, it is clear that the Hūṇas of Sanskṛit works are the Khioṇites who appeared on the horizon of the Sassanid empire in the fourth century A.D. and played a leading part in its history so as to pass into the realm of mythology in Iranian scriptures. There is no evidence to connect the Hūṇas known in Indian works with the Hiung-nu.

There is also a people called Hephthalites. They are called *I-ta*, *Ye-ta* by Sung Yun, *Ye-ta-i-li-to* in the *Leang Shu*, *Yop-tal* in Korean, *Ep-dat* in Annamite, *Yen tatz* in Japanese, *Eftal* in Pehlvi, *Hep'tāl* in Armenian, *Abdel* in Syrian, *Hēptal* in the *Bundahishn*,

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77 *Sogdische Texte* I, p. 108.

78 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Cairo 1948) p. 19.

79 A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 235-236.

80 Albert Hermann, 'Die Hephtaliten und ihre Beziehungen zu China,' *Asia Major* (1924), pp. 571-572.

81 Alexander Cunningham, 'Later Indo-Scythians,' *Numismatic Chronicle* (1894), p. 276, Plate VII; R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (Cairo, 1948), p. 10.

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Hayathel in the history of Mirkhund, *Hetāl* in Persian, *Haiṭal* in Arabic, *Hephthalites* by the Byzantine historians and *Abdāli* in modern Pushto. From coins we know of several kings bearing the name Hephthal HΓ]TΛA. The legend on one coin is HΓ]TΛA SAHO HIO[NO] "of Hephthal King Khionite". This king is shown as wearing a crown having three crenellations and surmounted by a globe. This crown-design is found on the coins of Shahpuhr II. Hence this king Hephthal or Hephtal appears to be a contemporary of Shahpuhr II.[82] There are coins of another king named Hephthal, who is shown as wearing a crown of a different design. At the front of it is a crescent, from a calotte rises a shaft having a small crescent at the root and a bigger one above it, which encloses a pear-shaped globe. Behind the bigger crescent float the pearl-strung ribbons. Paruck attributes this design to Yazdegird I and Ghirshman to Yazdegird II.[83] Coins reveal the existence of a third king Hephthal whose crown differs from those of the two kings of this name mentioned above. The calotte encases a globe the front of which has a crescent. Behind it hang two long and large ribbons. This head-dress is in the likeness of a fez-cap with a dangling tassel which some Mohammedans wear now-a-days. This simpler design shows some independence in the choice of coiffure. The legend is HΠTΛA HIONO (Hephthal Hiono). There are also some bilingual coins bearing the name Hephthal. On the obverse of one piece studied by Paruck[84] the bust of the Sassanid king Kawadh with the crown of his current issues is accompanied by a legend in Pehlvi *kawadh afzūni* while on the margin is superimposed in two lines a legend in Tukharian characters reading HAΠ/ATAΛ (A) "Hephthal". Similarly there are coins of Khusrau I restruck with the name of Hephthal. These coins were paid in tribute by the Sassanid emperors to the Khionite kings.

These coins reveal that Hephthal was the name of at least three kings and Hion was their surname. Thus, it is clear that Hephthal was a dynastic name and Hion was an ethnic designation and Ghirshman is perfectly right in holding that the Hephthalites and the Khionites were one and the same people.[85]

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[82] 71. F. R. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins*, p. 350, Plate XI.

[83] F. D. J. Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 361, R. Ghirshman, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[84] F. D. J. Paruck, *op. cit.*, p. 376. Plate XVII.

[85] R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (introduction), p. XII

continued on page 304

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The remarks of ancient writers leave no room for doubt that the Khionite-Hephthalites were distinct from the Hiung-nu. In fact, in a letter of the Sogdian merchant Nanai-vandak to his colleague Nanai-dvar in Samarkand, the Hiung-nu, who in 313 conquered Lo-yang are called Xwn, a name which, according to Henning, is indistinguishable from Hūṇa.[86] But as shown by Otto Maenchen-Helfen, it is not the decisive proof of the identity of the Huns and the Hiung-nu. He draws attention to many "Pseudo-Huns", for instance, the Phruni, Chonai, Uenni, Hugni etc. of Classical writers. In his view the word '*hun*' in East Germanic names Hunirix, Hunila, Hunwulf etc. has nothing to do with the Huns of Attila and rather stands for the Old Nordic word *hunu* meaning "a cub of bear" or "a young man" or the Proto-Germanic adjective *hun* signifying 'high'.[87] In another paper Maenchen-Helfen has held that the Hūṇas of Sanskrit works were the Hephthalites.[88] K. Enoki has also shown that the Hephthalites were wholly different from the Hiung-nu.[89] Quoting the view of Karlgren Robert Shafer has tried to prove that the ancient pronunciation of Hiung-nu was Khiong-nu or *Xu-nu* which resembles the word *Hūṇa*. Shafer holds that *hūṇa* has affinity with the Tibetan word *Hor*. To the east of lake Mānasarovara in Nari Khorsum (Mṅa-ris bskar gsum) is the district of Hundes which means 'the country of

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continued from page 303

According to Tabari (tr. Zotenberg II, p. 128) the word *hephthal* means 'brave', 'strong', in the language of Bukhara. J. Marquart (*Erānśahr.*, p. 57) distinguishes these peoples. See also T. Nöldeke, *Etudes historiques sur la Perse ancienne*, p. 161-163; Arthur Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p 284. But this view is not sound, as seen above. Following a suggestion of Peter A. Boodberg, Otto Maenchen-Helfen thinks that the word *hephthal* is derived from the Iranian word *hafta* meaning 'seven' and hints at the seven mythical rulers of Samarkand. [*Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1959) Vol. 79 p. 297]

86 W. B. Henning, 'The Date of the Sogdian Ancient Letters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1948) pp. 601-615.

87 Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'Pseudo-Huns,' *Central Asiatic Journal* (1955), Vol. I, Part II, pp. 101-106.

88 Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'Huns and the Hsiung-nu,' *Byzantion* (1944-45), Vol. XVII, pp. 230-231.

89 K. Enoki, 'The Origin of the Hephthalites,' *East and West* (Rome, 1955). Vol. VI, Part III, pp. 231-232.

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wool' according to Tucci. In Tibet the word *hor* is used for the Turks. Shafer is inclined to equate this word with the word *hūṇa*.[90] But in this case also we can ill afford to ignore the warning of Maenchen-Helfen that the mere similarity of names is not a guarantee of the identify of the Hūṇas, Hsiung-nu or the peoples bearing analogous names. The former are called White Huns, *Spēt Khyon* or *Śvetahūṇa* evidently in contradistinction to the generality of the Huns. Procopius states about them as follows : "the Hephthalites are not nomads but are settled since long on agricultural land. They have never attacked the Romans but with the armies of the Medes. Among the Huns only they have white skins and do not have short eyes. They do not lead a kind of life resembling that of the Huns. They do not live like animals like them, but are governed by a sole king. They have a government with laws and live with each other and with their neighbours in a right and just manner little inferior to that of the Romans."[91] According to Chinese sources, these people belonged to the family of the Yue-che. The author of the gloss *Thung-kiang-nu* writes under the heading of the year 555 that the Aptal were of the race of Ta Yue-che. Ma-tuan-lin gives two notes on the Hephthalites in his *Encylopaedia*; in one he says that Ye-ta are of the race of Ta Yue-che and according to others a branch of the Kao-che and in the other he observes that the I-tan belonged to the same race as the Ta Yue-che.[92]

It has been observed above that the Hephthalites have been called Śveta hūṇa or the White Hūṇas in Indian works. In this connection it is also noteworthy that in the *Mahābhārata* (II, 209; III, 11. 85) there are references to the Hārahūṇas besides the Hūṇas. To this word *hārahūṇa* H. W. Bailey has recently devoted a detailed study. His view is that the word *har* is a variant of the ancient Iranian word *karmir* or *kharmir* (Xarmir) meaning

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90 Robert Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, pp. 160-163.

91 *De bello Persico* I, 3.

92 Edouard Specht, 'Etudes sur l' Asie Centrale', *Journal Asiatique* (1883), pp. 339-340. The notes of Ma-tuan-lin are also translated by Stanislas Julien in *Les Huns Blancs* by Vivien de Saint Martin (Paris, 1849). Recently these passages have been discussed by W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia : A Study of the Scythians and Huns and the part they played in World History* (1939), pp. 405-406.

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'red' or 'dark colour'. Thus 'hārahūṇa' means 'red Hūṇa'.[93] In this connection it may also be noted that in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 147; II, 120) there is a mention of a tribe *Tāmra-liptaka* which may have association with red or tawny colour. We learn from the New T'ang History that the Tibetans used to paint their faces red.[94] The question of the relationship of race and colour in Asia has been recently discussed by O. Pritsak.[95] But the Hūṇas do not seem to have had anything to do with red colour. As a matter of fact, the name of the Hūṇas having a guttural aspirated stop in the beginning which resembled the Iranian consonant X or Kh seemed to recall the words karmir-xarmir to the ears of the Iranians so closely that they established a connection between them. Through the Iranians, the word *hārahūṇa* came into India. But no racial distinction was ever drawn between the Hūṇas and the Hārahūṇas. As suggested elsewhere, Śvetahūṇas signified the aristocracy among the Hūṇas and Hārahūṇa, the common people among them.

Besides the aforesaid data, the language and script of the Hephthalites are also important evidence of their ethnic origins. Chinese annalists confirm that their language was different from that of the Juan-juan, the Gao-gü and other barbarians. The Juan-juan were a people of Mongol origin and the Gao-gü were the ancestors of the Uighurs or Turks. Thus, the lauguage of the Hephthalites was neither Mongol nor Turk.[96] On the other hand, there are indications to suggest that their language was of Iranian family. The legends on their coins and their titles *śāhi*, *Śhānśāh*, *khautāi*, *bago*, *vuzurg*, etc. prove that. Likewise, the names Toramāṇa and Mihirkula are Iranian names as shown by Wesendonk.[97]

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93 H. W. Bailey, 'Hārahūṇa' *Festschrift Friedrich Weller*, (Weisbaden) 1954. pp. 12-22.

94 Robert Shafer, *Ethnography of Ancient India*, p. 134.

95 O. Pritsak, 'Orientierung und Farbsymbolik', *Sesculum*, Vol. V. 1954.

96 W.M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia, op. cit.*, p. 405. Ahmad Ali Kohzad is of the view that the language of the Hephthalites was akin to Pushto. [*Movement of peoples and Ideas from pre-historic Times to the Seventh Century in and from Afghanistan*, contributed to the Asian History Congress, New Delhi on 11-12-61]

97 O.G. von Wesendonk, 'Kūšan, Chioniten und Hephthaliten,' *Klio* (1933), p. 345. B. J. Stavisky, 'Notes on Gem Seals

continued on page 307

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Likewise, the names Grumbates, Bizano, Hozino, Akhshunwar Hozoro and Aspurabax are also Iranian.

That the Hūṇas had a script is manifest from the reference to *hūṇalipi*, in the *Lalitavistara*.[98] But Sung Yun states that the Hephthalites had no written characters.[99] However, on the coins of the Khionite-Hephthalites the legends are in a script, the characters of which are partly looped and elongated.[100] In this script the fragment of a manuscript was discovered by Sir Aurel Stein at Lu-lan in 1916, which has been studied by F.W. Thomas,[101] and two inscriptions have been found in Afghanistan.[102] There are also some fragmentary manuscripts in this script in Berlin.[103] This

continued from page 306

with Kuṣāṇa cursive inscriptions in the collection of the State Hermitage', *Journal of the Numismatic Society* Vol. 22 (1960) p. 102.

98 *Indian Antiquary* (1913), p. 226, Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde', *Bulletin de l'ecole Francaise d'extreme Orient*, Vol. IV (1904), pp. 575-579. In the *Lalitavistara* there is a list of 45 scripts in which Hūṇa-lipi figures at No. 23. The corresponding entries in the *Fo pen hing tsi king* of Jñānagupta, (587 A.D.) the *P'ou yao king* of Tchou Fa-hun (308 A.D.) and *Fang Kouang ta tchouang yen king* of Divākara (683 A.D.) are *Mo-na, Hiung-nu* and *Hou-na* respectively. A comparison of these entries shows that the author of the *Lalitavistara* understood the Hiung-nu by the word *hūṇa*. This author imagined a script for each country he knew. Hence this long list need not be literally interpreted and the reference to the Hūṇa script in it does not necessarily show that this author was familiar with some writing peculiar to the Hūṇas.

99 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* I, xci; Edouard Chavannes 'Voyage de Song Yun dans l' Uḍḍiyāna et le Gandhāra', *Bulletin de l' ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* (1930), p. 404.

100 Heinrich Junger, *Die Hephthalitische Munzinschriften* (Berlin) 1930.

101 F.W. Thomas, 'A Tokhari (?) MS', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (1944), pp. 1-3.

102 A.D.H. Bivar, 'The Hephthalite Inscriptions of Uruzgan', *Afghanistan* (1953), Vol. VIII, pp. 1-4; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954), pp. 112ff. The inscriptions are :

(1) Boo Ssaho Zooloo mihroziki
(2) Bo Ossaho Zoolomihrooo.

103 O. Hansen, 'Die Berliner Hephthaliten-Fragmente', *Klio*, (new series) (1951), pp. 41-69.

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is the Greek script of Bactriana of 24 letters with a special letter for ś which form the script of 25 letters prevalent in *T'u-ho-lo* or Tokharistan at the time of Hiuen T'sang.[104] This script was in use from Bactriana and the western Pamirs up to the frontiers of Seistan. In the north it met the Sogdian beyond the Oxus and in the south the Kharoṣṭhi script was its neighbour. This script was known as Tökhri or Tokharian and was known as such in the colophons of uighur works.[105]

The religion of the Hephthalites consisted of the worship of sky and fire as noted by Chinese writers. Hiuen T'sang describes the temples of their god Sun or Kshun in Zabulistan which was highly venerated in neighbouring areas. The details show that it was a shrine of Sūrya.[106] Toramāṇa and Mihirkula are known to have worshipped Brahmanical dieties, while Tarkhan Nizak was a zealous follower of Buddhism and reprimanded and beheaded the Buddhist chief priest of the Navavihāra (Nowbahar) monastery of Balkh, named Barmak, when he embraced Islam. In fact, the religion of Buddha mixed with the cult of Mithra in Afghanistan. In the art of Bamiyan Buddha has been dressed in the garb of Mithra and the representation of eight Buddhas recalls the eight Magas or Bhojakas, Mihira, Nikṣubhā, Rājñi, Daṇḍanāyaka, Pingala, Rājña, Strauṣa and Iśa Garumtat, who are the eight divine forces emanating from the body of the Sun-god.[107] This rapprochement is symbolic of the cultural synthesis that marked the domination of foreign tribes including the Hephthalites in the North-West.

Kalidāsa refers to a peculiar funerary custom of the Hūṇas when he states that the valour of Raghu expressed itself in the

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104 H.W. Bailey, "Ttaugara", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (1935), p. 892; Paul Pelliot, 'À propos du "Tokharien", *T'oung pao* (1936), p. 260 changing his former opinion expressed in 'Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 34 ff.

105 Paul Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Kouttchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 53; Sylvain Lévi. *Fragments de Textes Koutcheens*, pp. 5-7.

106 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, pp. 284-285.

107 A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les Antiquités Bouddhiques de Bamiyan, Memoires de le delegation archeologique Francaise en Afghanistan* (1928), Plate XXII ff.

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gored cheeks of their ladies.[108] We learn from Chinese sources that the T'u-kiue of Mongolia used to slash their faces with knives so that blood could be seen flowing with tears, whenever a man died.[109] This funerary custom is also noted among the Scythians by Herodotus (IV, 71). He observes that the people wounded their arms, faces and noses in honour of the dead. In fact, the nomads of Central Asia including the Scythians and Hūṇas had this custom of mourning the dead by wounding the faces with knives and letting blood flow with tears. The Hūṇas or Hephthālites having passed through the nomadic stage and living in close proximity with the Scythians shared this custom and Kālidāsa referred to it when he made a pointed remark on the wounded cheeks of the Hūṇa women on the occasion of the death of their husbands. This point is elaborately dealt with in the next study.

Archaeological and cultural data vouch for the differentiation of the Hiung-nu and the Hun-Hephthalites. In the Hunnic burials at Borovoe, Shipovo, Seelmann, Pokrovsk, Novogrigorevka, Shcherbataya, Kotlovina and Keszthely-Gath the tanged arrow-heads are of iron, cast in moulds and sharpened by rubbing on a stone. Nearly all the points are either triangular-bladed or triangular solid. The arrow-heads from the Kunala and Mohra-Moradu monasteries in Taxila are of still another type; they are four-bladed and barbed, with short shank and long tang. According to Marshall, they were used by the Hūṇas. The Hiung-nu, on the other hand, used bone points inspite of their knowledge of iron and bronze. In the fortified settlements at Ivolginsk near Ulan Ude on the lower Selenga only rhombic bone points are found in two types, one with a socket hole for the shaft tenon, the other with a leaf-shaped blade or the tang split lengthwise Hephthalite art was deeply influenced by Sassanian Persia. The Hiung-nu bronze plaques found in western Inner Mongolia and in Leang-shu have nothing in common with the metal work of the Huns.

The cultural data pertaining to the Hiung-nu and the Hūṇa-Hephthalites also bring out their differences. The Hiung-nu wore their hair in queues, the Attilanic Huns had it neatly chipped all round the head, the Huns of the sixth century cut it off in

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[108] Raghuvaṁśa IV, 68 कपोलपाटनादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम्।

[109] Stanislas Julien, 'Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue,' *Journal Asiatique* (1864), p. 332. "Ils se tailladent le visage avec un couteau, de sorte qu'on voit le sang couler avec les larmes."

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front back to the temples, leaving the part behind to hang down to a very great length and the Hephthalites shaved their heads. As regards marriage customs, the Chinese accounts lead us to believe that the sons of the first wife had precedence over those born of the wives whom their father married later. But the Hephthalites are known to have practised polyandry. Among them both the elder and the younger brother could marry one wife. In Tokharistan, Kapiśa, Bamiyan Zabulistan, ten, five, three or two brothers could marry one woman together. [For references see Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'The Ethnic name Hun', *op. cit.*, pp. 232-234].

The aforesaid study of the physical features, language, script, religion and customs of the Hephthalites clearly substantiates the view of R. Ghirshman, K. Enoki and Otto Maenchen-Helfen that the Hephthalites or Khionites were Indo-Europeans[110] rather than

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110 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp. 113 ff. K. Enoki, 'The Origin of the White Huns or Hephthalites,' *East and West*, Vol. VI, Part III, (Oct. 1955, pp. 231-237).

Enoki has shown that the Hephthalites were the indigenous people of Tokharistan. Their northern centre lay in that region to the west of Badakshan which Hiuen T'sang has called Hi-ma-to-lo or Himatala. This Hi-ma-to-lo is held to have been a corrupt form of the word Hephthal. There Sung-Yun paid a visit to the Hephthalite king in 519 A.D. Their southern capital was to the south of the present-day Kunduz at Ghur, which Procopius has called Gorgo and the Chinese writers have termed Hua (ancient pronunciation Ẓua, Khua). Enoki has refuted the view that the Hephthalites came into Tokharistan from the Altai regions. Had this been the case, the Hephthalites like the western Tou-K'iue would have established their capital near the Altai regions.

Enoki has observed that from the fourth to the eighth centuries of the Christian era many tribes of Central Asia began to assume the names of Hiung-nu, Hun, Khion, etc. The reason of this nomenclature was a desire of the peoples of Central Asia to connect themselves with the Hiung-nu, since their name and fame had spread throughout the whole of Central Asia in ancient times. As a matter of fact, the Hephthalites had no connection with the Hiung-nu. On this subject the views of Maenchen-Helfen have been quoted above. Enoki, however, distinguishes the Hephthalites from the Khionites. But the reasoning of Ghirshman on this point is more convincing.

continued on page 311

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Turks or Mongols, as held by other scholars.[111] In the first half of the fourth century A.D. they spread westwards along the Oxus and in the Steppes separating the Aral Sea from the Caspian Sea.

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continued from page 310

Recently the Russian archaeologist S. P. Tolstov held that the barbarians consisting of the Khionites-Hephthalites, who destroyed the Choresmian sites in the 4th-5th centuries A.D. were of Turkic origin. He bases his conclusion on the fact that the bones of the people found in the top layers of these sites have Mongoloid traits. But in the absence of any other cogent or convincing evidence this mere fact does not suffice to establish the Turkic origin of the Hephthalites. What certainty is there that the bones in question are definitely of the Hephthalites? How can it be ruled out as impossible that the Indo-European Hephthalites were not accompanied or followed by some Mongoloid peoples? In the history of Central Asia the phenomenon of the displacement of one tribe resulting in the movement of others is frequently met with. Thus, the view of Tolstov is not supported by any strong evidence. [S. P. Tolstov, *Ancient Khoresm and its Ties with India*, The Hindustan Times Weekly, March 3, 1957 p. 2].

111 H. Deguignes first identified the Hiung-nu of the Chinese records with the Huns of Europe. [*Histoire general des Huns, des Turcs, des Mongols et des autres Tartares*, 5 Vols. (1756-58) II pp. 1-124]. Edward Gibbon adopted and popularised this identification. (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* Vol. III p. 113). The Russian scholars N. A. Aristov and K. Inostrancsev drew on Chinese sources while identifying the Huns and the Hiung-nu. (Otto Maenchen-Helfen, 'Huns and Hiung-nu' *Byzantion* Vol. XVIII p. 245). Subsequently Friedrich Hirth arrived at the same conclusions on the basis of the same texts without referring to the articles of the said Russian scholars. [F. Hirth, 'Hunnenforschungen' *Keleti Szemle* (1901) pp. 81-91].

Paul Pelliot wrote. "Les noms de Hiong-nou, de Hun et de Hūṇa seraient-ils trois appellations absolument indépendantes l'une de l'autre ? Ce n'est pas á priori très vraisemblable." ['À propos des Comans', *Journal Asiatique* (1920) p. 141]. At another place he writes : "Mongols également out été, selon moi, leur cousins les Huns blancs ou Hephthalites qui, vers l'an 500 vinrent s'abattre sur L'Afghanistan et exercèrent de terribles ravages dans le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde" (*La Haute Asie*, p. 12). According to the latter position, the Hephthalites were different from the Hiung-nu, who, according to Pelliot, were Turks. J. Marquart also

continued on page 312

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One of their tribes, the *Chol* settled to the east of the Caspian sea, another called *Kaśidi* reached the region of Herat and a third known as *Zabul* occupied the area of Gazni. They pushed

continued from page 311

holds the same view. ('ber Üdas Volkstum der Komanen' *Ostturkische Dialektstudien*, Göttingen 1920). René Grousset calls the Hephthalites "horde mongole descendue de l'Asie Centrale" [*Histoire de l'Asie* (Paris 1950), p. 55]. On the basis of these views P. C. Bagchi has tried to prove that the Hephthalites were Turks. (P. C. Bagchi, *India and Central Asia* p. 9). On the Huns two important papers have recently appeared in German. [O. Pritsak 'Kultur und Sprache der Humen', *Cyzevskyj-Festschrift* (1954); Pavel Poucha, 'Mongolische Miszellen, (zum Hunne nproblem]', *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. I, Part IV (1955 pp. 287-291). These studies relate to the Hiung-nu but some interesting observations have also been made in them about the Hephthalites. The most significant fact to which Poucha has drawn our attention is that the name of the famous conqueror of Europe Attila bears affinity to the Tokharian word *atar* and the old German word *adal* meaning 'hero' or a 'man'. This shows that Altheim's attempt to etymologize Attila as *Ata-la*, *Ata* in Turkish meaning 'father' and *la* being a substitute of *cim* meaning 'mine', is incorrect and speculative (*Attila und die Hunnen* p. 207 note 34). K.H. Menges has studied some 44 terms from the *Slovo o Polku Igoreve*, the old Slav epic. Among these words 1 is a Slavic translation of the ethnikon Quman, 2 are Slavic, 21 are either Turkish or introduced via a Turkish filter, 2 are Mongol, 10 are general Altaic, 3 are Chavaś. One 'general Altaic' form is (Khun) designating *Hungarian*. On the basis of these linguistic data it is suggested that Altaic tribes, presumably fragments of the Western Hiung-nu merged with Uralic tribes in Siberia and gave rise to the leading elements of the European Huns.]K.H. Menges, 'Oriental Elements in the Vocabulary of the oldest Russian Epos, The Igor Tale, *Supplement* to *Word* Vol. VII (1951); 'Altaic Elements in the Proto-Bulgarian Inscriptions' *Byzantion* XXI (1951) pp. 85-118].

Maenchen-Helfen does not subscribe to the linguistic arguments advanced about the racial affinities of the Huns. He observes:

"The only Hunnish word, the meaning of which is known, namely *strava* (funeral) has been explained as Slavic, Gothic and Turkish. Those proper names which are not simply Gothic resist all attempts to etymologize them. It has been suggested that the Huns spoke an early form of

continued on page 313

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further west. From the time of the emperor Arcadius they were the neighbours of the Ibers and aided a certain Farsman to get their throne: Between 350 and 358 they forced the emperor Constance to make friends with the Sassanids. In 363 emperor Jovian entered into a treaty with Shahpuhr II an important clause of which bound the Romans and Persians to defend together the passes of the Caucasus against the barbarians. From that year up to the reign of Leon I (468) Rome paid the contribution for the defence of these passes and the maintenance of garrisons and fortifications.[112]

The beginning of the reign of Shāhpuhr II in 309 A.D. was marked by the revolt of the Turks, of Rome and of India, according

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continued from page 312

Chuvash. It may be so. In view of our complete ignorance of the language of the Huns no data to prove that theory could possibly be adduced." ['Huns and Hiung-nu' *Byzantion* Vol. XVIII (1944-45) p. 225]. As shown above, Maenchen-Helfen holds that the Huns were different from the Hiung-nu and belonged to the Indo-European rather than a Turkish race. Altheim has recently reiterated his views in the first volumes of his magnum opus entitled *Geschichte der Hunnen* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co. 1959). He now identifies the To-pa tribe *qu*, which was in Shan-si in about 300, the *Xwn* of the ancient Sogdian letters, the conquerors of Loyang in 311, the *qun*, *hūn*, *kidāra*, who made themselves masters of Sogdiana after 356 and the Hunni who crossed the Don in 374-375. This view has been ably controverted by O. Maenchen-Helfen again in *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol. 79 (1959) pp. 295-298. Summing up his view he has observed: "Like most of the Eurasian nomads the Hephthalites absorbed broken men from other tribes, splinters of other groups, conquered enemies and deserters from everywhere. They were anything but a culturally well-integrated people." (*Ibid* p. 297). This explains why we have different, often contradictory, data about them. For instance, Tabari states that the Hephthalites have no bows and fight only with swords, whereas Zacharias of Mitylene observes that they live by their bows and swords and Joshua the Stylite remarks that they fight with maces. The Chinese writer Li Yen-shou wrote about the capital of the Ye-tha tribes but a few lines later noted that "they have no villages and live in tents."

O. Maenchen-Helfen is definite, however, that the substratum of the Hephthalites was Indo-European or Iranian.

112 Otto Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt*, band IV, p. 275 et seq.

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to the Persian version of the annals of Tabari.[113] Marquart is right in suggesting that there is a reference to the rising of the Kuṣāṇas in this remark.[114] After putting his house in order Shāhpuhr turned his attention towards Armenia and in 336 sent an ambassador to the court of emperor Constantine to demand the provinces ceded by his grand-father Narse in 297. On the latter's reluctance war flared up which lasted with varying results up to the sixties of that century. In the fifties there was a lull in it and Shahpuhr found time to liquidate the Kuṣāṇas. It was perhaps in token of his triumph over the Kuṣāṇas that he struck coins bearing his name in Tokharian characters. The weakening of the Kuṣāṇas resulted in the irruption of other nomadic tribes in the Oxus Valley. Among these tribes the Khionites or Hūṇas figure prominently. Hence in 356 Shāhpuhr had to contend with them and two years later made an alliance with them and the Gelanes. The campaign of Shāhpuhr cowed down the Khionites into joining his forces in the battle of Amida against the Romans in 359. Ammianus Marcellinus states that the Khionites who fought on the side of Shāhpuhr were led by their king Grumbates. The status of the Khionites was that of nomadic mercenaries who were impressed by severe campaign and allured by handsome emoluments to enter the lists against the Romans. The successor of Grumbates was most probably Kutulphe whose bust is dressed in a crown resembling that of Shāhpuhr II on his coins. Kutulphe was followed by Hephtal or Hephthal whose headdress is also similar to that of Shāhpuhr II and who, as such, flourished under him. These kings acknowledged the suzerainty of Shāhpuhr and settled along the *limes* of his empire as his vassals like the Germanic tribes on the frontiers of the Roman empire. We learn from the *T'ung-t'ien* of the Chinese writer Tu-Yu that the empire of the Hephthalites was established eighty or ninety years prior to the reign of emperor Wen-Ch'eng (457-465 A.D.) of the Toba Wei dynasty. This shows that the foundation of the Hephthalite kingdom was laid in 366-376 A.D. under Kutulphe or Hephthal during the lifetime of Shāhpuhr I.

Shāhpuhr II was succeeded by Ardashīr II (379-383) who was perhaps his brother. He was followed by the son of Shāhpuhr II, Shahpuhr III, under whom the Khionite-Hephthalites continued to

[113] Zotenberg, *Annales de Tabari* Vol. II, p. 91.

[114] J. Marquart, *Erānśahr*, p. 50.

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send reinforcements to the Imperial armies in times of war. Just before 384 A.D. they invaded Mesopotamia under Shāhpuhr III and pushed up to Edessa following which the emperor sent an embassy led by Stilicon to the Persian court for discussing the question of the partition of Armenia. The *Acts of the Martyrs of Edessa* describe these invaders as *Hunni quidam Ephtalitae, Parsarum finitimi et qui ad solem habitabant Orientem.* It is for the first time that the Hephthalites are mentioned in western sources. The name of the reigning king Hephthal gave them this name, as seen above.

In the eighties of the fourth century a great commotion was caused by the irruption of nomadic tribes on the Caucasian frontiers. In the south-east also the Kuṣāṇas raised their heads and tried to expand their realm. Their invasion of India under Rāmagupta shows that they had developed their power in this period. In these disturbances the Hephthalites also got an opportunity to strengthen their position and extend their domination over the neighbouring regions. While the effort and attention of Bahram IV, who ascended the Sassanid throne in 388, were rivetted on the western provinces, the Hephthalites entrenched their hold in Bactriana and the South at the cost of the Kuṣāṇas. Towards the end of the reign of Bahram IV the Hephthalites had grown in power and prestige in Bactriana and the Kuṣāṇas were eclipsed. But they did not break away from the Sassanid empire and kept a semblance of vassalage to it, while enjoying undisputed supremacy in the Oxus Valley. This rise of the Hephthalites was due to the energetic leadership of Hephthal I.

With the accession of Yazdegird in 399 the situation seems to have undergone a change. In the first two decades of the fifth century we do not hear anything about the Hephthalites. There is a break in their coinage from the accession of Yazdegird I (cir. 400) to the end of the reign of Yazdegird II (cir. 450). The rise of the Mongol horde of the Ju-juan, disparagingly called by the Chinese, Juan-juan, in the Steppes of Central Asia gave a rude shock to the nascent power of the Hephthalites. In 402 A.D. the Juan-juan chief Shö-luen subjugated the rival horde of Kao-kiu who were the ancestors of the Tölash and Üighur Turks and inhabited the region of Kobdo and Urungu. In a very short time the came to dominate they whole of northern Gobi from Leao-ho on the Korean frontier in the east to Irtysh and the approaches of Qarashahr in the west. The Hephthalites were hard-hit by the

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pressure of the Juan-juan. It is also likely that Yazdegird I tried to stem their advance in the south-west. His assassination at Gurgān, where the Sassanids had established their military base for fighting with the Hephthalites, shows that he was campaigning against them. It is also not unlikely that his assassination was encompassed by the Hephthalites who tried to throw the thraldom of the Sassanids soon afterwards. But the next Sassanid monarch Bahram V, known as Bahram Gor (421-438), was equal to the occasion and nipped the insurrection in the bud by inflicting a crushing defeat on the Hephthalites at Kušmehan near Merv.[115] After sweeping off the Hephthalites from Bactriana Bahram Gor appointed his brother Narse as the governor of that country with the title of *Marzban-i-Kūšān* and established his headquarters at Balkh. Not content with this victory, the Sassanid monarch crossed the Oxus and conquered the country beyond the river and forced its people to pay tribute.

In 438 Yazdegird II came to the throne of Iran. He kept the Khionite tribes in check during the earlier part of his reign and led a sweeping expedition against the Chöls to the north of Gurgān in the Steppes of Dahistan.[116] From the fourth year of his reign to the eleventh he fought against those people and was obliged to found a city named Śahristān-i-Yazdegird to serve as the base of operations. After the victory over the Chöls he turned against the Hephthalites in the twelfth year of his reign in 449-450 and their king gave way enabling the Sassanid forces to penetrate into their country, storm the towns, pillage the land and return with a rich booty. But just on the morrow of his triumph the raids and razzias of the Hephthalites began to occur in the eastern provinces of the empire. Hence Yazdegird II was compelled to renew the compaign in 453-454. Simultaneously trouble broke out in the western provinces of the empire adjoining Caucasia and a rebellion flared up in a large number of the imperial troops that were composed of the Armenians and the Alains due to the Sassanid policy of persecuting the Christians. Just after quelling this revolt Yazdegird II marched against the Hephthalites, but due to the

[115] T. Nöldeke (*Tabari*, p. 99), held that the adversaries of Bahram Gor were the Hephthalites while J. Marquart (*Erānśahr*, p. 52) thought that they were the Khionites. But as the Hephthalites and Khionites were one and the same people this controversy bears no fruit.

[116] J. Marquart, *Erānśahr*, p. 56.

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treachery of a counsellor, who hailed from the family of Hailandurk, he suffered a heavy defeat, the first that the Hephthalites inflicted on the Sassanids. Soon after this triumph the Hephthalites moved southwards and crossing the Indus swooped upon the Gupta empire in 455 A D. But Skandagupta beat them back, as we gather from the Bhitari inscription.[117] The chief under whom the Hephthalites scored these successes was most probably Hephthal II whose coins show him wearing a headdress resembling that of Yazdegird II. His headquarters was at Balkh as the reverse of his coins bear the legend BAXΛO (Balkh) in Tokharian at the right and the letter *ph* in Pehlvi on the left which stands for the name of that city.[118] In 456 we find Yazdegird continuing the struggle against the Hephthalites. In that year the first embassy of the Hephthalites reached the court of the Wei in China. This was the first sign of the independence of the Hephthalites. The result of these movements of the Hephthalites was that one of their branches called Tsavla or Jaula or Zabul occupied the regions of Gazni beyond the Indus.

The death of Yazdegird II in 457 gave a signal to the civil war between Peroz and Hormizd. The former took shelter among the Hephthalites and with their assistance dethroned his brother and became emperor. The contemporary Hephthalite king of Peroz was Akun. Some time later hostilities broke out between these two kings. The Sassanid monarch sustained a defeat, undertook to pay tribute to his rival and sent his son Kawadh as a hostage to him. The coins paid in tribute by Peroz to Akun have the name of the latter restruck on them. Henceforth the kingdom of the Hephthalites became independent of the Sassanids, as the novelties on his coins indicate. This period was marked by an unprecedented rise of the power and prestige of the Hephthalites. In 477 A.D. they conquered Gandhāra, in 479 A.D. occupied Sogdiana and in the closing years of that century took possession of Turfan and Qarashahr. In 484 again Peroz attacked the Hephthalites but was defeated and killed. The conqueror of Peroz was Hephthal III (the Ye-ta-i-li-to of Leang-shu) who succeeded Akun and whose name figures on the restruck coins of Balash, Kawadh and Khusrau I.

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117 J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, No. 13, verse 8. Hūṇairyasya samāgatasya samare dorbhyām dharā kampitā.

118 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, pp. 11-12.

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Menaced by an anti-Hephthalite group of nobles, led by Nakhver Gushnaspdādh, Kawadh took refuge among the Hephthalites, married the daughter of their king and dethroned his borther Zāmāsp with their assistance and recovered the throne. During the rest of his reign he was on friendly terms with the Hephthalites who constantly helped him against the Romans in the west and the nomads of the north.

After Kawadh Khusrau I Anusharvan (531-578) kept good relations with the Hephthalites in the beginning of his reign. In 551 he is said to have employed the White Huns, the Chöls, according to Christensen,[119] as mercenaries against the Romans. But in 549 he refused to pay tribute to the Hephthalites and between 563 and 567 their empire crumbled under his attacks in the west and those of the Western T'u-kiue in the east. Their territories on the western bank of the Oxus were seized by the Sassanids and those along its eastern bank were occupied by the Turks so that the Oxus formed the boundary between the Sassanid and the T'u-Kiue empires. According to Tabari, the empire of Khusrau extended over the provinces of Sind, Bost, ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia), Zabulistan, Tukharistan, Dardistan and Kabulistan, which were ceded by the Hephthalite king, who is called Ghatfar by Firdausi and Katulphe by Theophanus of Byzantium.[120]

After the conquest of the Hephthalite empire some of their princes were allowed to rule as the vassals of the Turks over small principalities. Sometimes these princes asserted themselves but were soon crushed. In 588-589, for instance, they occupied Bādghis and Herat at the instigation of the Turks but were repelled by the Spahbād of Khurāssan, Bahram Cōbīn who wrested Balkh and crossed the Oxus and got a victory over the king *Mazk'il'k* who is identified by Marquart with the qughan Sho-lo-hu.[121] Among these later Hephthalite princes the name of Tarkhan Nizak deserves special attention. He played an important part in the events of the age of the Arab conquest of Bactriana. But after him the rule of the Hephthalites came to an end and they merged in the population of Bukhara and Samarqand according to al-Mas'ūdi.[122]

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[119] A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, p. 364.

[120] E. Drouin, *Memoire sur les Huns Hephthalites*, p. 285.

[121] J. Marqurt, *Erānśahr*, p. 65.

[122] Abu'l Hasan 'Ali bin Al Husain al Mas'udi, *Kitāb Muruj adh-Dhahāb wa M'ādin al-Fauhār*, Vol. II, p. 195.

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We have seen that in 455-456 the Hephthalites appeared on the Indus and crossed into India. Though driven away by Skandagupta and defeated probably by the *Jartas*, the Jartikas or Jats of the Sialkot region, as we learn from a remark of Chandragomin *ajayaj-jarto Hūṇān*, they settled in Zabulistan. Their kingdom lay along the river of Gazni and the lake Āb-i-Istādā. To the north this kingdom extended up to the valley of the Kabul, in the east it reached the mountain range of Sulaiman, in the west it touched the basin of the Helmund and in the south it met the mountainous regions which have been regarded as the cradle of the Afghans. Hiuen T'sang states that the king of Hi-ma-to-lo in the country of To-ho-lo (Tokharistan) marched against the Kritiyas of Kaśmīra, who had banished Buddhism, and occupied their country.[123] Marquart is right in identifying this king with Hephthal and holding that he conquered Kaśmīra at the same time as Gandhāra. Sung-Yun, who visited Gandhāra in 520 A.D. writes as follows: "It was formerly called the country of Ye-po-lo. This is the country which the Ye-thās destroyed, and afterwards set up Lae-lih to be king over the country; since which event two generations have passed."[124] Chavannes renders this passage as follows: "Le Gandhare était appelé primitivement Che-po-lo, quand'il eut été vaincu per les ye-ta, on y placa comme roi un Tch'e le; depuis que (cette dynastie) gouverne le royaume deux générations se sont déjá ecouleé."[125] The account of Sung Yun is reproduced in the *Pei-she*: "(Le Gandhare) était appelé primitivement Che-po-lo, il fut détruit par les Hephthalites, et c'est alors qu'il changea de nom. Le roi était á l'origine un Tch'e-le; il gouverne ce pays depuis déja deux générations."[126] Thus, we observe that the reading tch'e-le rather than lae-lih is correct. It signifies Tsavla or Jauvla, a name by which Toramāṇa designated himself in the Kura inscription, (*rājādhirājamahārāja-toramāṇa-śāhījau(bla)*.[127] and Mihirkula is known in the Uruzagan inscriptions (*Boo ssaho zooloo mihroziki*)[128] From the remark of Sung Yun it is clear that the Jauvla kingdom

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123 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. 156-157.

124 *Ibid.*, Vol. I. p. c.

125 E. Chavannes, *Voyage de Song-Yun*, *op. cit.* p. 416.

126 E. Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou- Kiue Occidentaux*, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

127 Ed. by George Bühler, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. I, p. 239.

128 Ed. A. D. H. Bivar, see f. n. No. 102 above.

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had been founded on the other side of the Indus in Gandhāra and Gaznā two generations ago. We know that the father of Mihirkula was Toramāṇa. Coins, however, reveal the existence of another king Rāmāṇilā who called himself Ramanila, king of Zabul, and whose bust faces the left instead of right on his coins in token of his independent status. Ghirshman[129] identifies this king with Toramāṇa but gives no reason in support of his view. It is likely that Rāmāṇilā was a predecessor of Toramāṇa and founded the Jauvla empire while the Hephthalites scored victories over the Sassanids and swept into India under Hepthal II. It is also not unlikely that Rāmāṇila belonged to a family that was different from that of Toramāṇa.

Thus, we observe that after their defeat in India the Jauvlas settled in Kabul and Gazni and founded an empire[130] on the other side of the Indus which reached its zenith under Toramāṇa (cir. 511-515 A.D.) and Mihirkula (cir. 515-544). The activities of these kings are fairy well-known to the students of Indian history. The *Kuvalayamālā* (cir. 778 A.D.) refers to the camp of Torarāya (Toramāṇa) on the bank of the Candrabhāgā and the Jaina writer Somadeva (10th cent. A.D.) mentions a tradition that a Hūṇa king conquered Citrakūṭa. In an inscription found at Eran in Malwa a chief named Dhanyaviṣṇu is stated to be owing allegiance to Toramāṇa and in some seals discovered at Kauśāmbi near Allahabad there is a reference to the coming of the Hūṇas to the middle country. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* gives details of the campaign of Mihirkula in the south upto Ceylon and Hiuen T'sang and the Buddhist text *Arya-mañjūśrī-mūla-kalpa* describe his invasion in eastern India. We learn from the *Caturbhāṇī*, a work of the later Gupta period, that the Hūṇas had become very prominent at places like Ujjayinī. In the *Pādatāḍitakam* of Śyāmilaka, included in this collection, the Viṭa finding Bhaṭṭi Maghavarman, the son of the

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129 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites* p. 35.

130 R. Ghirshman, (*ibid*, p. 32), holds that the Hephthalites conquered the state of Zabul in the fourth century A.D. during the reign of Shāhpuhr II. He bases his argument on the fact that a coin bearing the legend SAHO ZAB "of the king of Zab" and showing the king wearing a crown like that of Bahram IV (338-399) has been found at Setq-ābad. But this coin does not bear the name of the king which shows that he was not a ruler of eminence but was some ordinary satrap or officer. The remark of Sung Yun is too explicit to admit of any other view.

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commander Senaka, opening the door and entering the house of somebody, addresses him as follows:

aye kasya khalvayam-ahūṇo hūṇa-maṇḍana-maṇḍitaḥ āryaghoṭakaḥ Pāṭaliputrakāyāḥ Puṣpadāsyā bhavanadvāram-āviṣkaroti.

(Nirvarṇya) Ā jñātam ebhirihābadha-śvetakāṣṭa-karṇikā-prahasita - kapo'a - deśair - baddha - karair - asajjamapyasakṛt- sajjamiti-sāñjali-prativādibhir-lāṭa-ḍiṇḍibhiḥ sūcitaḥ senāpateḥ senakasya-apatyaratna-bhaṭṭimaghavarmā bhaviṣyati. Tanna śakyamenamana-bhibhāṣyātikramitum. (*Caturbhāṇī*, ed. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi, p. 15. ed. V. S. Agrawala and Moticandra pp. 181-182)

It is clear from this quotation that at Ujjayinī the Hūṇas had become so powerful and predominant that they could break open the house of anybody and enter it. Not only this, but the local people could also take the law into their hands in the garb of the Hūṇas. In this connection it is interesting that white wooden earings were hanging on the cheeks of the followers and retainers of Bhaṭṭimaghavarman. The far-reaching conquests of the Hūṇas were short-lived and Bālāditya in the east and Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana in the west inflicted crushing defeats on Mihirakula and expelled him from the interior of India.

The defeat and death of Mihirakula marked the end of the palmy days of the Jauvla kingdom. The Turks pressed into Gandhāra and drove the Hephthalites from there. One of the vassals of the Turks was a king named Napki whose coins have been found by J. Hackin in the sanctuary of Khair Khānē near Kabul.[131] At the time of Hiuen T'sang a Turkish prince was ruling at Kabul. But it appears that in Zabulistan the Jauvla dynasty continued to reign. The Chinese pilgrim noted that the king of that country had succeeded to a long line of kings and was a follower of the cult of Sun or Ksun.[132] To that dynasty can be assigned the coins of king Vakbha, the legends of which reveal a comprehensive Indianisation[133] and side by side prove that the

131 J. Hackin, 'Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan,' *Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 289; see also M. F. C. Martin, 'Some Coins of the Napki Malka class restruck by Sahi Tigin,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement*, Vol. 46, p. 6.

132 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records*, Vol. II, pp. 285-286.

133 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hephtalites*, p. 45.

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old Khionite titles were still in use. It is significant that the Arabs who declared war on Zabulistan under 'Abdur-Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn al Ashas in 33 Hijri (654-655 A.D.), ten years after the visit of Hiuen T'sang, mention only Zunbil or Zambil as the title of the king and do not associate any Turkish title with him.[134] In spite of the repeated attacks of the Arabs, the dynasty of Zambil (the name by which the Arabs designated the Jauvlas) continued to conserve their independence. It was with the object of soliciting the assistance of China against the Arabs that they sent repeated embassies to the Chinese court up to the year 755. In 870-871, however, Y'āqūb-bin-Laiṯ, the Saffarid, overthrew the Khionite state and captured its last ruler Peroz bin Kabk. In the Persian work *Jām'a al-hikāyāt wa lawām'a al-rawāyāt* composed by Sadiruddin Mohammad Aufi at Bukhāra in 1232 A.D., a manuscript of which is availale in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, there is an interesting episode of the encounter of Y'āqūb-bin Laiṯ with Zambil. When Y'āqūb found that his army was no match for that of Zambil and could not vanquish him on the field of battle, he invited the latter to meet him as a friend. At the meeting he resorted to *taqīa* and treacherously worsted Zambil. Thereafter a governor was appointed to rule over Zabulistan. Thus ended the Jauvla dynasty of Gazni but in other forms it continued to play an important part in Indian history. An inscription of king Mahendrapāla I (893-912) refers to the Tomara chiefs among whom figured a Jauvla (Jāula), a name reminding us of the title of Toramāṇa.[135] In this way the links of the Tomaras, Gurjaras and Hūṇas continued to exist.[136]

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134 J. Marquart and J. J. De Groot, 'Das Reich Zabul und der Gott Zun Vom 6 bis 9 Jahrhundert,' *Festschrift Sachau* (Berlin, 1915), p. 267 ff. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (5th ed.) p.208

135 Louis de la Vallée-Poussin, *Dynasties et histoire de l'Inde depuis Kaniṣka jusqu'aux invasions Mussulmans*, p. 123.

136 P. C. Bagchi has recently expressed the view that *gurjara* is a transcription of *wu-sun*. According to him, the ancient pronunciation of *Wu sun* was *gu sur* or *gu zur* (*India and Central Asia* p. 139). Quoting de Groot, Maenchen-Helfen has observed that *wu-sun* means the 'grandson of a raven.' Among some tribes of Central Asia there is a popular tradition that once when their ancestor was in distress a raven had brought meat to him and saved his life. (Otto Maenchen-Helfen, *The Yueh-Chih Problem Reaxamined*, *JAOS*, *op. cit.*, p. 74, f. n. 22).

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5. *Considerations about the date of Kālidāsa*

This brief outline of the history of the Khionite-Hephthalites provides the background of the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa. In order to determine the date, to which this reference can be precisely assigned, it is necessary to bear in mind the standpoint of Kālidāsa. The poet begins his account of the north-western campaign of Raghu by stating that he set out to conquer the Persians (Pārasikas).[137] This shows that the primary object of Raghu was to crush the Pārasikas. But after defeating them somewhere near Begram and conquering the adjoining regions it became imperative for the conqueror to proceed right north[137] and pounce upon the Hūṇas on the Oxus.[138] This proves that the association of the Hūṇas with the Pārasikas was so close that without conquering them the victory over the latter was quite meaningless.[139] But though the

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137 *Raghuvaṁśa*, VI, 61.

पारसीकाँस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूँस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ।।

138 *Ibid.*, IV, 66.

ततः प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ।।

For a detailed discussion of the geography of the North-West as described by Kālidāsa, see the next study.

139 An indication of the site of the battle of Raghu with the Pārasikas is given in the following verse of the *Raguvaṁśa*:

विनयन्ते स्म तद्योधा मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।
आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ।।
(*Raghu.* IV, 65)

The warriors are stated to have shaken off the exhaustion of the victorious war with the Pārasikas by drinking wine in vineyards covered with choice skins. The best grapes were produced in Kāpiśi in ancient times and the wine distilled from them was far-famed. The grapes of Kāpiśi were known as *kāpiśāyanī drākṣā* and their wine *kāpiśāyanam madhu*. Kauṭilya refers to two varieties of it : *kāpiśāyana* produced in the region around Kāpiśi in north Afghanistan from green grapes and *hārahūraka*, manufactured in the valley of Harahvaiti or Arghandah from black grapes which are called *harahūrā* (*Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya II, 25 ed. R. Shamshastri, p. 120. mṛdvīkāraso madhu. Tasya svadeśo

continued on page 324

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Hūṇas were allied to the Pārasīkas they were a people of some political standing and strategic importance which merited the pointed mention of them by a poet like Kālidāsa in the account of the campaign of a conqueror like Raghu. An insignificant tribe could not have been mentioned by Kālidāsa, as the trend of his description shows. Thus, we have to specify the period in which the

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continued from page 323

vyākhyānam kāpiśāyanam hārahūrakamiti. Pāṇini also refers to the wine of Kāpiśi in his Sūtra IV, 2, 29 Kāpiśyāḥ śphak. Curiously enough, the ceramic found in the third stratum at Begram reveals a motif relating to the manufacture of wine. This motif shows a jar encased in two branches of vine from the ends of which bunches of grapes hang and on which two birds are perched. From the mouth of the jar emerges a stalk surmounted by a triangular object. This motif represents the equipment of manufacturing wine, jar, presser and filter. The triangular object placed on the presser is a conical filtering basket which the Romans called *colum*. The scene depicted here recalls the paintings found at Pompeii. R. Ghirshman, (*Bégram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 69-70, Plate XIX. Hackin, Carl, Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* (Paris 1959) p. 89). This motif proves that Begram was the home of grapes and the centre of the manufacture of its wine in ancient times. Besides this, a unique plaster medallion depicts the leaves and bunches of grapes. (*Nouvelles recherches archéologique en Bégram, études comparatives* (Paris, 1954), Vol I, p. 143; Vol II, figures 201). It is likely that the wine of Kāpiśi—Begram was exported and stored in large quantities in the ancient period. Recently a Russian archaeological expedition led by M. E. Masson has discovered a large wine cellar in the remains of the Parthian capital at Nisa eleven miles north-west of Ashkhabad, the modern capital of Turkmenia. In that wine cellar nearly 2,00,000 litres of wine were once kept in clay pitchers. The writings in ink on pieces of broken pitchers have revealed that they were mainly connected with the delivery of wine to the big slave-owing palace and temple economy of Nisa. [M. E. Masson, 'New Light on Ancient Civilization', *Soviet Union* (December, 1954), pp. 28-29]; A. L. Mongait, *Archaeology in the U. S. S. R.* pp. 255-259.

The reference to the wine of grapes in the Raghuvaṁśa proves that the poet had the regions of Begram-Kāpiśi in mind while describing the war of Raghu with the Pārasīkas. For a detailed discussion of this and allied problems see the next chapter.

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Hūṇas grew in political and military importance on the Oxus and side by side maintained their association and subservience to the Sassanids.

It is manifest that the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus could not have been made in or after 455-456 A.D., since in that year the Hūṇas appeared on the Indus and established their kingdom in Zabulistan. A writer of that period should have mentioned the Hūṇas on the Indus rather than the Oxus. Similarly, it is unlikely that this reference could have been made in the first half of the fifth century for in that period the Hūṇas were worsted and vanquished by the Juan-juan and the Sassainds and their relation with the Persian empire was that of war and hostility. We have seen that in the first two decades of the fifth century the Hephthalites suffered a serious setback as the absence of their coins in this period shows. In about 420 A.D. they were invaded by Yazdegird and soon afterwards liquidated by Bahram Gor. Bahram's successor Yazdegird II defeated them in 442-450 and renewed the war against them in 453-454. Thus, we observe that in the first half of the fifth century the Hūṇas were not an important power in the Oxus Valley and could not deserve the notice of Kālidāsa. Besides this, their relations with the Sassanids were not good and their association with them had broken down. Hence Kālidāsa's account, which implies that association, cannot belong to this period.

We are, thus, driven to place Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūṇas between 356, when they first appeared on the threshold of the Sassanid empire, and 399, the date of the accession of Yazdegird I. During the reign of Shahpuhr II the Knionite-Hephthalites were a floating mass of mercenaries reinforcing the ranks of the Sassanids rather than a strongly settled power on the Oxus. Though under Kutulphe and Hephthal the Hūṇas had begun to rise, they were no better than mercenary nomads in this period. The reference to the founding of the Hephthalite kingdom about 366-376 A. D. means no more than the growth of their importance in association with the Sassanids.

Under Ardashīr II and Shahpuhr III also the Khionite—Hephthalites were mercenaries serving in the Sassanid army and participating as such in the invasion of Mesopotamia in 384 A.D. It was towards the closing years of his reign and the beginning of that of his successor Bahram IV that the Hephthalites firmly settled

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in Bactriana and their power considerably increased. It has been noted above that the *Acts of the Martyrs of Edessa* notes them under the name Hephtalite in 384 for the first time. The opportunity of the Hephthalites arose from the preoccupation of Bahram IV with the disturbances of the Caucasian frontiers. But they could not flout the Sassanids and continued to owe allegiance to them. Thus, the political and military importance of the Hephthalites and their close association with the Sassanids were the dominant features of the history of Bactriana in the last decade of the fourth century A. D. It is, therefore, precisely in this decade that the reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus in the Raghuvaṁśa of Kālidāsa can be dated.

I have proposed elsewhere[140] to equate the account of the north-western conquest of Raghu given by Kālidāsa with the reference to the conquest of the Bactrians (Vālhīkas) after crossing the seven tributaries of the Indus—Kabul, Swat, Sindh, Jhelum, Chenab, Ravi and Beas[141]—by a king named Candra in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription.[142] The consensus of scholarly opinion is now in favour of identifying this Candra with Candragupta II Vikramāditya. Hence it follows that Candragupta II led an expedition in Bactriana in order to remove the menace of the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and Pārasīkas root and branch. Recent archaeological researches have established that the third city at Begram was deserted by its inhabitants in the closing decades of the fourth century A. D. The people fled from the city under the pressure of invaders leaving their hearth and home intact. Thereafter life never returned to the city and time covered its empty remains with the sheet of sand and dust.[143] About the same time

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[140] Buddha Prakash, 'The Cental Asiatic Expedition of Candragupta Vikramāditya', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters, 1947, pp. 31-39.

[141] J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, p. 81.

[142] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, No. 32, lines1-2.

यस्योद्वर्त्तयतः प्रतीपमुरसा शत्रून् समेत्यागतान् ।
वङ्गेष्वाहववर्तिनोऽभिलिखिता खड्गेन कीर्तिर्भुजे ।।
तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिकाः ।
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ।।

[143] *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan*, p. 12

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were abandoned the cities of Hopian near Charikar, Eskandria near Sarai-i-Khwaja and Tir-Andaz on the Kabul-Qandhar route. It is certain that the desertion of these cities was the result of some great invasion. The silver coins of the Sassanid kings at Tepe Maranjan near Begram end with Shahpuhr III (383—388 A. D.). There we have 338 coins of Shahpuhr II, 24 of Ardashīr II and II of Shahpuhr III.[144] This shows that after 388 A. D. this region was lost to the Sassanids. Most probably this invasion was that of Candragupta Vikramāditya mentioned in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription. We do not know of any campaign of any other king in these regions in this period. Ardashīr II, Shahpuhr III and Bahram IV were weak monarchs and the latter two were too busy in the West to divert their attention to these regions. Moreover, there was no necessity for them to campaign in these countries for they were already subordinate to them. There is also no evidence of any invasion of nomadic peoples from Cntral Asia in this period. Likewise, there is nothing to suggest that the Khionite-Hephthalites conquered them at that time. On the contrary, we have the definite remark of Sung Yun that they occupied Gandhāra two generations before his time i.e., about 455 A.D. In that period these people were entrenching their hold over the Bactrian regions, as seen above. Hence the conclusion becomes irresistible that the ruin and desertion of these cities resulted from the invasion of Candragupta Vikramāditya. This view is strengthened by the fact that the art of Afghanistan passed through the silver-plater of Gupta influences in that period. At Fandukistan this Gupta strain is most pronounced. The use of diaphanous drapery, the scarf called *udarabandha*, bracelets (*keyura*) and ornaments of the crocodile shape (*makara*) are manifestly the contributions of Gupta art. The Buddha figure, found there, having well-proportioned body, protruding chest, supple form and elegant features is of purely Gupta style in conception and execution, as shown by Hackin. Likewise, the feminine figures with harmonious forms, moderate height, round shoulders and full breasts are clearly Indian. Their dress and deportment consisting of the collars and necklaces of pearls, having long pendants strung with pearls, ending in round lobes, pearl bracelets of double orbs, light scarfs on shoulders and

144 This is in keeping with the fact that the encounter of Raghu with the Pārasikas took place in the land of wine and vineyards, i. e., Bēgram-Kāpiśi, as seen above.

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dhoti on the lower part of the body are of Gupta style. Of special interest are the medium-sized supple male figures clad in tunics tied with belts, trousers tucked in full-boots reaching up to the knees and crowns with triple crescents having medial orbs. One figure weares bracelets and large earings of granulated style. In one upraised hand it holds a shield and in the other, that is slighlty bent, wields a long sword, the hilt of which is stringed to the belt. Behind it is another figure wearing armour with breast-plate, holding a weapon (mace) in right hand, which rests on the shoulder, and placing the other on the hilt of the sword dangling from the belt or sash. The face of this figure is missing but that of the other is clean shaven with soft features just as we come across on the coins of early Gupta kings. Hackin describes these figures as of solar and lunar deities. But they seem to be based on exact representations of warriors bearing affinities with Gupta figures. (*Diverses recherches Archeologiques en Afghanistan* (Paris 1959) (pp. 49-50). This appearance and blossoming of Gupta art in Afghanistan in the vicinity of Kāpiśi is clearly the result of an intimate contact with India of the Gupta period.

It appears that the details of the north-western expedition of Candragupta Vikramāditya are given by Kālidāsa in the account of the campaign of Raghu in the north-west.

In the beginning of his reign Candragupta was busy restoring peace in his empire. Under Rāmagupta, when the invasion of the Śakas took place, there was trouble in all parts of the empire. Hence Candragupta had to work hard to put his house in order. An echo of his campaign in the south-western parts of his empire is preserved in the Udayagiri cave inscription near Bhilsa, which states that he passed through these regions, while out on his expedition to conquer the earth.[122] It is also likely that Candragupta annexed the eastern provinces of Samataṭa and Davāka after quelling the rebellion that appears to have flared up there.[146] His diplomatic activities in the south are also noteworthy. About 388 A.D. he conquered the kingdom of the Western Kṣatrapas as their long series of coins testifying to their almost unbroken rule for

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[145] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, No. 6, line 5.
कृत्स्नपृथ्वीजयार्थेन राज्ञैवेह सहागतः

[146] Buddha Prakash, *The Central Asiatic Expedition of Candragupta-Vikramāditya, op. cit.*, p. 32.

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more than 300 years comes to an end between 388 and 397. Thus, it is clear that in the first ten years of his reign Candragupta was busy in the wars in his empire. It was after 388, the date of the accession of Bahram IV, that he was in a position to undertake the expedition in the north-west.

The aforesaid considerations lead us to hold that the invasion of the north-west which served as the basis of the account of the conquests of Raghu up to the Oxus took place between 390 and 399 A.D. and that Kālidāsa's reference to the Hūṇas on the Oxus belongs to that period.

The above enquiry has led us to determine the exact period in which the great poet Kālidāsa lived and wrote. It was held by a large number of scholars that Kālidāsa belonged to the Gupta period.[147] But now we are on *terra firma* and have got a definite date for the poet and can confidently assert that he flourished in cir. 390-395 A.D.

Addendum

Recently the question of the language of the Hiung-nu has been discussed by Louis Ligeti in his paper '*Mots de civilization de Haulte Asie en transceription chinoise*' Published in *Acta Orientalia* (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Budapest) Vol I, Part I, pp 141-188. He has shown that the Hiung-nu language is not Altaic but Ienisseian. For instance, the Hiung-nu word for boots *saghdaq* (chinese, *so-to*) is not attested in Turkish or Mongol of the Altaic group but in Ostiak of the Ienisseian group He thinks that the Hiung-nu language belonged to what be calls 'Paleo join plean asiatic' group, which borrowed some of their vocabulary from the Iranian dialects of southern Siberia.

147 A. B. Keith, 'Vikramāditya and Kālidāsa,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, (1909), p. 433; B. C. Majumdar, 'The date of Kālidasa, *ibid.*, p. 731; J. Bloch, *Die Zeit Kalidasas*, Z.D. M.G. (LXII), p. 671-6. Recently V. S. Agrawala has adduced literary and art evidence to establish that Kālidāsa was a poet of the Gupta period, vide V. S. Agrawala, 'Kālidāsa and Buddhist Sanskṛt Literature,' *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society* (1950), pp. 189-195; 'Art Evidence in Kālidāsa,' *ibid.*, (1949), pp. 81-93. 'Jyotirathā' (in Hindi) *Nāgarī Pracārinī Patrikā* (Candrabali Pandeya Smṛti Anka) Vol. 63 nos 3-4 pp. 412-418.

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CHAPTER XIV

The Geographical and Cultural aspects of the Northern Itinerary of Raghu as described by Kālidāsa

1. *The north-western route across the Indus*

The key to the understanding of the northern conquests of Raghu described by Kālidāsa in the fourth canto of his *Raghuvaṁśa* lies in the determination of the reading of its sixty-seventh verse.[1] In this verse it is controversial whether the reading *vankṣu* should be accepted or *sindhu* should be preferred. But, as shown in the preceding study, the reading *vankṣu* is correct and *sindhu* is the result of a *textus simplicior* supplanting a *textus difficilior* in later times. Kālidāsa located the Hūṇas conquered by Raghu on the bank of the *Vankṣu* or Oxus rather than the *Sindhu* or Indus. This shows that the northern campaign of Raghu reached up to the *Vankṣu* which serves as a landmark in the study of its geographical and cultural aspects.

According to Kālidāsa, Raghu led his northern expedition against the Persians (*pārasīkas*) along the land-route (*sthalavartma*).[2] Before considering other aspects of this campaign it is desirable to specify this land-route. The researches of French archaeologists[3] have thrown a flood of light on this route and it is advisable to cast a flying glance at it.

The ancient routes connecting India with the north-western world passed along the tributaries of the Indus that water southern Afghanistan. From the way the rivers Suvāstu (Swat), Kubhā (Kabul), Krumu (Kuram), Gomati (Gomal), Yavyāvati (Jhob)

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[1] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 67.

[2] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 61 :

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूँस्तत्त्वज्ञानेन संयमी ।।

[3] A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila* (Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Francaise en Afghanistan), 2 Vols. (Paris, 1942-1947). J. Hackin, J. Carl, J. Meunié, *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* (Paris 1959).

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and Sarasvati (Arghandab)[4] are mentioned in the *Rgveda*it appears that their importance lay in the routes that passed along their banks. In the *Rgveda* mention is also made of *Hariyūpiyā* (Hariyob) at the sources of the Kuram.[5] The most important among these routes was that passing along the Kabul. Starting from Takṣaśilā it crossed the Indus at the ford of Und. This crossing had become the site of a flourishing city which is called Udbhāṇḍa in the *Rājatarangiṇī*, Udakabhāṇḍa by Hiuen T'sang, Wehand by Al-Biruni, Ohind by the people of Peshawar and Uṇḍ by the common folk of the neighbouring areas. Its Persian name dar-i-hind shows that it was the veritable gate of India. Somewhere in the vicinity of this place the armies of Alexander crossed the Indus on a bridge of boats. There, Hiuen T'sang crossed this river by boat at the time of entering into India and on the back of an elephant while going home. It was also there that the horses and camels of Babur waded through the Indus. But at the time of Akbar a permanent bridge was thrown across the Indus at Attock, Vṛndāṭaka, and the traffic shifted to that route. Before that the Attock route was not prominent, though it is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*.

From Uṇḍ the old route reached Svabi in the north and from there bending in a westerly direction arrived at Shahbazgarhi, where the Fourteen Rock Edicts of Aśoka attest its importance as a traffic-centre. From that place a sub-route branched off in the north and passing through the Shahkot Pass reahed Chakdari on the Swat and therefrom going along this river led to the north via Manglawar. The main route moved from Shahbazgarhi via Hotimardan and reached the confluence of the Swat (Landai) and the Kabul. The township of Prang marking this confluence is reminiscent of Prayāga which denotes the famous confluence of the Gangā and the Yamunā at Allahabad. There the great metropolis of western Gandhāra, Puṣkalāvati, was situated. Its site is marked by the present town of Charsadda and the echo of its name persists in the neighbouring village of Pakholi.[6] After

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4 Hillebrandt, *Vedische Mythologie*, I, 99; III, 268.

5 Aurel Stein, 'An Archaeological Tour in Waziristan' (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 37, p. 2.)

6 Alexander Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, pp. 49-51; J. W. McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 59. Kālidāsa has referred to Puṣkalāvati in Raghuvaṁśa

continued on page 332

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crossing the Swat the main route passed through the Michni Pass and touching Shah Mansurkhel and Haidar Khan crossed the Kabul and then winding through a stony plateau and traversing the villages of Isagai and Warsak reached Dakka. Since the foundation of Puruṣapura to the south of Puṣkalāvati by Kaniṣka the route had deviated towards that city and from there passing by Jamrud and Ali Masjid and going through the Khaibar Pass opened out at Landi Kotal whence a turn to the north joined it to the old track at Dakka. On this new route the remains of the stūpa of Shpol and a monastery in the vicinity of Ali Masjid still refresh the memory of ancient times. From Dakka both these routes merged into one track which tackled the difficult sandy and stony terrain up to Jalalabad (Nagarahāra). There the Kunar or Chitral meets the Kabul. The Chinese travellers Fa-hien, Hiuen T'sang and Sung Yun have given glowing descriptions of the topes and monasteries of this place. The great stūpa, where, according to Hiuen T'sang, Dipankara had foretold the greatness of Buddha, is still called 'Āhanposh' (covered with iron) in that locality. The cut in the hills to the south of the village Chahar Bagh, which is known as Siyah-sang (black mountain), represents the cave of Nāga Gopāla which Buddha is stated to have hallowed with his shadow.[7] To the south of this place is Hidda (Hi-lo) where the vast ruins of Tippeh Kalan bespeak its magnificence in the Buddhist period.

From Jalalabad the main route traversed the barren and sandy land and passing by Chahar Bagh and crossing the Surkhrud river took a turn to the north and going across the Kabul river reached Mandrawar on the Laghman river in the west whose dunes enshrine the remains of Alexander's town Nikaia. Perhaps the echo of this town rings in the name of the village called Nichaia-gram in Kafiristan. The green and flowery valley of Laghman (ancient Lampāka) sprawling at the feet of huge mountains constituted the northern frontier of India, according to Hiuen T'sang. It was there that Babur felt the air of a new world that

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continued from page 331

(XV, 89). This shows that this place retained its importance up to the time of Kālidāsa (B. C. Law, *Geographical Aspects of Kālidāsa's Works* (1954) p. 5.

7 E. Caspani, 'The cave of the shadow of the Buddha at Nagarahāra', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1954) Vol. XI (Letters) p. 50.

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contrasted with the climate he had till then experienced. There, the remains of two big stūpas are ensconced on the left bank of the Alingar at the slope of the Shamti mountain. If Hiuen T'sang is to be believed, this country was dotted with dozens of stūpas. Leaving this valley the main route landed into arid and dry plateau called Dasht-i-Shaitan (the devil's jungle). The ruins of shrines and stūpas are scattered in that land also. Thereafter the route passed through the Badpash Pass and came out at Naghalu which dominates the confluence of the Panjshir and the Kabul. From there the route moved in the north along the Mahipar river and entered into the valley of Tagao where a polygonal *linga* attests the existence of a Śaiva temple. Near this *linga* is a Buddhist stūpa. After this valley comes the basin of Nijrao which abounds in old mounds. From there the route advanced towards the confluence of the Panjshir and the Ghorband rivers and neared the neighbourhood of ancient Kāpiśi where a big stūpa stands as a sign-post. There the combined stream of the Panjshir and the Shutul embraces the common flow of the Ghorband and the Salang. This was the famous crossroads of ancient routes. It is significant that the coins of the Greek governors Pantaleon and Agathocles, found there, depict the Greek goddess of crossroads, Hecates.

2. *The valley of Kāpiśi*

Half of the valley of Kāpiśi is known as Kohdāman and half is called Kohistan. In its north is Jabal-Saraj, the site of a modern electrical project, in the middle is Begram and in the west, Charikar. The southern flank of the valley is marked by Kohdāman. The site of Burj-i-Abdullah enshrines the remains of the ancient city. Around this place the ruins of a large number of stūpas and monasteries litter the land. To its east is the Koh-i-top or Koh-i-Pahalvan which stands for that famous hill where Hiuen T'sang noted a natural representation of Avalokiteśvara. The important archaeological sites here are Qol-i-Nader and Tepe-Kalan. J. Meunié has identified the ruins of the monastery discovered at the former site as those of the convent of Chinese hostages built by Kaniṣka at Kāpiśi. Here the ruins of a stūpa having a reliquary and a sanghārāma have been found. It was a square structure with a gate, gallery, hall and side-rooms. In the niches the figures of Buddha have been found. A bronze coin of Kaniṣka was also found at that site (*Diverses rechrches archéologiques en Afghanistan* p. 123). In ancient times there was a prosperous settlement of the Greeks in this city.

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Alexander had founded a military cantonment after his name near Jabal-Saraj. But in the age of the Indo-Greek kings the centre of civil administration had shifted to Kāpiśī. E. J. Rapson[8] has read the legend on a coin of Apollodotus restruck by Eukratides as *kavisi*. The elephant-shaped crowns of some of these rulers symbolise the god of the locality, whose representation was noted by Hiuen T'sang in the Pilu-sar, a hillock shaped to the likeness of the head of an elephant. Alexander Cunningham[9] has identified Kālasi, the birthplace of Menander, according to the *Milindapañho*, with Kāpiśī. In his view this variant Kālasi is due to an orthographical solecism of the Ceylonese scribe. Foucher has shown that the Alasanda-dīpa of the *Milindapañho* is identical with the valley of Kāpiśi.[10]

Archaeological researches have shown that Kāpiśi was a flourishing city. It was entered into through a southern gate that was walled for defence purposes. In course of time a stūpa was raised

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8 *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 555.

9 A. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 28.

10 A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 218. In the Chinese translation of the *Milindapañho* Alasanda (A-li-san) is stated to have been situated on the sea-shore. For this reason Pelliot, Demiéville, Finot and Sylvain Lévi have identified Alasanda with Alexandria in Egypt. (P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique* (1919), pp. 413-417 ; P. Demiéville, *Bulletin de l'ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* (1924), p. 168 ; L. Finot, *Milindapañho* (French translation), p. 157; Sylvain Lévi, 'Alexandre et Alexandrie dans les documents Indiens', *Mémorial Sylvain Lévi* (edited by Jacques Bacot), p. 417). It appears that this view is mainly based on the association of the word *dīpa* (island) with Alasanda in the *Milindapañho*. But it is noteworthy that the word *dvīpa* means an 'island' as well as the 'doab' of two rivers. In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 26, 5-6) the doabs of Gandhāra and the Panjab are called 'dvīpa' :

विजिग्ये शाकलं द्वीपं प्रतिविन्ध्यं च पार्थिवम् ।
शाकलद्वीपवासाश्च सप्तद्वीपेषु ये नृपाः ।
अर्जुनस्य च सैन्यैस्तैर्विग्रहस्तुमुलोऽभवत् ।

In Arabic the 'doab' of Tigris and Euphrates is called 'al jazirā'. The situation of Kāpiśi was not unlike that of Śākala (Sialkot). Since it is likely that Kālasi of Alasanda-dīpa may be an error of writing on the part of the Ceylonese scribe, it would be safer to locate Alasandadīpa in the valley of Kāpiśi.

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near that entrance. There, the coins of Indo-Greek and Kuṣāṇa kings up to Vāsudeva have been found, those of Vāsudeva, showing two types, numbering 65. There are two pieces of the Sassanid prince Hormizd II also who is said to have married a Kuṣāṇa princess. From this gate started a long and wide road flanked by a bazaar. This road was joined by side-lanes dividing the city into sectors. Among the objects found at the site of the bazaar are jars, vases and bowls, earthen lamps of many designs, toy-horses and elephants, jems, ornaments, rings and earings, bases of stone columns, objects of bone, ivory and gold, iron lances, arrow-heads, chains etc., proving the existence of an armament workshop, and Buddha heads with traces of painting indicating the studios of artists. Near Kāpiśi (Begram) are the famous sites of Marenjan, Fandukistan and Guldara represented by Buddhist monasteries having beautiful paintings of Bodhisattvas etc. (*Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* pp. 83-91)

3. *The Yavana Cantonment*

Hiuen T'sang states that at a distance of 40 li from Kāpiśi was a place named Si-p'i-to-fa-la-sseu which has been equated with speta-varaz (white boar) by Pelliot.[11] But as Foucher has suggested the suffix 'fa-la-sseu' may be transcribed as *verez* meaning 'place, residence' instead of *varaz*.[12] On this showing, the name of this place would mean a 'white residence'. This was also the name of the encampment of the Persians at Memphis in Egypt, according to Herodotus (III, 91). This meaning of the word in question proves that this place was a military cantonment of the Persians in ancient times. It was perhaps in view of the strategic importance of this locality that the aforesaid settlement was laid there. Thus, we find that there was a Greek colony in Kāpiśi and in its vicinity there was a Persian cantonment also.

Advancing along this land-route the armies of Raghu had their first encounter with the Yavanas or Greeks.[13] On this route the

[11] *Journal Asiatique* (1923), p. 162.

[12] Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, Vol. II, p. 371.

[13] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 61 :

यवनीमुखपद्मानां सेहे मधुमदं न सः ।
बालातपमिवाब्जानामकालजलदोदयः ।।

Kālidāsa shows his knowledge of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvati (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XV, 89). From this it is clear that he had the route of Puṣkalāvati in view.

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Greek settlement at Kāpiśi continued to exist for a fairly long time. In its ruins several heads of Dionysus have been found and a headless statue of a Roman soldier has been discovered.[14] This image is dressed in a short tunic and is shown holding a big shield in the left hand. This shield has an oval and elongated form and its middle part consists of a protuberant shaft (*omphalos*). It represents the *scutum* that was in vogue in the Roman army in the period dating from the end of the Republic to the advent of the Empire. Another important find of this type from Begram is a pair of glass-vases on which two warriors are represented as driving to battle in cars followed by infantrymen. On the basis of the inscriptions found on these vases O. Kurz has identified these heroes with Hector and Achilles whose fight is described by Homer in the 22nd canto of the *Iliad*. In this painting these two warriors are shown going to battle in their chariots. A significant peculiarity of this painting is the representation of the fighting of these warriors in chariots, whereas ordinarily they are shown going to the battle in their chariots but alighting from them on the battlefield and fighting on foot there. Besides this, the charioteers are not shown in this painting. The warriors hold the reins of the horses themselves. This type of fight in chariots is found on the coins of Ilion in the Roman Imperial Age for the first time. This datum sheds some light on the date of this painting. In this painting a host of Greek infantrymen and cavaliers are also represented in their peculiar costumes. This battle scene seems to have been a favourite theme of Graeco-Roman armies.[15] These finds attest the military importance of this settlement. It appears that these Greeks were subservient first to the Kuṣāṇas and then to the Sassanids.

In fact, there was another Greek settlement at Nysa also. It was in existence even before the invasion of Alexander. It has been identified with Koh-i-mor in the Swat valley by Holdich, with Nysatta, a village near the northern bank of the Kabul river about

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14 R. Ghirshman, *rēgram*, *Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Caire, 1946), p. 53.

15 O. Kurz in J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bēgram*, Vol. I, p. 103; Vol. II, Plates 261-263. Statuettes of bronze especially those of Hercules crowned with an Egyptian calathus, a rider in classical garb and a philosopher of low-comedy type are indications of the Yavana cantonment. (Mortimer Wheeler, *Rome beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 194).

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six miles below Hashtnagar, by Vivien de Saint Martin and Bellow, with the neighbourhood of Mount Elum called Ram Takht at the foot of which is a cluster of old towns bearing Greek names derivable from Bacchos: Lusa (Nysa), Lyocah (Lyaeus), Elye, Awan, Bimeeter (Bimeter), Bokra (Bou-Kera), and Kerauna (Keraunos), by Abbott, with Nagarahāra (Jalalabad) by McCrindle and with a place in Bajaur, that is, the hilly country of Yaghistan between the Kunar and the Swat, by Foucher.[16] In this connection it is sufficient to note here that Nysa lay in that campaign of Alexander which he undertook in the northern lands of the Aspasioi and the Assakenoi (Aśvakas) from Nikaia. The main part of his army marched under Hephaistion and Perdikkas along the route that traversed the bank of the Kabul and crossing the Michni Pass reached Puṣkalāvati and thence appeared on the Indus. Nysa is not mentioned on this main route. Hence it is clear that the Greek settlement of Nysa was somewhat removed from the main route. But the description of Kālidāsa does not show that Raghu deviated from the main route in order to vanquish the Yavanas. By referring straightway to the main land-route (*sthalavartma*) he has rather suggested that the conqueror continued to advance along it. Besides this fact, we do not get any trace of the existence of Nysa or Nikaia in later times. Its importance dwindled soon after the retreat of Alexander from India. Hence it is fairly certain that the encounter of Raghu with the Yavanas took place at Kāpiśi rather than the sites mentioned obove.

4. *The battle of Begram*

Just after measuring swords with the Yavanas, Raghu had to face the vast cavalry of the Persians. It has been noted above that very near Kāpiśi was the military base of the Persians at Spetverez. Somewhere in the neighbourhood of that place the battle of Raghu with the Persians took place. The narrative of Kālidāsa makes it crystal clear that Raghu fought with the Persians somewhere in the valley of Kāpiśi. According to him the warriors of Raghu shook off the exhaustion of the war with the Persians by drinking wine in

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16 J.W. McCrindle, *The Invasian of India by Alexander the Great*, pp. 338-40.
B.M. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions*, p. 96.
A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres a Taxila*, Vol. II, pp. 208, 260.

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the vineyards covered with choice skins.[17] In ancient times the grapes of Kāpiśi were considered the best and the wine distilled from them was far-famed. The grape of Kāpiśi was called *kāpiśāyanī drākṣā* and its wine *kāpiśāyanam madhu*. Kauṭliya refers to two varieties of wine : *kāpiśāyana*, produced in the region around Kāpiśī from green grapes and *hārahūraka* manufactured in the valley of Harahvaiti or Arghandab from black grapes called *harahūrā*.[18] Pāṇini also refers to the wine of Kāpiśi in his *sūtra* (IV,2,29) *kāpiśyāh śphak*. Even such a late author as Dhanapāla has referred to *kāpiśāyana*, the wine of Kāpiśi, in his prose-romance *Tilakamañjarī*. According to this author, it was a favourite drink in royal circles and was reddish is colour like the eyes of a woman having hatred for her cowife or the petals of a red lotus.[19] Curiously enough, the ceramic found in the third startum at Begram reveals a *motif* relating to the manufacture of wine. This *motif* consists of a jar encased in two branches of vine from the ends of which bunches of grapes hang and on which two birds are perched. From the mouth of the jar emerges a shaft surmounted by a triangular object. This *motif* represents the equipment of manufacturing wine jar, presser and filter. The triangular object placed on the presser is a conical filtering basket which the Romans called *colum*. The scene depicted here recalls the paintings found at Pompeii. Besides this, a unique plaster medallion depicts the leaves and bunches of grapes forming a design

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[17] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 65 :

विनयन्ते स्म तद्योधा मधुभिर्विजयश्रमम् ।
आस्तीर्णाजिनरत्नासु द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु ।।

[18] *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, II, 26, edited by R. Shamshastri, p. 120 :

मद्वीकारसो मधु । तस्य
स्वदेशो व्याख्यानम् कापिशायनं हारहूरकमिति ।

[19] *Tilakamañjarī*, with the commentary of Śāntyācārya, Vol. I, p. 74 :

कदाचिदीर्ष्यारुणप्रतिप्रमदाकटाक्षकर्बुरमुपरिक्षिप्तरक्तोत्पलपलाशमिव कापिशायनं स्वयमुत्क्षिप्तमाणिक्यचषकश्चन्द्रिकाप्रहासिषु प्रासादतले प्रेमपरवशः प्रणयकुपिताः प्रेयसीः सानुनयमपाययत् ।

[19] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram, recherches archéologiques et histariques sur les Kouchans*, pp. 69-70, Pl. XIX.

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of symmetrical arches.[20] These *motifs* prove that Begram was the home of grapes and the centre of the manufacture of its wine in ancient times. It is likely that the wine of Begram (Kāpiśi) was exported and stored in large quantities in that period. Recently a Russian archeological mission led by M.E. Masson has discovered a large wine cellar in the remains of the Parthian capital at Nisa, eleven miles north-west of Ashkabad, the modern capital of Turkmenia. In that wine cellar nearly 2,00,000 litres of wine were once kept in clay pitchers. The writings in ink on pieces of broken pitchers have revealed that they were mainly connected with the delivery of wine to the big slave-owning palace and temple of Nisa.[21]

The reference to the wine of grapes in the *Raghuvaṁśa* proves that the poet had the regions of Kāpiśi on the land-route in mind while describing the war of Raghu with the Persians.

5. *The Pārasīkas at Begram*

In this context Kālidāsa has referred to some other matters of considerable historical and cultural interest. The most important fact is implicit in the remark about the Persians (Pārasīkas). The very object of the expedition of Raghu was the conquest of the Persians. It is well-known that the rise of the Sassanid empire eclipsed the power of the Kuṣāṇas. Up to the time of Varahran II (A. D. 276-293) the governor of Khurassān used to be a prince of the royal blood bearing the title of Kuṣāṇśāh.[22] In the time of Shahpuhr II (A. D. 309-379) the Kuṣāṇas raised their heads as is manifest from the pompous title of 'devaputraśāhīśahānuśāhī', employed for them in the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta but they were soon mown down and Shahpuhr signalized his ascendancy over them by the issue af a special type of coins bearing his name in Tokharian characters.[23] At a place named

20 J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. I, p. 143 ; Vol. II, Fig. 281; *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanisthann*, p. 89.

21 M. E. Masson, *New Light on an Ancient Civilization*, Soviet Union (December 1954), pp. 28-29.

22 Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India), No. 38; *Paikuli*, Vol. I, p. 42.
Joseph Hackin, 'Répartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan', *Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 287.

23 H. H. Wilson, *Ariana Antiqua*, Pls. XII, XIII, XIV.

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Gunde-Peisa about three miles to the south-east of Begram a piece of ceramic depicting two winged horses facing each other in heraldic pose has been unearthed.[24] This *motif* represents the emblem of the Sassanid empire. Its discovery in the vicinity of Kāpiśi conclusively shows that this region was within the sphere of influence of the Sassanids. We have referred to the discovery of the coins of Hormizd II at Begram. At Tepe Maranjan the coins of Peroz, Hormizd, Varahran and Shahpuhr are abundantly found. In an inscription of Persepolis a high Judge of Kabul named Slok is said to have prayed that Shahpuhr II would return to Kabul in safety. The date of this inscription has been deciphered by Herzfeld as A. D. 356.[25] This clearly proves that the main nucleus of Kuṣāṇa empire had passed under the hegemony of the Persians by that time as seen in a preceding study. The discovery of the Merv coins of Shahpuhr II in the excavations at Taxila also proves that the Persian forces had penetrated up to the farthest limits of the Kuṣāṇa empire.[26] The impact of the Persians was also felt in the realm of art and religion as the progressive engrafting of the elements of the cult of Mithra on Buddhism in Afghanistan demonstrates. In the art of Bamiyan Buddha has been dressed in the garb of Mithra and the representation of the eight Buddhas recalls the eight Magas or Bhojakas, Mihira, Nikṣubhā, Rājñi, Daṇḍanāyaka, Piṅgala, Rājña, Strauṣa, and Iśa Garumtat, who are the eight divine forces emanating from the body of the sun-god.[27] Thus, we observe that the realm of the Kuṣāṇas had virtually passed under the domination of the Persians. The reference to the Pārasīkas in these regions in the *Raghuvaṁśa* illuminates the entire political situation of the early Sassanid period.

The attention of Kālidāsa is particularly fixed on the beards of the Persians.[28] In this connection a legend mentioned in the

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[24] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram op. cit.*, p. 70, Pl. C.

[25] Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins*, p. 36.

[26] John Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports* (1914-15), Nos. 48-49; (1915-16), Nos. 51-52.

[27] A. and Y. Godard and J. Hackin, *Les antiquités bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (1928), Pl. XXII.

[28] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 63:

भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्महीम् ।
तस्तार सरघाव्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ।।

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Harivaṁśa Purāṇa is very interesting. King Sagara who was bent upon destroying the Śakas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Pāradas and Pahlavas relented and released the first after having half of their head shaved, the second and third after having the whole of their head shaved, the fourth after compelling them to keep their hair dishevelled and the fifth after forcing them to keep their beards.[29] A pointed mention of the beards of the Pahlavas or Persians is also found in the *Vāyu Purāṇa* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV, 3). In the *Mahābhārata* (XII, 65) the Pahlavas are described as 'hairy'. The art of that period attests the prominence of beard in the representation of the faces of the Persians. In a picture of a four-armed Bodhisattva dressed in the guise of a Persian knight found at Dandan Öiliq the black beard and whiskers are prominently displayed.[30] Kālidāsa refers to the beards of the Persians as honeycombs. The Sassanian monarchs are shown as having curly beards passed through rings. The coins of Pero and Varahran reveal such beards. Such beards were the exclusive privilege of Sassanian monarchs. (Paruck, *Sassanian Coins* p. 350.)

The army of these bearded Persian soldiers consisted mostly of cavalry.[31] Generally speaking all Aryan tribes knew horse-riding but the nomadic people of Central Asia made special progress in this art. In particular, the Śakas attained great proficiency in horsemanship and their life was intimately connected with the horse. At Begram the figurines of cavaliers have been found in the niches of rooms. The bonnets of these horsemen are conical in form and trident-shaped clips are inserted in their fronts. Long hair flowing from either side cover the ears. The chins are a bit raised and long straight moustaches join the tresses. The bodies are covered with long tunics and the legs are dressed in trousers.[32]

29 *Harivaṁśa Purāṇa*, XIII, 763-64; 775-83.

30 V. A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, p. 310.

31 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 68 :

संग्रामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाश्चात्यैरश्वसाधनैः ।
शार्ङ्गकूजितविज्ञेयप्रतियोधे रजस्यभूत् ॥

Śārnga means a trumpet rather than a bow. The Persian cavalry used to give the signal for battle by trumpets. Bāṇa has also referred to *Śarngas* which the *ādhoraṇas* riding on elephants were holding in their hands. (V. S. Agrawala: *Harṣacarita : A Cultural Study* (in Hindi) p. 147 quoting Clement Huart, *Ancient Persian and Iranian Civilization* p. 151),

32 R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, Pls. XX, XLVI.

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Similar figurines have also been found at Afrasiab[33] near Samarkand, Tali Barzu in Sogdiana, Dura-Europs[34] in Syria and Memphis in Egypt.[35] Ghirshman holds that these figurines represent some Śaka deity and were kept for worship in the cornices of rooms.[36] They prove the dependence of the life of the people of Central Asia, especially the Śakas, on the horse. The Śakas were so proficient in horse-lore that they were invariably employed as horse-grooms in the North-West In the representation of a Jātaka scene on an ivory plaque found at Begram the groom attending on the royal horse (*mangalāśva*) is dressed in a long Scythian tunic and a conical bonnet. In some other drawings also the horse-traders are Scythians.[37] In fact, the horse is ubiquitous at Begram. A large number of sculptures and engravings relate to the horse.[38] From this point of view the mention of the cavalry of the Pārasīkas, in which the Śakas must have prominently figured, assumes a singular significance.

After the conquest of the Pārasīkas the object of Raghu was well-nigh achieved. But the trend of the narrative of Kālidāsa shows that he did not consider his position secure and felt it necessary to advance in the north. His position seems to be analogous to that of Alexander at Kāpiśi. In the north trouble flared up in Bactria and it became imperative for the conqueror to quell it. Hence he penetrated into the north and pounced on the Hūṇas on the Oxus. This shows that the connection of the Hūṇas with the Persians was so close that without conquering them the victory of Raghu over the Persians was of no consequence. But though these Hūṇas were intimately associated with the Persians they were not wholly subservient to them and had some political importance and strategic significance of their own in virtue of which a poet like Kālidāsa deemed it desirable to mention them in connection with the conquests of a conqueror like Raghu. A minor and unimpor-

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[33] G. Trever, *Les Monuments de l'art Grèco-Bactrien*, Pl. XL.

[34] M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art*, pp. 188-89.

[35] Flinders Fetrie, *Memphis*. Vol. I, p. 15, Pl. XL.

[36] R. Ghirshman, *Bégram*, p. 75.

[37] A. Foucher, 'Deux Jataka sur ivoire,' *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. I, pp. 84-85; Vol. II, Pl. 96.

[38] J. Hackin and others, *Nouvelles recherches archéologiques en Bégram*, Vol. II, Pls. 153, 154, 156.

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tant people could not have been alluded to by him as the trend of his narrative shows.

6. *Routes from Kāpiśi to the Oxus*

For the northern expedition three routes branched off from Kāpiśi. These routes passed through the maze of mountain-valleys. Near Kāpiśi and Parvan the ranges of Koh-i-safed and Koh-i-baba come to an end and the peaks of the Hindukush begin to greet the eyes. The Hindukush is pitchforked between the ranges of Kafiristan in the east and that of Hazarjat in the west just as Java is sandwiched between Sumatra and Borneo. The rivers separating the Hindukush from these mountains surround it like a girdle. In its north the Andarab flows towards the east and the Surkh-āb flows in the west. These rivers respectively meet the Panjshir and the Ghorband which flow in the south of Hindukush in the eastern and western directions. In the east near the confluence of the Andarab and the Panjshir is the Khawak Pass and in the west near the confluence of the surkh-āb and the Ghorband is the Ak-Robat Pass. Along these rivers and through these passes routes lead from Kāpiśi and Kabul to the north. In the north of the Hindukush there is a third range of mountains stretching from Badakshan to Band-i-Turkestan. Several rivers cut it at many places and merge in the Oxus. In the north of Hindukush the routes passed along the valleys of these rivers.

From Kāpiśi one route moved in the west along the Ghorband, passed by Juy-e-dukhtaran and Chahar-dih and crossed the Shibar Pass, then going near the ancient walls of Shahr-i-Zohak reached the caravanserai of Topchi. Leaving this place and moving ahead one comes across two colossii of Buddha on one side and the ruined ramparts of a Mohammedan citadel on the other. Nearby is the famous rest of Bamiyan. The remains of its convents and monasteries are still proclaiming its ancient glory. Between the two big standing Buddha images was the Buddhist establishment founded by 'an old king of the country' according to Hiuen T'sang. Another monastery was centred round the one thousand feet long lying statue of Buddha in *Parinirvāṇa* pose which is now-a-days called the Ajdahā. Besides these convents, dozens of other sanctuaries once marked this site. Archaeologists have discovered numerous grottos in Bamiyan containing traces of paintings and holes in walls for fixing statues with gudgeons. Two figures of the Parinirvāṇa of Buddha and of Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi are really remarkable.

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The Bodhisattvas are shown to be wearing diadems having three crescents and three or bs respectively with two ribbons floating right and left, a typically Sassanid design. They also wear bracelets, collars, ear-tops and scarfs hanging from both the shoulders.[39] From the floors of these grottos numerous old Sanskrit manuscripts have been found.[40] After refreshing and replenishing themselves at Bamiyan the caravans moved towards the north. Just after leaving Bamiyan they had to tackle the difficult pass of Ak-Robat. After crossing it the route passed through frightening mountain peaks. After scaling them and traversing the valley of the Saighan the route entered the terrible pass of Dandan-Shikan. Then came the valley of Madar and the pass of Kara Kotal. From there the route bent in the north-west and along the bank of the Darra Yusuf went up to its confluence with the Band-i-Pamir and then along the joint stream of these rivers known as Balkh-āb approached the northern spurs of the Elburz mountains and entered the famous city of Balkh by the southern gate. Balkh proper has been so repeatedly ravaged by invaders that we hardly hope to find anything tangible there except for pieces of ceramic which resemble those of Bégram, Surkh Kotal and other places.[41] But near Tash-Kurgan archaeologists have succeeded in unearthing the ruins of Shahr-i-Banu and Zaker-Tepe. At the former site the coins of Euthydemus, Heliocles, Kadpises II and Huvishka and fragments of bowls of baked clay have been found. Among other finds are a small head of horse in baked clay, a statue of an infant and a plaster plaque showing a human figure. At the latter site the coins of Vāsudeva and many Kushano-Sassanid pieces have come to light, besides remnants of swords, daggers, arrow-heads etc.[42] This was the most frequented route of ancient times.

The second route moved from Kāpiśi along the bank of the Panjshir in the east and crossing the Khawak Pass near its confluence with the Andarab turned to the west. The high peaks of this pass are called P'o-li-si-na by Hiuen T'sang, Parsiana by Ptolemy, Apārsēn in Pehlvi and Uparisaena (upariśyena) in the *Avesta*. This is perhaps identical with the Kukkuṭagiri mentioned by Pāṇini.

[39] *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* pp. 1-6.

[40] Sylvain Lévi, 'Notes sur les manuscrits Sanskrit provenant de Bamiyan', *Journal Asiatique* (1932).

[41] J. C. Gardin, *Ceramiques de Bactres* (Paris 1957) pp. 1-13.

[42] *Diverses recherches archéologique en Afghanistan* pp. 78-80.

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From there the route moved in the west along the Andarab and passing by Samandan penetrated into the Murgh Pass in the north. After leaving this pass the route passed Narin via Yarm and then marching along the Kunduz river arrived in the Kataghan province of modern Afghanistan. From the city of Kunduz the rippling fields of the Oxus regions greet the eyes. From Kunduz a straight route joined Tashkurghan on the Khulm river and then moving in the west approached Mazar Sharif and Balkh. But this route was very repelling and difficult. It passed through sandy expanses where water is extremely difficult to get. Hence the caravans often moved southwards from Tashkurghan and reached Haibak and thence taking a circuitous turn in the east moved along the Kunduz in the north. The road-junction of Haibak was a flourishing centre of trade and traffic in ancient times. The remains of an old stūpa and four grottoes attest the existence of a big Buddhist establishment at that place. This sanghārāma consisted of an assembly hall, a dormitory and a residence of the vihārasvāmin. Hiuen-T'sang observed that in the vicinity of Kunduz, which can probably be identified with Kundamāna of the *Mahābhārata*, there were ten monasteries.[43] The peasants while digging a canal three kilometers to the north-east of Kunduz have found the base of a wall of clay-bricks which represents the north-western wall of a square Buddhist establishment (50 metres) adjoining a smaller monastery in the south-west. Some fragments of statuettes have also been found there. The finds from there include six heads of roundish features, two circular medallions, a small statue representing a garuḍa and a fragment of a foot wearing a sandal. Hackin has shown that the plan of construction resembles the Iranian pattern which converts the square into an octagon by giving inward turns to the angles. The walls of the vihāra bear traces of polychrome paintings as well as holes in which the great statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas were fixed by gudgeon-pins. One of the heads found there can he compared to a marble head from Corinth.[44]

Besides the aforesaid two routes, a third moved due north from Parvan and crossing the Salang Pass opened out on the Andarab at Khinjan. From there it moved right west and reached Doshi whence it went to the Oxus along the Kunduz. One of its branches

43 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World* Vol II p. 288.

44 *Diverses recherches archéologiques en Afghanistan* pp. 19-21.

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reached Tashkurghan via Haibak. But this route remained covered with snow for eight months in a year and used to become impassable.

There are some facts to show that Raghu did not follow the Bamiyan route. (1) Just after defeating the Hūṇas on the Oxus Raghu conquered the Kāmbojas. As will be shown later, the Kāmbojas occupied the Badakhshan regions. Had Raghu reached the Oxus at Balkh by the Bamiyan route, he would have traversed either the terrible route between Tashkarghan and Kunduz or taken a turn in the south via Haibak. This route was very cumbrous, circuitous and long and there is nothing to show that he took so many turns. (2) According to Kālidāsa, Raghu moved right in the north.[45] If he would have advanced on the Bamiyan route he ought to have first turned west. Thus, it is clear that Raghu took either the route of the Khawak and Murgh passes or that of the Salang Pass and reaching the Oxus fought with the Hūṇas.

7. *The conquest of the Hūṇas on the Oxus*

It appears that Raghu's encounter with the Hūṇas took place in that region of the Oxus which lies between the Wakshab and the Aksab. This region is called Khuttal by Arab geographers and Haittal in Persian. It is also known as Khuttlan or Khutlan following the nomenclature Kutl used by Al-Idrisi and Kho-to-lo by Hiuen T'sang. In the works of the T'ang period it is named Ku-tu or K'o-tu-lo and its king as *sekin* and his son as *she*. Curiously enough the imprint of a seal bearing the legend 'dag śetak Hutlan' △*TA* ŚITAK HT*Λ*AN has been found on a piece of white skin that has been discovered at Mong on the Zarafshan.[46] The letter on which this seal is impressed is addressed to 'Dīvāstīch, king of Sogdiana, lord of Samarkand'. This king Dīvāstīch is identical with the dihqān of Samarkand mentioned by Tabari. A letter written by him to Emir Jarrah bin 'Abdullāh, the governor of Khurāssān (A.D. 717-719), in Arabic, shows that he was a vassal of the Arabs. His overlord in Sogdiana was one Gūrek who followed a policy of appeasement towards the Arabs.

[45] *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 66:

तत: प्रतस्थे कौबेरीं भास्वानिव रघुर्दिशम् ।
शरैरुस्रैरिवोदीच्यानुद्धरिष्यन् रसानिव ।।

[46] A. A. Freimann, *Sogdian Collection* (1934), pp. 7-8 (in Russian).

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Divāstīch broke away from this policy and tried to assert the independence of his state in Sogdiana by force of arms. Ultimately he was defeated and decapitated by the Arabs in A.D. 722. The king of Khuttal whose seal is under consideration is identical with *she* of the Chinese records, *she* and *śet* being the transcriptions of the same word. He sent many embassies to the court of the T'ang offering presents of horses. In 720 he solicited the assistance of the Chinese against the Arabs.[47] His name was Iwdag as is manifest from the seal. It seems that he and his ally Divāstīch were working together against the Arabs. We know that Khuttal is a form of the word Haittal or Hephthal or Hutlan,[48] the surname of Iwdag. Hence it is clear that the Hephthalites continued to rule over this region right from the time of their settlement there during the reign of Shahpuhr II up to the period of Arab conquest and gave it their name also.[49]

8. *The funerary custom of the Hūṇas*

Kālidāsa referred to a peculiar funerary custom of the Hūṇas, when he stated that the valour of Raghu expressed itself in the wounded cheeks of their ladies.[50] The correct import of this remark is missed by ancient commentators. Mallinātha, for instance, observes that the cheeks of the Hūṇa women were made red by beating on account of sorrow caused by the death of their husbands.[51]

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47 Edouard Chavannes, *Documents sur les T'ou-Kiue Occidentaux, Notes additionnelles*, p. 43.

48 G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 438, n. 1.

49 The word Hūṇa seems to be the same as Khion or Hion that figures as a surname on the coins of the Hephthalite kings. This word Khion appears to have been based on the Sogdian word 'kshēvan' meaning a 'king', as shown by F. W. K. Muller (*Sogdische Texte*, I, 108). That the Khion or the Khionites were identical with the Hephthalites and that they were a people of Indo-European rather than Turkish stock has been shown by R. Ghirshman (*Les Chionites-Hephtalites* (introduction), p. 12). K. Enoki also holds that the Hephthalites were an Indo-European people. He goes to the extent of holding that their homeland lay in Tokharistan ('The Origin of the Hephthalites or White Huns', *East and West* (1955), pp. 231-237.

50 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 68:

तत्रहूणावरोधानां भर्तृषु व्यक्तविक्रमम् ।
कपोलपाटनादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टतम् ।।

51 Mallinātha's commentary on *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 68

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But this is little better than a guess. The reading कपोलपाटलादेशि is textually incorrect as well as grammatically defective. The correct reading is कपोलपाटनादेशि बभूव रघुचेष्टितम्. Taking this reading as correct the oldest commentator of the Raghuvaṁśa Ballabhadeva has explained this line as follows : कपोलपाटनमादिशतीति पतिवधाद् भार्या रुदत्यः कुचकपोलं नखैर्विदारयन्ति. On the basis of this reading the commentators Cāritryavardhana and Sumativijaya have observed : हूणयोषितः कुचकपोलविदारणपूर्वकं रुदन्तीति तद्देशाचारः. Similarly Dinakara Miśra has remarked : अवरोध शब्देन लक्षणया स्त्रिय उच्यन्ते । तत्रदेशे हूणजनभेदास्तदङ्गनानां कपोलयोः पाटनं नखैर्विदारणमादिशतीति तादृशं रघोश्चेष्टितं बभूव । कीदृशं तद् भर्तृषु हूणेषु प्रकटो विक्रमो यस्य तत्तादृशम् । हूणस्त्रिय : कपोलपाटनपूर्वं रोरुदन्तीति तद्देशाचारः. Likewise the commentator Udayākara wrote in his *Raghuvaṁśa Prakāśikā* : कपोलयोः पाटनं नखैर्विदारणमादिशति कथयति यत्तत्कपोलपाटनादेशि. Guṇavijayagaṇin in his *Viśeṣārtha-bodhikā* commentary noted : कपोलयोः पाटनं नखैर्विदारणमादिशतीति तादृशं कपोलपाटनोपदेशकं बभूव. Haridāsa Miśra in his *Raghuvaṁśa Prakāśikā* glosses : कपोलयोः पाटनं नखैर्विदारणमादिशतीति कथयतीति यत् तत् In the commentary *Raghuvaṁśāvacūrī* कपोलयोः पाटनं नखोत्कर्षणमादिशतीति is found.

In 12 manuscripts out of the 16 preserved in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute Poona the reading पाटनादेशि occurs in place of पाटलादेशि. In 11 manuscripts out of the 12 available in the Rājasthāna-Purātattva-mandir Jayapur the reading is पाटनादेशि. In the 2 manuscripts of the Raghuvaṁśa in the possession of Prof. Rāma Suresh Tripāthi of Kanpur also the reading पाटनादेशि is found. Thus, it is clear that the correct reading is पाटनादेशि rather than पाटलादेशि.[52]

The commentators who adopted the reading कपोलपाटनादेशि no doubt arrived at the correct text but could not find the true import of the passage. They were aware of the custom of pricking the breasts and cheeks with nails which is common in Indian erotics. They did not know of the custom of gashing the cheeks with knives which lay behind the description of Kālidāsa.

[52] Vāsudeva Śaraṇa Agrawala, 'Kālidāsa's reference to a custom of the Hūṇas in the Raghuvaṁśa, *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXXIII (1957) No. 2, pp. 139-145; *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, Vol. LX (Samvat 2012) pp. 319-226.

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Thus, their interpretation of the verse was only partially sound. We learn from Chinese sources that the T'u-Kiue of Mongolia used to slash their faces with knives so that blood could be seen flowing with tears, whenever a man died.[53] This funerary custom was also observed by the Scythians, as Herodotus remarked. They used to wound their arms, noses and faces to mourn the death of their kings. Herodotus writes :

"When the king dies they dig a grave which is square in shape and of great size. When it is ready they take the king's corpse and, having opened the belly and cleaned out the inside, fill the cavity with a preparation of chopped cyperus, frankincense, parsely-seed and anise-seed, after which they sew up the opening, enclose the body in wax and, placing it on a wagon, carry it about through all the different tribes. On this procession each tribe, when it receives the corpse, imitates the example which is first set by the Royal Scythians : every man chops off a piece of his ear, crops his hair close, makes a cut all round his arm, lacerates his forehead and his nose and thrusts an arrow through his left hand. Then they who have the care of the corpse carry it with them to another of the tribes which are under the Scythian rule, followed by those whom they first visited. On completing the circuit of all the tribes under their sway, they find themselves in the country of the Gerrhi, who are the most remote of all, and they come to the tombs of the kings. There the body of the dead king is laid in a grave prepared for it."[54]

Recent archaeological discoveries in Central Asia have shed new light on this custom of mourning the dead. In the ruins of Panzikand on the left bank of the Zarafshan river, 42 miles from Samarkand, Russian archaeologists have discovered some unique wall-paintings the plates of which are available in a collection

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53 Stanislas Julien, 'Documents historiques sur les T'ou-Kioue,' *Journal Asiatique* (1864) p. 352 'Ils se tailladent le visage avec un couteau de sorte qu'on voit couler á la fois le sang et les larmes'; René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, p. 37.

54 Herodotus IV, 71 George Rawlinson, *History of Herodotus*, Vol. III, p. 58. The account of Herodotus has been confirmed by recent archaeological researches at Pazirik and other places. T. Talbot Rice, *The Scythians* pp. 92-122.

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published at Moscow.[55] The murals in the two temples in Sharistan and a number of private houses display a variety of scenes in rich colours which reflect the life and culture of the Sogdian aristocracy. These paintings were executed in the second half of the seventh and the beginning of the eighth century. The most important painting of this group shows a crowned beardless man on his death-bed. Around him are gathered men and women some of whom are cutting their faces with knives. A. M. Belenitski, who has written an important chapter in this book, observes that the painting represents the Siyavush legend current among the Manichaens. But the central scene is closely similar to the Parinirvāṇa scenes in the paintings of Qumtura and Qyzil.[56] A comparative study of these paintings shows that in this mural of Panzikand the great decease of the Buddha and the lamentation and mourning of the people over it are depicted. But a unique local colouring is given to the theme. In particular, the cutting of faces with knives, which is prominently exhibited in the painting, recalls the funerary custom of slashing the faces with knives as a sign of grief over the death of a person which was ubiquitously prevalent in Central Asia. The pictorial evidence of the vogue of this custom corroborates the literary references to it in the works of the Chinese writers, Herodotus and Kālidāsa. This painting and the verse of Kālidāsa are complementary in this respect.

9. *The march against the Kāmbojas of Badakhshan*

According to Kālidāsa, Raghu fell upon the Kāmbojas just after defeating the Hūṇas. It is now commonly believed that the Kāmbojas were a people of Iranian stock inhabiting the Pamir-Badakhshan region[57]. Hiuen T'sang notes a country called Kiu-

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[55] (*Zhivopis drevnego Pyandzhikenta*) Moscow 1954, 40 plates. In the first chapter A. I. Iakubovski enunciates the conception of feudal art, in the second and third capters A. M. Belenitski and M.M. Diakanov study the religious and cultural aspects of the paintings and in the fourth and the last P. 1. Kostrov deals with technical questions and the conservation of the murals.

[56] A. von Le Coq, *Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittel Asien* VI, plate 15; VII, plate 30.

[57] G. A. Grierson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1911) pp. 801ff; B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, pp. 1f; Moti Candra, *Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata*, p. 19.

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mi-to which represents Kumidha or the country of the Komedai of Ptolemy, through which the ancient caravans travelled eastward for silk. It stands for Darwaz (the gate, probably ancient Dvārakā) or the valley of Rasht. The chief town of Darwaz is still called Khum or Kala-i-khum, situated on the Ab-i-Piang, the southern branch of the Amu. The name Khum is reminiscent of the Kāmbojas. Yāska has noted that the verb 'śav' was used in the sense of going among the Kāmbojas.[58] As Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra has shown, this verb is still used in this sense in many Galcha dialects. For instance, in the Shigni dialect 'śuta' and in the Zebki, Sanglichi and Ishkāshimi speeches 'śuda' mean 'went', in Mujani 'śia' means 'to go' and in Yuidgha 'sui' means 'went'.[59] There is a reference to a religious belief of the Kāmbojas in the *Bhūridattajātaka*, according to which, it was the duty of a man to kill snakes, frogs, flies, ants and reptiles.[60] In the *Avesta* these creatures are called Ahrimani animals which deserve to be killed. These facts show that the Kāmbojas had a close cultural affinity with the Iranians. Buddhaghoṣa has expressly described the Kāmbojas as Pārasakavaṇṇā.[61] Hence after worsting the Persians Raghu considered it worth while to vanquish their kith and kin, the Kāmbojas.

Kālidāsa has referred to the horses of the Kāmboja country. It is noteworthy that Kāmboja-deśa is known as the 'receptacle of horses' (*assānam āyatanam*) in Pāli Buddhist literature.[62] In the *Mahābhārata* also the horses of several breeds presented by the Kāmbojas to Arjuna and Yudhiṣṭhira are mentioned.[63] In Chinese literature

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58 *Nirukta*, 2, I, 3-4:
शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते ।

59 Jayacandra Vidyālaṅkāra *Bhāratabhūmi aur uske Nivāsī* (in Hindi), p. 297.

60 *Bhūridatta-jātaka* (edited by Faüsboll), Vol. VI. 208.
कीटा: पतङ्गा उरगा च भेका हन्त्वा किकि सुज्झति मक्षिका च ।
एता हि धम्मा अनरियरूपा कम्बोजकानं वितथा वहुन्नम् ।।

61 B. M. Barua, *Aśoka and his Inscriptions* Part I, p. 100.

62 B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 23ff.

63 *Mahābhārata*, II, 45, 19-20 :
काम्बोज: प्राहिणोत्तस्मै परार्ध्यानपि कम्बलान् ।
रथयोषितगवाश्वस्य शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ।
त्रिशतं चोष्ट्रवामीनां शतानि विचरन्त्युत ।

continued on page 352

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the horses of these territories are very famous. Most probably this region was included in the *Bhadrāśvavarṣa* or *Harivarṣa* of Indian geographical accounts. The reference to the big heaps of wealth (*tunga-draviṇa-rāśayah*) of these regions is in accord with the notices of silver mines in Andarab, Badakhshan and Wakhan.[64] Licutenant Wood found one such mine twenty miles from Ishikashm in the Ghagan region on the southern bank of the Oxus. Marco Polo has praised the rubies and sapphires of Badakhshan. According to Ghirshman, the Yue-che were the first people to use the rubies of Badakhshan.[65] It is likely that this region represented the Maṇikāñcanavarṣa mentioned in the *Bhiṣmaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* as a a part of Śākadvīpa.

10. *The crossing of the Pamirs and the campaign in Khotan*

After conquering the Kāmbojas Raghu scaled the high mountains with the help of the horses obtained in the Kāmboja country and reached a region where the bamboos (*kīcaka*) were growing.[66] This mountain has been called 'gaurīguru-śaila.' In order to identify this mountain correctly it is necessary to bear in mind that Raghu was going in the east from Badakhshan and the Pamirs. From Badakhshan he had the same route of Wakhan and the Pamir before him along which Hiuen T'sang went home to China and by which Marco Polo moved into Chinese Turkestan. From Badakhshan (Po-to-chang-na) Hiuen T'sang passed through the old territory of the Tu-ho-lo country or the land of the Tukhāras. He visited Yamgan (In-po-kin), Kuran (Kiu-lang-na). Tamasthi-ti (Ta-mo-sih-teh-ti), Termistat of the Arab geographers, Shikhnan

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continued from page 351

Ibid., II, 47, 3-4 :

प्रावाराजिनमुख्याँश्च काम्बोजः प्रददौ वसु ।
अश्वांस्तित्तिरकल्माषांस्त्रिशतंशुकनासिकान् ।
उष्ट्रवामीस्त्रिशतं च पुष्टा पीलुशमीङ्गुदैः ।।

64 V. V. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, II, 65.

65 R. Ghirshman *Bégram* p. 60.

66 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 71-73 :

ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधनः ।
वर्धयन्निव तत्कूटानुद्धूतैर्धातुरेणुभिः ।
भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूताः कीचकध्वनिहेतवः ।
गङ्गाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे ।।

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(Shi-k'i-ni) and Sambhi (Shang-mi) till he reached the valley of Pamir (Po-mi-lo) and the Sarik-kul lake known as the Kul-i-Pamir-kalān, which was regarded as the central point of Jambudvīpa. Then the Chinese pilgrim reached the country of Bolor (Po-lo-lo) and Sarikol and Task Kurghan (K'ie-p'an-to). Going north-east from this country and descending the dangerous defiles of the T'sung-ling mountains he emerged into the kingdom of Och(U-sha) bordering on the river Sitā. Then came the oasis of Kashgar (Kie-sha). Leaving it the pilgrim stepped into the kingdom of Chakuka (Cho-kiu-kia) bordering on the Yarkand and Khotan rivers. To the east of this kingdom, the route led along high mountain passes and valleys to the country of Khotan (K'iu-sa-ta-na) (S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, p. 290-309). It was probably along some such route that the grand army of the Kuṣāṇas marched against the Chinese general Pa'n-chao through the Pamirs and Kashgharie under the command of Sei. Marching along this route Raghu reached the region of the 'kīcakas'. According to Sylvain Lévi, kīcaka' is the transcription of a Chinese word.[67] It grew on the banks of the river Śailodā. The country of the Kīchakas is repeatedly mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. In I, 144, 2, the Pāṇḍavas are stated to have visited the countries of the Matsyas, Trigartas, Pāñcālas and Kīcakas in course of their wandering from forest to forest. Again in II, 48, 2, there is a reference to the people who dwell by the river Śailodā, flowing between the mountains of Meru and Mandara, and enjoy the shade of the tops of kīcaka bamboos. The inhabitants of the Śailodā region were called Kīcakas. It was known about this river that nothing could swim over its surface. Whatever fell on it became stone. In order to cross it the Siddhas used to clutch the 'kīcakas' growing on its bank, which the high winds bent over to the other bank, where they got hold of the 'kīcakas' of that side. Besides the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata*, the Greek writers Curtius and Megasthenes have also referred to it. Sylvain Lévi[68] has identified this river with the Khotan river and Pargiter[69] has located it in western Tibet.

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67 Sylvain Lévi, 'Ptolemée, le Niddesa, et la Bṛhatkathā,' *Etudes Asiatiques* (1925), Vol. II, pp. 41-42.

68 Sylvain Lévi, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

69 F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (Eng. Tr.). p. 351.

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In order to reach Khotan from Badakhshan it was necessary to cross the Pamirs. Hence the 'gaurīguru-śaila' mentioned by Kālidāsa must refer to these mountains. In this connection it is noteworthy that Ptolemy has refered to a region named Goruaia and a town called Gorya. Strabo (XV, 697) has also mentioned it. In the second century B.C. Goruaia was a part of Menander's empire.[70] A tributary of the Swat named Panjkora is also called Gauri. Thus, it is clear that several place-names in the north-west bore the name of Gauri. It may well be that Kālidāsa called these mountains 'gaurīguru śaila' pointedly because of their proximity to some such region bearing this name. Besides this, it is also important to note that these mountains were connected with the Himālayas according to the belief of ancient geographers. Greek writers have used the word Hemodos to designate the Himālayas as well as the Hindukush and later on the Bolor range which was for a long time considered the dividing line between China and Turkestan.[71] Hence the treatment of these mountains in the Himālayan family becomes understandable.

Kālidāsa has mentioned the Kirātas[72] in the region of the 'Kīcakas'. The Kirātas were the Mongoloids, as shown by Sylvain Lévi.[73] The very word Kirāta is the Sanskrit from of some Sino-Tibetan word. The name of the Tibeto-Burman tribe of 'Kiranti' living in eastern Nepal throws some light on the ethnic basis of the word 'kirāta'.[74] Kirāta element predominates in the population of Ladakh and Baltistan and is also sprinkled in the people of Afghanistan. According to the *Mahābhārata*, the Kirātas occupied the northern slopes of the Himālayas.[75] Kālidāsa has particularly mentioned the

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70 W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 226.

71 J. W. McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 131-32. B. C. Law, *Indological Studies*, III. p. 175 :

72 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV 76:

तस्योत्सृष्टनिवासेषु कण्ठरज्जुक्षतत्वचः ।
गजवर्ष्म किरातेभ्यः शशंसुर्देवदारवः ।।

73 Sylvain Lévi, *Le Nepal*. Vol. II, p. 75.

74 Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 'Kirāta-jana Kṛti,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1950), p. 163.

75 *Mahābhārata*, II, 58, 8-10 :

ये परार्धे च हिमवतः सूर्योदयगिरौ नृपाः ।
फलमूलाशना ये च किराताश्चर्मवाससः ।।

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'sarala' (sāl) and 'devadāru' (a kind of pine) trees[76] in these regions and referred to the musk found there.[77] Haider Mirza Dughlat has also mentioned the musk of Tibet in his *Tārīkh-i-Rashidi*.[78] Kālidāsa has shown interest in the herbs of these regions that shine like lights at night.[79] In the *Mahābhārata* also the Parvatīyas are shown to have brought the presents of these herbs on the occasion of the *rājasūya* sacrifice of Yudhiṣṭhira.[80]

In the *Raghuvaṁśa* the Kirātas are mentioned after the Kāmbojas. Similarly in the conquests of Muktāpīḍa Lalitāditya (A. D. 695-732) described in the *Rājatarangiṇī*[81] the Bhauṭṭas and Daradas are mentioned after the Kāmbojas and Tukhāras. The Kirātas of the *Raghuvaṁśa* correspond to the Bhauṭṭas of the *Rājatarangiṇī*.

12. *The Parvatīyas, Utsavasanketas and Kinnaras*

After defeating the Kirātas Raghu conquered the Parvatīyas,[82] Utsavasanketas and Kinnaras.[83] In the *Mahābhārata* the Parvatīyas are placed before the Kirātas among the people who brought presents on the occasion of the *rājasūya* sacrifice.[84] This juxtapo-

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76 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 75 :

सरलासक्तमातङ्गरेवेयस्फुरितत्विषः ।
आसन्नोषधयो नेतुर्नक्तमस्नेहदीपिकाः ॥

77 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV 74:

विशश्रमुर्नमेरुणां छायास्वध्यास्य सैनिकाः ।
दृषदो वासितोत्सङ्गा निषण्णमृगनाभिभिः ॥

78 Major Raverti, 'Tibbet Three Hundred years Ago,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1885.) p. 9.

79 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 75, *op. cit.*

80 *Mahābhārata*, II, 48, 6:

उत्तरादपि कैलासादोषधी सुमहाबलः ।

81 *Rājatarangiṇī*. IV 163ff.

82 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV. 77 :

तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पर्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत् ।
नाराचक्षेपणीयाश्मनिष्पेषोत्पतितानलम् ॥

83 *Raghuvaṁśa*, IV, 78 :

शरैरुत्सवसंकेतान् स कृत्वा विरतोत्सवान् ।
जयोदाहरणं बाह्वोर्गापयामास किन्नरान् ॥

84 *Mahābhārata*, II, 48, 7 :

पार्वतीया बलिं चान्यमाहृत्य प्रणताः स्थिताः ।
अजातशत्रोर्नृपतेर्द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥

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sition of the Parvatīyas and Kirātas completely agrees with their location in the *Raghuvaṁśa*. These Parvatīyas brought the presents of honey, the garlands of Ambu flowers and powerful herbs to the court of Yudhiṣṭhira. These presents show that these people came from the Tibetan regions. After vanquishing them Raghu fought with the Utsavasanketas, who were the ancestors of the present-day speakers of the Manchāṭi, Lāhuli, Būnan, Rangloi and Kañāshi tongues inhabiting the regions between Ladākh and Tibet. They did not have a hide-bound system of marital relations. Among them sexual intercourse was mostly promiscuous. Pargiter[85] quotes a commentary on the *Raghuvaṁśa* in which the name Utsavasanketa is explained as designating a people among whom women make pleasure (*utsava*) at the hint (*sanketa*) of men. This shows the social and sexual laxity of these people which persists even up to this day. Adjacent to the land of the Utsavasanketas was the region of the Kinnaras. The southern part of Kaśmīra known as Kanaur is reminiscent of the ancient Kinnaradeśa. This region lies along the upper valley of the Jhelum between the Dhauladhar and the Zanskar mountains. The valley of Spiti starts from there.[86]

13. *The homeward journey*

The route of Raghu from the land of the Kirātas to the region of the Kinnaras is the same along which Fa-hien travelled from Khotan into India. After walking for twenty-five days from Khotan, Fa-hien reached Tsze-boh (Yarkand or Tashkurgan in Sirikul). He stayed there for fifteen days and then went south for four days and reached the conntry of Yuhwuy (Aktasch) in the Ts'ung-ling mountains. After that he went on among the hills for twenty-five days and reached K'eeh-ch'a (Iskardu).[87] In order to visit the holy places Fa-hien went from there to Uḍḍiyāna and Puruṣapur (Peshawar).

About a century later, the Chinese pilgrim Sung Yun went from Tsiu-mo (Tashkurghan) to Pa-ho (Wakhan) and passed by Po-che (the mountainous region to the north of She-mi (Chitral). He did not, however, enter the Gilgit valley and Kaśmīra and

85 F. E. Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 319.

86 Jayacandra Vidyālankara, 'Regional and Linguistic Structure of India', *Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. III. p. 130.
B. C. Law, *India as described in early texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, p. 82.

87 James Legge, *Travels of Fa-hien*, pp. 16-25.

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moved into the valley of the Swat.[88] Then in A. D. 751 Wu-K'ong came to the kingdom of Kapisa as the head of an official mission to bring back a Chinese ambassador. He passed by Kucha, Su-lei (Kashghar), Ch'e-ni (Shighnan), Po-mi (Pamir), Hu-mi (Wakhan) and travelling through Po-lu-lo (Bolor) or the valley of Yasin and Gilgit reached the Indus region.[89] In fact, the Gilgit route was important from fairly early times. In a Sanskrit inscription of the seventh century A. D. of Poṭaladeva Śāhi alias Nava Surendrāditya Nandin there is a reference to the construction of a city by his minister Makarasimha, who besides bearing Indian titles, is called Giligittā Sarāṁgha. This title shows that the name Gilgit is an ancient one and its importance lay in the route that passed through this valley.[90] Raghu turned south on this route and came back to India.

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88 S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I, p. xc.

89 Edouard Chavannes et Sylvain Lévi, 'L'itinéraire de Wou-K'ong', *Journal Asiatique*, 1895. p. 356 et seq.

90 N. P. Chakaravarti, *Presidential Address to the Indian History Congress*, Seventeenth Session, Ahmedabad, p. 18.

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CHAPTER XV

The Kidarites in Indian History

1. *The Kuṣāṇas and the Guptas*

The Kuṣāṇas[1] occupying the north-western marches of India during the ascendency of the early Guptas were a constant menace to the security of the fertile regions of rivers and plains stretching

[1] The fact that the Kuṣāṇas had lost the empire of India and were confined to their kingdom in the north-west is manifest from a Buddhist text which was translated into Chinese in 392 A.D. by a monk named Kālodaka. This text enumerates the four sons of heaven as the son of heaven of T'sin (China) in the east, the son of heaven of T'ien-chu (India) in the south, the son of heaven of Ta-Tsin (Hither Asia under the Roman Empire) in the west and the son of heaven of the Yue-che (Kuṣāṇa) in the north-west. This shows that by the time the said text was composed the king of India was treated among the four great kings of the world and ranked on a footing of equality with the king of the Kuṣāṇas. In other words, the Kuṣāṇas had no connection with India and were concerned only with their north-western dominion. Paul Pelliot has shown that before Kālodaka a text of the same title and on the same subject had been rendered into Chinese by a monk named Kiang-leang-lenche in 266 A.D. or probably in 281 A.D. [Paul Pelliot, 'La Théorie des Quatre Fils du Ciel', *T'oung Pao* (1923) pp. 97-99]. The theory of the 'Four Kingdoms' is also found in a text ascribed to Mani. According to it, the first kingdom is that of Babylonia and Persia, the second is the Roman empire, the third is the realm of the Axumites in Arabia and the fourth is that of China. In the estimation of Mani Persia was evidently more important than the Yue-che. Thus, it is clear that after the middle of the third century A.D. the Kuṣāṇas ceased to have anything to do with India. During the period 245-250 A.D. a report from Indo-China to the Chinese court mentions a saying which names China, the Graeco-Roman World and the Yue-che as a triad of great powers. In this enumeration India is not mentioned. Therefore, the independence of India must have been achieved about or just after 250 A.D. As for the view of M. Lüders that the 'four sons of heaven,' mentioned above, signify the four-fold sovereignty claimed by Kaniṣka, it has been satisfactorily refuted by Sylvain Lévi. (Sylvain Lévi, 'Devaputra', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) pp 1-21.)

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to the south-east. Whenever the pressure of nomadic migrations in the Steppes caused dislocation among the settled communities of the north-west or when the empire of the Indian plains showed signs of weakness, these people swooped down and spread havoc in the country. We have some evidence to show that Samudragupta campaigned in the west and north up to Kaśmīra[2] and it was probably in consequence of these campaigns as well as the pressure of the Sassanids that the Kuṣāṇas offered their allegiance to the Gupta monarch.[3] But after the death of Samudragupta (cir. 377-378 A.D.) the Kuṣāṇas (called Śakas in Indian works) again invaded India and coveted the wife of the reigning Gupta king Rāmagupta, whereupon Candragupta II had to beguile and kill their king by disguising himself as the queen, as we infer from the *Devicandragupta* of Viśākhadatta,[4] the *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa and the *Majmul-ut-Tawārīkh*.[5] Candragupta inflicted a crushing defeat on the Kuṣāṇas somewhere in the Panjab,[6] and, as has been shown elsewhere, soon

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2 *Arya-mañjuśri-mūla-kalpa* ed K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 52.

सोऽनुपूर्वेण गत्वासौ पश्चिमां दिशि भूपतिः ।
कश्मीरद्वारपर्यन्तं उत्तरां दिशिमाश्रितः ।।

3 J.F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. III, no. I, lines 23-24.

देवपुत्रशाहीशाहानुशाहीशकमुरुण्डैः सैंहलादिभिश्चसर्वद्वीपवासिभिरात्मनिवेदनकन्योपायनदानगुरुत्मदाङ्कस्वविषयभुक्तिशासन्याचनाद्युपायसेवाकृतबाहूवीर्यप्रसरधरणिबन्धस्य

4 Sylvain Lévi, 'Deux nouveaux traités de la dramaturgie Indienne', *Journal Asiatique* (1923), pp. 193-218.

5 Elliot and Dawson, *History of India*, vol. I, pp. 110-112 discussed by A. S. Altekar, *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. XIV, pp. 223-253.

6 According to the *Harṣacarita* (Nirṇayasagara Press edition p. 198, Cowell and Thomas, Eng. translation p. 194) the Śaka king was killed by Candragupta at Aripura, which Rangaswami Saraswati corrects as Alipura and identifies with the hill-fortress of Alipur in the Kangra district. K.P. Jayaswal, on the other hand, identifies this Alipura with the village named Aliwal in the Jullundhar district. But Rājaśekhar in his *Kāvyamīmānsā* states that the Śaka king was worsted at Kārtikeyanagar which has been located in the val-

continued on page 360

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afterwards led an expedition in the north-west up to the banks of the Oxus to remove their menace root and branch.[7] These stirring triumphs cowed down the Kuṣāṇas and cooped them up in their northern homelands. For some decades the people of India enjoyed peace, and arts and culture prospered. Candragupta II Vikramāditya was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya who preserved the integrity and stability of the Gupta empire for a pretty long time. But towards the end of his long reign there were signs of troubles. The last inscription of his reign engraved on the pedestal of the stone image found at Mankuwar is dated G. E. 129 (448-449 A.D.). The absence of any inscription of his reign after this date and the minting of coins on silver-plated copper instead of pure silver may suggest some difficulties. There is some evidence to show that a fresh horde of the Yue-che people appeared during the latter half of Kumāragupta's reign and poured into India in association with other peoples of the north-west. In this study it is proposed to examine this evidence to see what light it throws on this Kuṣaṇa invasion,

2. *The Sassanids and the Śakas*

In 224 A.D. the Sassanids replaced the Arsacids on the throne of Iran and adopted a policy of territorial expansion. Ardashīr I extended his power in the east and subjugated Śakasthāna. According to Tabarī, the king of the Kuṣāṇas, who ruled over the valley of

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continued from page 359

ley of Gomati near the present village of Baijnath in Almora district. (R.N. Dandekar, *History of the Guptas*, pp. 78-79). D. R. Bhandarkar holds that the scene of this occurrence was Kartṛpur (modern Kartarpur). (D. R. Bhandarkar, 'New Light on the Early Gupta History', *Mālavīya Commemoration Volume*, p. 1890). Alberuni (tr. Sachau, vol. II, p. 6) states that the Śaka king was killed at a place between Śākala (Sialkot) and the castle of Loni and Tāranātha (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. IV, pp. 364-365) writes that he was residing at Śāgala (Sialkot) at the time of his defeat. V.V. Mirashi holds that the name of this place was rather Nalinapura mentioned in a manuscript of the Harṣacarita. This is the same as Padmapura or Teng-kuang, a little to the west of Jalalabad, mentioned by Hiuen T'sang. [Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* vol. I, p. 155]

[7] Buddha Prakash, 'The Central Asiatic Expedition of Candragupta Vikramāditya' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Letters), vol. XIII (1947), pp. 31-39.

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Kabul and the Panjab and whose kingdom included Turan and Makuran (Makran) sent ambassadors to Ardashīr whose sovereignty he acknowledged. Herzfeld believes in the correctness of this tradition.[8] Ardashīr's successor Shahpuhr I (241-272 A.D.) grew so strong as to imprison the Roman emperor Valerian (260 A.D.). He extended his influence towards the east over the Kuṣāṇas. After him Varahran II (276-293 A.D.) exerted great pressure on the Kuṣāṇas. Unable to resist the might of the Sassanids the Kuṣāṇas sued for peace and their king married his daughter to Hormizd II between 301 and 309 A.D. The friendship and alliance of the Kuṣāṇas and the Sassanids were frequently renewed and strengthened by matrimonial connections. After the débacle of the Kuṣāṇas under Candragupta II Vikramāditya they joined the Sassanids even more closely. Tabari states that the Sassanid emperor Bahram Gor (420-438 A.D.) received Debal, Makran and the neighbouring tracts of Sind as dowry of the daughter of an Indian king whom he married.[9] Considering the political conditions of north-western India

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[8] Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, p. 36 *et seq.*

[9] T.Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sassaniden, Aus der Arabischen Chronik des Tabari*, p. 108.

The influence of the Sassanids on the Kuṣāṇas is manifest from their coins also. [Ernst Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* [Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no. 38(1930); J. Hakin, 'Répartitions des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan', *Journal Asiatique* (1935), p. 287]. We learn from these Kuṣāno-Sassanian coins that up to the time of Varahran II the eastern part of the Sassanian empire *i.e.*, Khurāssān, was always governed by a prince of the royal blood who bore the title *Kushāṇshāh*. Thus Peroz, the brother of Shahpuhr I, calls himself "the great Kushānshāh" on his coins. After 252 Shahpuhr I made his son Hormizd the governor of Khurassān with the pompous title of "the great king of the kings of Kushāns." Varahran I and Varahran II also used that high-sounding title before coming to the throne. Under Varahran II his brother Hormizd was the governor of Khurāssān. During the war with Rome, he rose in revolt and carved out an independent state in the east with the help of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas. This insurrection forced Varahran II to stop his war with Rome and throw all his troops in the fight with his rebellious brother. The revolt was quelled and the prince Varahran was made the governor of the eastern province with the title of Saghānshāh "king of the Śakas". Herzfeld believes that the crown-prince of Iran was always

continued on page 362

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of that time we cannot but conclude that the Indian king mentioned by Tabari was some small ruler of the Kuṣāṇas who renovated his alliance with the Sassanids by means of a marital relationship.

3. *The Guptas and China*

The developments in the north-west seem to have made the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta alert and led him to establish relationships in another quarter. The opening of land and sea routes between India and China resulted in brisk exchange of traders and pilgrims between them. When Fa-hien was still in India, Che-mong started with sixteen pilgrims from Ch'ang-ngan in 404 A.D. and traversing the land route, that passed through Kucha, visited Khotan, Iran and Gandhāra and following the track of Fa-hein and passing through Pāṭaliputra returned to China via, Sseu-chuan in 424 A.D. In 420 A.D. another monk named Fa-yong, resident of Huang-long (Che-li), took the route of the north with twenty-five persons, toured through Kabul, the Panjab and the valley of the Ganges and returned by sea to Canton. Among the other Chinese visitors to India in this period the names of Tao-pu, Fa-sheng, Fa-wei, Tao-yo and Tao-t'ai have come to us. Tao-yo had come as far as Saṅkāsya, modern Sankisa in the Farrukhabad district.[10] The itineraries of these these travellers are unfortunately lost but they give us an indication of the intensity of interest of the Chinese people in India and her culture. In this atmosphere of growing cultural contacts Kumāragupta thought it prudent to enter into an alliance with the Song emperor of China probably as a counterstroke to the treaty of the Kuṣāṇas with the Sassanids. It seems that with this end in view he sent an embassy to the court of the Song emperor at Nanking by the route of the sea. Chinese sources reveal that in 428 A.D. an envoy of a king of Kia-pi-li in T'ien-chu (India) named Yué-ai(beloved of the moon) reached

continued from page 361

made the governor of the provicce of the east. Thus, Kushānshah or Saghānshāh was the title analogous to that of "the Prince of Wales" in Great Britain. [E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli*, I, pp. 42 *et seq.*; A Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 222-223]. Thus, we observe that the Kushāns (Kuṣāṇas) had virtually passed under the domination of the Sassanids and their kingdom had, to all intents and purposes, become a part of the Iranian empire.

10 P. C. Bagchi, *India and China*, pp. 72-73.

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the court of the Song emperor at Nanking bringing, besides other presents, jewels and white parrots.[11] The name of the Indian king which is translated as "beloved of the moon" (aimé de la lune) appears to have been based on a word derived from "Candra". Curiously enough, we learn from the *Kāvyālankārasūtra-vṛtti* of Vāmana that the son of Candragupta was known as Candraprakāśa. Hara Prāsad a Śāstrin and A. F. Rudolf Hoernle regard it as a proper name and the latter suggests that it was the pre-accession name of Kumāragupta.[12] Should this view be correct, we would easily grasp the significance of the Chinese translation of the name of the Indian king as "beloved of the moon.".[13]

Besides this embassy of 428 A.D. another was sent in 466 A.D. when the Song emperor gave the Indian king the title which is translated as "the general who solidly established his authority." This title was perhaps a befitting tribute to the gallant exploits of Skandagupta. In 502 A.D., again, a third embassy brought a royal message with suitable presents from the Indian king Kiu-to (Gupta) to the court of the Leang who succeeded the Song at Nanking. About the same time between 500 and 502 A.D. a fourth embassy visited the court of the Wei or T'o-pa at Lo-yang and presented a horse.[14] These repeated visits of Indian embassies to the Imperial

11 Sylvain Lévi, *L'Inde Civilisatrice*, p. 195.

12 The verse in question is:

सोऽयं सम्प्रति चन्द्रगुप्ततनयश्चन्द्रप्रकाशो ।
जातो भूपतिराश्रयः कृतधियां दिष्ट्याकृतार्थश्रमः ।।

For a discussion of the problem of the identification of Candraprakāśa, vide, John Allan, *Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum—Gupta Dynasties* (London 1914), chapter on history and chronology.

13 Sylvain Lévi (*L'Inde Civilisatrice*, p. 196) thinks that the Chinese translation recalls the name of Candragupta and holds that it is by mistake that it was used for the king of India reigning at that time, who was, as a matter of fact, his son Kumāragupta. But in the light of Vāmana's information that the name of the son of Candragupta was Candraprakāśa, the association of the name translated in Chinese as "beloved of the moon" with Kumāragupta presents no difficulty. As for the difference of meaning in prakāśa (light) and 'beloved', it may be due to an accidental inadvertance of the Chinese translator.

14 Sylvain Lévi, *L'Inde Civilisatrice* pp. 196-197.

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Court in China were probably pregnant with the motive of forming an alliance with China against the peoples of central Asia, specially the Yue-che and others, who were menacing the safety of the Gupta empire in the north-west. We do not know if these embassies achieved any tangible purpose but we are well aware of the movements of nomadic peoples in central Asia after 428 A.D., the date of the visit of the first Indian embassy at Nanking, which resulted in great turmoil on the north-western frontiers of India and unleashed a new round of invasions in the plains of the Panjab and the Gangetic valley.

4. *Movements and migrations in central Asia*

At the beginning of the fifth century A.D. the empire of the Steppes passed into the hands of the Mongol clan Ju-juan, disparagingly called by the Chinese Juan-juan "the disagreebly moving insects."[15] About 402 A.D. one of their chiefs named Sho-luen subjugated the rival horde of Kao-kiu, who were the ancestors of the Töläsh and Üighur Turks and inhabited the regions of Kobdo and Urungu. In a very short time they came to dominate the whole of northern Gobi from Leao-ho on the Korean frontier in the east to Irtysh and the approaches of Qarashahr in the west. Among the tribes pressed by the Juan-juan was a Yue-che tribe called Kidarite and a tribe of the Hūṇas called Ye-ta by Chinese historians, Hayathelites by the Persian historian Mirkhund and Hephthalites by the Byzantine historians.[16] In fact, the clan of Ye-ta was ruling over the tribe named Hua and gave its name to these people. In the second quarter of the fifth century these Hephthalites were in agitation as a result of the pressure exercised on their rear by other tribes following the commotion among the Juan-juan caused by the defeats inflicted on them by the Wei monarch of Northern China T'o-pa Tao in 424 A.D. and 429 A.D. This drive of the nomads brought them into conflict with the Sassanids. Their movement in Khurassān was checked by Bahram Gor (420-438 A.D.) who inflicted a crushing defeat on the Hephthalites in the battle of Kuśmehan near Merv.[17]

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[15] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes* p. 104.

[16] For references see Chapter XIII.

[17] J. Marquart *Erānschahr, nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i*, p. 57

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5. *The Kidarites*

In the fifth century A.D. in Bactria the Tukhāra clan of the Kidarites was established between Balkh and Merv. This clan derived its name from the eponymous hero Kidāra transcribed in Chinese as Ki-to-lo.[18] The son of Kidāra was Kungkas. Historical sources refer to the wars of the Kidarites with the Sassanid sovereigns of Iran. According to these sources, the Sassanid king Yazdegird II took up arms against the Kidarites and Peroz fought first with Kidāra and then with his son Kungkas. But Peroz tried to make peace with Kungkas and offered to him the hand of his sister. Peroz was at war with the Byzantine emperor and had also to repel the invasions of the Saragures and other barbaric peoples who had penetrated into Armenia through the passes of the Caucasus. Hence Peroz wanted to stop the war against the Kidarites. But the hostilities continued and beaten by Peroz the Kidarites quitted Bactria and migrated to the south occupying Gandhāra.[19]

Chinese sources give an earlier date for these events. In the chapter of the *Pei-she* on "the countries of the west", which has replaced the original chapter on this subject in the *Wei-shu* and which goes back to the epoch of the Wei, there is a remark on Ta Yue-che and their king Ki-to-lo (Kidāra) who, pressed by the Juan-juan, emigrated to the city of Po-lo (Balkh) and thence invaded northern India, reducing to vassalage Gandhāra and the four kingdoms situated to its north. Marquart identifics Po-lo with

18 Paul Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Koutchéen' *Journal Asiatique* (1934), p. 42.

That Ki-to-lo (Kidāra) is a dynastic name appears from the fact that in the Chinese annals *Pei-she*, a king of the Ta Yue-che, Ki to-lo, is said to have been invaded and pushed back by the Juan-juan and in the same work on the very next page, a Ki-to-lo is said to have been pressed westward by the Hiung-nu. This Hiung-nu seems to be a mistake for the Hephthalite-Hūṇas. Again Kiu-to-lo is the name of a country whose ambassador visited China in 477 together with the ambassadors of western India (Si-t'ien-chu) and Śrāvasti according to the *Wei-shu*. This shows that in course of time the name of the dynasty came to designate the country over which it ruled. It is also noteworthy that the kings Kṛtavīrya, Śīlāditya, Sarvayaśas, Bhāsvan, Kuśala and Prakāśa use the word Kidara on the obverse of their coins

19 J. Marquart, *Eranschahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i* pp. 55-57-58; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, pp. 287-288.

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Balxan and the Russian scholars seek it in the ancient Nakhsheb on the lower Kaska-darya, the oasis around the city of Karṣhi about 80 miles south-west of Samarkand. The terra-cotta figures found there show markedly Europeid features. On the next page of the *Pei-she*, there is another notice of Ki-to-lo, the king of Ta Yue-che, who having migrated westwards under the pressure of the Hiung-nu, ordered his son to occupy the city called Fu-leu-sha (Puruṣapura) that was the seat of the Siao Yue-che. As a result of occupying the country of the Siao Yue-che, the kingdom of the son of Ki-to-lo was also called by the name of Siao Yue-che. This information reached China through the merchants of the country of Ta Yue-che who went to the court of T'ai-wu (424-451 A.D.) with some embassy of the western countries between 436 and 451 A.D. and popularized the manufacture of polychrome glass in China.[20] This shows that the invasion and settlement of the Kidarites on the north-western frontiers of India took place before the middle of the fifth century.

The information given by the Chinese sources appears more correct in this respect since the trend of the history of central Asia in the fifth century A.D. suggests that it was under the pressure of the Juan-juan that the Kidarites migrated towards the south and entered into India.

On the basis of numismatic evidence A. S. Altekar holds that the Kidarites rose to power about 340 A.D. At first Kidāra acted as a feudatory of the Sassanid emperor Shahpuhr II but about 355-356 A.D. he asserted his independence by striking the coins with his bust facing in the front which was the privilege of the Sassanian emperor only. Shahpuhr II invaded Gandhāra in 356 357 A.D. and compelled Kidāra to strengthen his alliance with Samudragupta. With his help he took the offensive against Shahpuhr in 367-8 A. D. and inflicted a defeat on the Sassanid armies. He appointed Varo Shāhi, Piroch and Buddhabala as his feudatories and satraps. About 375 A.D. Kidāra was succeeded

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[20] Paul Peliot, *op. cit.*, pp. 42-43. Martin has stated that the merchants of Ta Yue-che, who popularised glassware in china reached there during 398-509 A.D. (M.F.C. Martin 'Coins of kidara nnd the little Kusanas', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Numismatic Supplement* no XLVII (Silver Jubilee Number) p. 26. But on this point Pelliot is more authoritative.

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by his son Piro who extended his power further eastwards in the Panjab and pounced on the Gupta king Rāmagupta but was defeated and killed by Candragupta II. Shahpuhr III (383-88 A.D.) also broke his power and compelled him to acknowledge Sassanian suzerainty.[21]

Martin held that Kidāra threw off the Sassanian Yoke in 368 A.D. and established a large empire. Between 375-380 A.D. he abdicated and set up his son Piro on the throne. But Ardashīr II reconquered at least one of his districts over which he set a satrap and Shahpuhr III annexed several other districts and forced Piro to acknowledge his suzerainty in Gandhāra. Varahrān, who succeeded Piro, was also a vassal of the Sassanians. Ghirshman agrees with this reconstruction of Kidarite history proposed by Martin.[22]

Let us examine the evidence on which this reconstruction of history is based. It is held by Martin and following him by Ghirshman that coin-type I of Kidāra is directly copied from the coins of the middle period of Shahpuhr II. It is also admitted that this coin type of Kidāra is slightly exceptional in the great breadth of the crenellations on the crown.[23] But this view has been recently challenged by Curiel and Schlumberger who hold that the crown of Kidāra resembles that on the head of Yazdegird II (438-457, A.D) rather than that worn by Shahpuhr II as manifest from their coins.[24] These authors base their identification on the work of Erdmann on the crowns of the Sassanid monarchs.[25] Robert Göbl also agrees with this view and holds that Kidāra was not a contemporary of Shahpuhr II.[26] This view accords well with Chinese and even Iranian traditions.

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21 A. S. Altekar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* pp. 20-21.

22 M. F. C. Martin, 'Coins of Kidāra and the Little Kushāns', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Numismatic Supplement* (1937) no XLVII (Silver Jubilee Number) pp. 37-38 : René Ghirshman, *Les Chionites Hephtalites* pp. 74-81.

23 M.F.C. Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

24 R. Curiel and D. Schlumberger, *Tresors Monetaires d'Afghanistan* (Paris 1953) pp. 119-124.

25 K. Erdmann, 'Die Entwicklung der Sasanidischen Krone', *Ars Islamica* XV-XVI (1951) pp. 87-123.

26 R. Göbl, *Die Münzpragung der Kuśan* in F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Finangeschichte der Spatantike* (1957) ch. 8 pp, 226-227 pp. 226-227 A. Cunningham, *Later Indo-Scythians* p. 185.

continued on page 368

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It is held by Martin, Ghirshman and Altekar that Piro was the son and successor of Kidāra. But a comparison of the coin-types of Kidāra and Piro shows that they have no interconnection whatsoever. The obverse of the coins of Kidāra shows the "bust of the king to right, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head ; wearing mural crown with three crenellated turrets; crown adorned with floating fillets and central crenellation surmounted by crescent and fluted globe."[27] But the obverse of the coins of Piro shows "the bust of the king, facing, diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards from shoulders ; wearing crown with two ram's horns curving outwards and central foliate ornament of five plumes."[28] Obviously, there is a world of difference between the crown-designs of these two kings. The difference in their features and appearances is even greater. Kidāra has bushy hair but no beard and moustache, but Piro has bushy hair on either side of neck, small moustache with ends twirled and pointed and full curly beard with end passed through ring. This style of beard is called the honeycomb type which is probably referred to by Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvaṁśa* while mentioning the bearded heads of the Persians.[29] According to Paruck, the beard passed through a ring was the exclusive privilege of Sassanid monarchs.[30] The legend on the coins of Kidāra is *Kidāra Kushān Shā* which is amended as *Kidāra Kuṣāṇasa*,[31] whereas the legends on the coins of Piro are *Sha* and *Pirosa* only. These legends do not show any relationship of Piro with the Kuṣāṇas as that of Kidāra clearly does. As for the name

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continued from page 367

Shahpuhr II struck some coins with legend in Tukharian characters. This shows his hold over the kingdom of the Kuṣāṇas. On these coins the king is shown as wearing a crown having three crenallated turrets. The crescent and globe so prominent on the crown of Kidāra are missing there. For these coins of Shahpuhr II see R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites Hephtalites* p. 71.

27 Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

28 Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

29 Kālidāsa, *Raghuvaṁśa* IV, 66.

भल्लापवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरोभिः श्मश्रुलैर्महीम् ।
तस्तार सरघाव्याप्तैः स क्षौद्रपटलैरिव ।।

30 F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins* p. 350.

31 J. Allan, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1914) p. 410.

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Piro, it appears to be a variant of Peroz, a purely Iranian-Sassanian name. Thus, to sum up, the differences between the coins of Kidāra and Piro are so marked and numerous that there is no warrant for treating them as belonging to the same dynasty. Piro wearing a headdress of ram's horns and a curly beard passed through a ring is a Sassanid prince rather than a Kuṣāṇa chief who must be clean-shaven like Kidāra. He does not seem to be connected with any Kuṣāṇa dynasty. As for the theory of Altekar that Piro invaded India under Rāmagupta, it is refuted by the tradition that the Śaka monarch was killed by Candragupta, whereas Piro is stated to have been alive even after the accession of Candragupta and suffered from the blows of the Sassanid monarch Shahpuhr III.

According to Martin and Ghirshman, the successor of Piro was Varahrān. Altekar does not refer to him. His coins show him diademed, ends of diadem floating upwards behind head, and wearing a crown with foliate ornaments having three plumes and a fluted globe. The king has moustache and curly beard with end passed through ring. Here the legend reading as *lur varahrān* occurs in Pehlvi. On some coins there are Brahmi letters '*Pi*', '*nā*' or '*nāda*'. This king neither describes himself as Kuṣāṇa like Kidāra nor employs the title *shā* or *Shāhi* like Piro. It appears that he was some Sassanid governor of some region included in the realm of the Kuṣāṇas. There is not the slightest evidence to show his connection with the Kuṣāṇas. As for the design on the reverse it was commonly prevalent in those times and regions due to the preponderance of the neo-Zoroastrian fire cult. Yet there are marked differences between the designs on the reverse of the coins of Kidāra on one hand and those of Piro (type II) and Varāhran on the other. In the former the bust of Hormizd appears on the flames to the right, whereas on the latter this bust of Hormizd is missing; on the former the attendants wear plumed headdresses and on the other they wear close-fitting broad-brimmed headdresses.

Martin and Altekar hold that Varo Shahi, Piroch and Buddhahala were the provincial governors of the Kidarites. These scholars hold that when the bust of a king faces to the front he should be taken to be independent whilst the bust facing right is an indication of subordinate status. It is on this ground that they hold that Kidāra in the latter stage and Piro in the earlier stage were independent of the Sassanid emperor Shahpuhr. But curiously

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enough the busts of Varo Shahi, Piroch and Buddhabala are shown to be facing to the front which is a sign of independence. How can, therefore, they be termed as provincial governors of Kidāra and Piro ? These rulers as well as one Bhāsa have clear-shaven faces which denote their Kuṣāṇa affinities but there is nothing to prove that they were subordinate to the Kidarites. There are also coins of petty rulers like Kṛtavīrya, Śīlāditya, Sarvayaśas, Bhāsvan, Kuśala and Prakāśa on the observe of which the word Kidāra occurs showing their affinity to the Kidārites. These rulers must have been ruling over some principalities in the Panjab and undergone the process of Indianisation which was in full swing in the Gupta period and whose symbol is the replacement of Kharoṣthi by Brāhmi, but there is nothing to indicate that they flourished in the fourth century A.D.

Thus, the numismatic evidence at our disposal does not conclusively prove that the Kidārites flourished in the 4th century B.C. during the reign of Shahpuhr II. Nor there is anything to show that Piro and Varahran were Kuṣāṇas and had any relationship with Kidāra. They were rather Sassanid princes or governors. As for the finds of their coins together with those of Shahpuhr II, Shahpuhr III and Varahran IV this is an argument of a weak type for the burying of treasures depend on the availability of coins according to circumstances. Chinese and Persian authorities concur in showing, as seen above, that Kidāra rose to power in the middle of the fifth century A.D. We learn from Chinese sources that in 477 the ambassador of the country of Kiu-to-lo (Kidāra) visited China. This shows that the Kidarites were flourishing in the fifth century A.D. The Kidārites migrated towards Bactria and Gandhāra and the Panjab as a result of the pressure of the Juan-Juan and such other nomadic tribes.[32]

The Kidarite problem has been discussed anew by some scholars. Among them the famous German scholar Franz Altheim deserves to be specially mentioned. In the first volume of his magnum opus entitled *Geschichte der Hunnen* (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter and Co. 1959) he has identified the Kidarites with the Qun or Hūn who, according to him, made themselves lords of Sogdiana shortly after 356, and the Hunni who crossed the Don in 374-375. He identifies

[32] René Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, p, 105; Rāhula Sānkritaāyana, *History of Central Asia* (in Hindi) Vol. I, pp. 104-105.

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the Hsiung-nu king Hu-yi, who held Sogdiana, with Kongkhas, the Kidarite king, mentioned by Priscus. But he accepts the view of Shiratori, Enoki and Maenchen-Helfen that the conquerors of Sogdiana were the Hephthalites, In his view, these people or rather groups of the same people bore the same name and spoke a Turkish language.

Otto Maenchen-Helfen disputes the views of Altheim. He says that the equation Hu-yi=Koṅgkhas is untenable since the first syllable ended in 't' and was pronounced as *'khuet'* and the second syllable had an initial 'n' and was spoken as *'ngiei'*.[33] Marquart also in his *Wehrot und Arang* p. 39 took Koungkhas to be the transcription of 'qun-qan'. But Barthold doubted this equation.

Robert Göbl suggested to the present author that the Kidarites were the same as the Hephthalites. But in the *Pei-she* they appear as *Ta Yue-che* or Kuṣāṇas. The Chinese knew full well the Hephthalites as *Hoa* or *Hua* or *Ye-ta-i-li-to* of the people *Hoa*. So there is nothing to show that the Chinese made a confusion of *Ta Yue-che, Ki-to-lo* and *Ye-ta-i-li-to*. The reference in the *Pei-shih* clearly shows that the Kidarites are to be distinguished from the Hephthalites, as they are identified with the *Ta Yue-che*.

Of course, the Hephthalites are also stated to belong to the race of Te Yue-che in the *Thung-Kiang-nu* and the *Encylopaedia* of Ma-tuan-lin, just as Ki-to-lo (kidāra) is called the king of Ta-Yue-che in the *Pei-she*. But it is significant that whereas the Hepthalites never called themselves Kuṣāṇa on their coins, kidāra expressly called himself a Kuṣāṇa king as the legend on his coin *Kidāra Kushān Shā* clearly shows. A study of thecoin-types of the Hephthalites and Kidāra clearly proves that they belonged to two distinct dynasties. Thus, though it is undoubtedly true that both the Hephthalites and the kidarites belonged to the same Iranian nomadic complex called Yue-Che, yet it is apparent that they constituted two distinct dynasties.

It appears that in the first half of the fifth century the Kidarites, who were a horde of the Yue-che roaming somewhere in central Asia, were pushed westwards by the Juan-juan. Hence they came into Bactriana, clashed with ths Hephthalites and came into contact with the Sassanids. As the Hephthalites were hard-pressed at

33 *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. LXXIX (1959), p. 296.

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that time, they traversed through their territory and occupied Gandhāra. But the Hephthalites soon rallied, inflicted a defeat on the Sassanid armies and pounced on Gandhāra.

On entering into India through the passes of the Hindukush, the Kidarites supplanted their cousins who were settled in Gandhāra and had allied themselves with the Sassanids. But the Hephthalites pushed downwards and came on the heels of the Kidarites to India. The Kidarites were thus pressed forward from the regions of Gandhāra and the result was their invasion of the plains of the Panjab and the Gangetic valley in association with other tribes.

The pressure of nomadic movements in central Asia seems to have given a new orientation to Sassanian politics. The Sassanids strengthened their alliance with the Kidarite-Kuṣāṇas after their settlement in Gandhāra, as we infer from the presence of the Pehlavis, the official mame of the Sassanids, in the Kuṣāṇa hordes that invaded India. The alliance of the Sassanids and the Kidarites is also hinted at by the traditions of the proposal of the Sassanid king Peroz of marrying his sister to the Kidarite king Kungas that are recorded by Persian writers.

6. *The Kidarite-Hephthalite invasion of northern India*

The details of this invasion of northern India are given in the *Candragarbha-paripṛchhā-sutra* which has been cited by the Tibetan historian Bu-ston in his *History of the Buddhist Doctrine*. The relevant passage reads as follows :

"King Mahendrasena was born in the country of Kauśāmbī, had a son with arms of irresistible might. After he had passed the age of twelve, Mahendra's kingdom was invaded upon by three foreign powers in concert—Yavanas, Palhikas (Pahlikas) and Śakunas—who first fought among themselves. They took possession of Gandhāra and the countries to the north of the Ganges. The young son of Mahendrasena, of weighty hands and other congenital military marks distinguishing his person, asked for permission to lead his father's army. The enemy army numbered three hundred thousand men under the commands of the foreign kings, the chief of whom was the Yavana. The son of Mahendra put his army of two hundred thousand men divided under five hundred commanders, sons of ministers and other orthodox Hindus. With extraordinary quickness and a terrible drive he charged the enemy. In fury his veins on the forehead appeared like a visible mark

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and his body became steeled. The prince broke the enemy army and won the battle. On his return his father crowned him king saying : 'henceforth rule the kingdom' and himself retired to religious life. For twelve years after this the new king fought these foreign enemies and ultimately captured and executed the three kings. After that he ruled peacefully as the emperor of Jambu-dvīpa."[34]

In this passage the association of the Yavanas, Palhikas and Śakunas is significant from the historical point of view. The Palhikas and and Śakunas are evidently the Sassanids and Kuṣāṇas (Kidarites) who had come close to each other. The word Yavana (Yauna) seems to be a mistake for the Hūṇa as suggested by K. P. Jayaswal. These people had quarrelled among themselves before their descent on the Indian plains. We have seen that Kungkas led the Kuṣāṇas (Ta Yue-che) into Gandhāra. There he fought with the Kuṣāṇas (Siao Yue-che, according to Chinese works), who were already settled in those regions. Obviously, therefore, there was a clash between the new-comers and the Kuṣāṇas of the Gandhāra region.[35] They also appear to have been pressed by the Hūṇas-

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[34] Cited by K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 36.

[35] It has been noted above that the Chinese text *Pei-she* calls Ki-to-lo the king of Ta Yue-che and describes his son settled in Fu-leu-sha as the king of Siao Yue-che. After the cessation of relations with the West in the latter half of the third century the Chinese forgot everything about the Ta Yue-che. Hence Kumārajīva in his Chinese translation of the great commentary of the Prajñā-Pāramitā (Ta-che-tu-luen) mentioned Ta-k'ia-lo, which is a transcription of Tukhāra, and explained this term as signifying the little Yue-che. [Sylvain Lévi, *Fragments de Textes Koucheens* (introduction) pp. 24-25.] Again in his translation of the *Life of Aśvaghoṣa*, completed in 412 A.D., he rendered Tukhāra by the term Siao Yue-che, since it was the only expression that was understood in China in his time. Stael-Holstein believes that Kaniska did, in fact, belong, to the Siao Yue-che, who had come from Chinese Turkestan, and Kumārajīva gave the aforesaid rendering with full awareness of the true state of affairs. According to Konow also, the dynasty of Kaniṣka was of Siao Yue-che origin (Sten known, 'Suggestions concerning Kaniṣka', *Acta Orientalia* VI, part I pp. 93-96.) From this point of view the reference to the son of Ki-to-lo as the king of Siao Yue-

continued on page 374

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Hepathalites. The result was that a vast avalanche of the north-western peoples consisting of the Kidarite-Kuṣāṇas, Hephthalite-Hūṇas and Pahlava-Persians descended into northern India.

7. *Kungkas and Kanka*

The king who played a notable part in the descent of these invaders on northern India was the son of Ki-to-lo, who is called Kungkas, as seen above. This name Kungkas seems to have been adapted to suit a pun in a verse by Subandhu in his *Vāsavadāttā*.[36] In this verse the author refers to the rule of Kaṅka after that of Vikramāditya. Here the word Kaṅka signifies both a heron and the king who came after Vikramāditya. To have this two-fold meaning the author has slightly changed Kungkas to Kaṅka.

Ghirshman has identified Kungkas with the Hephthalite king Akun. According to him, Peroz demanded tribute from the Hephthalites which provoked a war between them. He made peace with Kungkas and promised to marry his daughter to him. But he broke the treaty. Hence the hostilities started again. The Persians were defeated and Peroz was released on a promise to pay contribution and his son Kawadh was detained as hostage. Akun or Kungkas restruck the coins tendered by Peroz and issued his

continued from page 373

che signifies that he conquered the successors of Kaniṣka settled in Peshawar in virtue of which he bore their designation. But Pelliot rejects the view of Stael-Holstein and holds that the description of Ki-to-lo as Ta Yue-che and of his son as Siao Yue-che is simply intended to accommodate the information about these two clans, which the merchants of the Yue-che country suddenly released between 436 and 451 (Pelliot, *op. cit.*, p. 45). William Samolin holds that the epithet Siao 'little' is descriptive, not genealogical, and refers to the rump successor state of the fourth Kuṣāṇa dynasty. (W. Samolin, 'A Note on Kidāra and the Kidarites, *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol. II p. 297). Whatever may be the true import of these designations, the fact remains that according to the Chinese annalist, there was war and conflict among the different clans of the Yue-che people as a result of the rise of the Kidarites. Thus, the conclusion cannot be escaped that the son of Ki-to-lo conquered another branch of his tribe settled in the north-west of India.

[36] Subandhu, *Vāsavadattā* (ed. Hall) p. 7.

सा रसवत्ता विहता नवका विलसन्ति चरति नो कङ्कः ।
संरसीव कीर्तिशेषं गतवति भुवि विक्रमादित्ये ।।

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own coins having their own independent style.[37] Ghirshman is emphatic on the fact that Kidāra was Kuṣāṇa rather than a Hūṇa. He clearly and rightly distinguishes between the Kidarites and the Hephthalities. Kungkas is known as the son and successor of Kidara, as seen above. Priscus clearly states that the Kidarites were the adversaries of Peroz. In 468 Peroz sent an ambassador to the Byzantine court for announcing his victory over the Kidarites. In 465 an official ambassador of the kingdom of T'ou-hou-lo (Tukhāra) visited the court of China. Marquart, Christensen and Pigoulevskaya place the Kidarites in this period.[38] Kungkas, the Kidarite, seems to be distinct from Akun, the Hephthalite.

8. *Skandagupta's wars with the Kidarites and Huṇas*

The wars of Skandagupta are laconically referred to in his Bhitari and Junāgarh inscriptions. The fourth verse of the Bhitari inscription[39] refers to the coronation of Skandagupta after his victory over the Puṣyamitras, a variant reading being Yudhyamitras,[40] who are probably identical with the tribe of the Puṣyamitras associated in the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* with the region of Mekala near the source of the Narbudda.[41] The seventh verse[42] of this inscription refers to the

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37 René Ghirshman, *Les Chionites—Hephtalites* p. 88.

38 *Ibid* pp. 74 ff; W. H. Haussig, 'Theophylakts Exkurs über die Skythischen Völker', *Byzantion* vol. XXIII p. 328 Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 60; Christensen, *op. cit.*, p. 60; N. Pigoulevskaya, *Sources Syriaques concernant l'histoire des peuples de U.R.S.S.* p. 54. A.D.H. Bivar holds that the first Kidāra was succeeded by at least one other ruler using the same name. ['The Kushano-Sassanian Coin Series' *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* Vol. XVIII (1956) p. 27] The second ruler may be a son of the former. This position accords with the tradition of Kungkas succeeding Kidāra.

39 J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, no. 13, verse 4.

विचलितकुललक्ष्मीस्तम्भनायोद्यतेन क्षितितलशयनीये येन नीता त्रियामा।
समुदितबलकोषान् पुष्यमित्राँश्च जित्वा क्षितिपचरणपीठे स्थापितो वामपादः॥

40 H. K. Divekar, 'Puṣyamitras in the Gupta Period, *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* (1920), pp. 99 ff. A. L. Basham has also endorsed this view of Divekar.

41 *Viṣṇupurāṇa*, IV, 24, 17. The commentator of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* distinguishes the Puṣyamitras from the seven Mekalas. Hence they may have occupied the region between the Māhiṣyas and Mekala in the Narbudda valley, if not Mekala

continued on page 376

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"conquest of the earth" made by Skandagupta and the eighth verse[43] relates to his victory over the Hūṇas. It appears that the Hūṇas, Kidarites and Pahlavas jointly invaded northern India and were repelled by Skandagupta. In the Junagarh Rock inscription dated 136, 137, 138 G. E. they are referred to as Mlecchas. In the Bhitari epigraph, however, we have the mention of the Hūṇas, which constituted a prominent element of the invaders. The result of the victory of Skandagupta was that his fame spread and his influence was felt in foreign countries including the Iranian settlements in the north-west. It may be noted that Somadeva in his *Kathāsaritsāgara* includes Nirmūka, the king of the Persians, among the vassals of Vikramāditya, son of Mahendrāditya,[44] who is undoubtedly identical with Skandagupta Vikramāditya. The vassalage of the Persian king is a reminiscence of the victory of Skandagupta over the invaders mentioned above.[45]

The Kidarites (Kuṣāṇas) driven away from India by the young prince Skandagupta in the closing years of the reign of Kumāragupta took refuge in the mountainous retreats of the north-west. Some petty rulers of the Kidārite dynasty, who were completely Hinduised, ruled over the north-west including some parts of

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continued from page 375

itself. (H. C. Raychoudhury, *Political History of Ancient India*, 5th ed., p. 569).

[42] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.*, verse 7.

स्वैर्दण्डै: ˘ ˘र (?) त्यु-त् प्रचलितं वंशं प्रतिष्ठाप्य यो
बाहुभ्यामवनिं विजित्य हि जितेष्वार्त्तेषु कृत्वा दयां-
न्नोत्सिक्तो न च विस्मित: प्रतिदिनं संवर्धमानद्युति:
गीतैश्च स्तुतिभिश्च वन्दकजनो यं प्रापयत्यार्यताम् ।।

[43] *Ibid*, verse 8.

हूणैर्यस्य समागतस्य समरे दोर्भ्यां धरा कम्पिता । भीमावर्त्तकरस्य शत्रुषु शरा विरचितंप्रख्यापितो ।

[44] *Kathāsaritsāgara*, II, 563 ff.

[45] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (*London*) (1909), pp. 88 ff. An illustration of Candragomin is अजयज्जर्तो हूणान्. In this example the reading 'jarta' is not settled. S. K. Belvelkar has amended it as 'Gupta'. (*Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*, p. 58). In a commentary on the *Siddha-Hemacandra-Śabdānusāsana* of Hemacandra entitled *Siddhaprabhā* this illustration is cited as अजैषीद् गर्तो हूणान् [*Indian Historical Quarterly* (1953), p. 181].

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western Panjab. Coins have revealed the existence of the kings Kṛtavīrya, Śitaditya, Bhāsvan, Kuśala, Prakāśa and Sarvayaśas who used the title *kidla*. They adopted Hindu names and culture. Finally they merged in Hindu society. Some sections of the Kuṣāṇas repaired to the valleys of Chitral and Gilgit about 475 A.D. and descended from there after the defeat of the Hūṇas in the sixth century and occupied some parts of Gandhāra on parts of which they kept their possession up to the ninth century.[46] About 595 we hear of two powerful Kuṣāṇa chiefs Shog and Pariok. Pariok assassinated Wistam the uncle of Khusrau II who was appointed the governor of Khurāsan.

The Kidarites seem to have left an imprint in Sanskrit grammatical literature. The *Kāśikā* commentary on the grammar of Pāṇini refers to the gold coins called *Kedāra* which may signify the currency of the Kidarites.[47]

[46] Louis de la Vallée-Poussion, *L'Inde anx temps des Mauryas et des Barbares, Grecs, Scythes, Parthes et Yue-Tche*, p. 318.

[47] V. S. Agrawala, *India as known to Pāṇini*, p. 261.

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CHAPTER XVI

A reference to the Sassanids in Indian Literature.

1. The rise of the Sassanids

The rise of the Sassanid dynasty marked a glorious epoch in Persian history which signified the revival of the greatness of the Achaemenid age. The Sassanids adopted the policies and cherished the ideals of their Achaemenid predecessors. Hence Persian legends invented a relationship between them. They show that Bahman, the son of Isfandiyar, married his sister Humai who bore him a posthumous son named Dara. His brother Sasan, disappointed of the succession, retired to the mountains of Kurdistan and became a shepherd. It is from him that the Sassanid dynasty sprang[1]. These legends, though mostly fictitious, hint at the fundamental historical fact that the Sassanids resumed the ideology of national consolidation and imperial expansion pursued by the Achaemenids.

The real founder of the greatness of the Sassanids was Ardashīr, son of Pāpak and grandson of Sasan. At first Pāpak's eldest son Shāhpuhr ascended the throne, but was soon overthrown by Ardashīr.[2] Ardashīr killed the Parthian emperor Ardawan (Greek Artabanus) in the battle of Hormizdjan, probably on 28th April 224 A. D. For some time he struggled with the remnants of Parthian rule and marched from province to province. On 29th September 226 or a bit later he was formally coronated in the Parthian capital Ctesiphon as the emperor of Iran[3]. After his success against the

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[1] Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (third edition) Vol. I pp. 391-392.

[2] V.F. Büchner, 'Sasanians', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* Vol. IV p. 178; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Urdu translation by Mohammad Iqbal) pp. 109. ff.

About Sasan we know very little. According to Ibn Kutaiba (*Kitab-al-Maārif* P. 321), Ardashīr was one of the 'kings of tribes' (*Mulūk-al-Tawāif*) reigning in Iran and his capital was Istakhr.

[3] According to Büchner, Ardashīr killed Ardarwan in 224 but Sykes places this event in 226 or 227 A.D. Ardashīr is said to have killed Ardawan in the Battle of Hormizdjan by a ruse. He engaged his adversary in a dual, pretended to flee and then turning in the saddle, shot him through the heart. The

continud on page 379

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Parthians he proceeded to unify and consolidate the whole of Iran. His policy was to abolish the two hundred and forty states whose autonomy was so dangerous to the power of the emperor. He aimed at creating a centralised state supported by the priesthood and protected by a standing army under the command of officers who were independent of the satraps. Hence he conquered and annexed the country bordering on Khurasan, Merv, Balkh and Khiva and lashed out against the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas of north-western India.

2. *The Sassanids and the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas.*

We learn from the history of Farishta that Ardashīr reached the frontiers of India with a view to conquering this country and levied tribute on the reigning king Junāh who bought peace by offering gold, jewels, pearls and elephants to the invader.[4] The Persian monarch returned to his country without any fighting. The name Junāh is manifestly a variant of the word *Yavana*, which originally signified the Greeks, but, later on, came to represent all non-Hindu foreigners. The Yavanas and the Śakas were classed together, as the expression *Śaka—Yavana*, mentioned by Sanskrit grammarians, indicates. Later on, when the ethnic term *śaka* fell into disuse, the kings of this stock, who once ruled over Indian territories, were also called *Yavana*[5] Tabari also states that the king of the Kuṣāṇas, who ruled over the valley of Kabul and the Panjab including Turan and Makuran, sent ambassadors to Ardashīr and acknowledged his suzerainty. Thus, Farishta is confirmed by this early authority and Herzfeld rightly believed in the correctness of this tradition recorded by them.[6] Recently a brass coin has been discovered in the Jhelum district, the obverse of which is of the Later Kuṣāṇa type and the reverse exhibits a fire altar similar to that on the coins of Ardashīr. This coin appears to be a Kuṣāṇa piece counter-struck with Sassanian

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continue from page 378

chronology of the early Sasanian period has been recently examined in detail by S.H. Taqizadeh in his paper, 'The Early Sasanians, some chronological points which possibly call for revision,' *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. XI. Part I (1943) pp. 6-51.

4 *Tārikh-i-Farishtāh*, (Urdu translation by Mohammad Fida Ali) Vol. I p. 38.

5 Sten Konow, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1912) p. 379.

6 Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli* Vol I p. 36.

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device. Smith takes this coin as the proof of the prevalence of Sassanid rule in north-western India.[7]

Shāhpuhr I (241-212 A. D.), the successor of Ardashīr, took the offensive against the Kuṣāṇas again, sacked Kāpiśī (Begram) and conquered Turan, Makuran, Paratan, Hindustan and Kushānshahr from Puśkabur (Peshawar) to Kaś (Bukhara), Sughd (Sogdiana) and Saśstan (Taskand), as we gather from the Kaabah Zarathustra inscription.[8] The Kuṣāṇa kingdom was placed under the administration of the governor of Khurasan who consequently bore the title of Kushānshāh or king of the Kuṣāṇas. In fact, the term Khurasan was used in a wider sense and signified all the eastern provinces and protectorates of the Sassanid empire. It appears that the crown-prince of Iran was always made the governor of the eastern provinces. Thus, *Kushānshāh* or *Saghānshāh* was the title analogous to that of 'Prince of Wales' in Great Britain. We find that Peroz, the brother of Shāhpuhr I, called himself "the great Kushānshāh" on his coins. After 252 Hormizd, the son of Shāhpuhr, was the governor of Khurasan with the pompous title of "the great king of the kings of the Kushans'. Varahran I and Varahran II also used that high sounding title before coming to the throne.[9]

After Shāhpuhr I there was a civil war between his sons Hormizd and Bahram (Varahran). The latter came out successful and ruled from 273 to 298. Since the Kushāns flirted with Rome and sided with Hormizd, Bahram (Varahran) quelled and quashed them in 283-284 A. D. After this victory, to quote Herzfeld, "the Sassanian empire actually comprised the following possessions in the east, Gurgan and the whole of Khurasan, perhaps, including Khvārazm and Sughd, Sakasthan in its widest limits, including Makuran and Turan, the land of the middle course of the Indus and its mouths, Kaccha, Kathiawar, Malwa and the adjoining hinterland

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[7] V. A. Smith, 'Invasion of the Punjab by Ardashīr Papakan, the First Sasanian King of Persia, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* April, 1920 pp. 221-226; *Early History of India* (1924) p. 289 F. N. 3; F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins* pp. 79-80.

[8] M. Sprengling, 'Shahpuhr the Great on the Kaabah of Zoroaster, '*American Journal of Semetic Languges and Literatures* (1940) pp. 353-253.

[9] Ernst Herzfeld, *Paikuli* Vol. I p 42; *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India no. 38 (1930); J. Hackin, 'Répartition des monnaies anciennes en Afghanistan,' *Journal Asiatique* (1935) p. 287; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* pp. 222-223.

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of these countries. The only exception was the Kabul valley and the Punjab which continued to remain in the hands of the Later Kushans."[10] But these Later Kushans also acknowledged the overlordship of the Sassanids.

After the death of Bahram (Varahran) II in 293 his son Bahram (Varahran) III occupied the throne for only a few months. Among his retainers were the Śaka satraps of Avanti (*Avandik (an) xvat (a)v*) mentioned in line 22 of the Pehlvi version of the Paikuli epigraph, according to Herzfeld. But soon his granduncle Narse revolted and overthrew him. A large number of princes came to congratulate the new king on his coronation. Their list is given at the end of the aforesaid inscription at Paikuli. Herzfeld has translated this passage as follows:

"The Caesar of Rome, the king of Khwarazm, and Zāmāsp... of Kuśdān, and Digpambak and Sayyidi, the Śaikh of the Arabs, and Pak, the eunuch, and Bēruvān, son of Spandorāt, and the king of the Paradan, and Varāśgurt, the king, and the king of Zand—Afrik, and the king of Makuran, and X, the king of.....and Tirdāt, the king, and Amru, the descendant of the Abgars, and the king of Ābhīra and Sīkā.....Vryn yrpt that their Bytāk.....Satraps of all kinds, Varāzgirde, the lord of the Sakhūriśān and Khvarasmān, the lord of the Mokan, and Bagdāt, the lord of the Zurādiān, and Mitra Alasen, the Lord of the Bōraspiśīn, and Bāti, the lord of the Zūrādatcin, and X, the lord of the Apréṣmiśān, and Marwak, the lord of the Ishtakvīn, and the lord of the Terakhśīn.....and other princes, our instruction they became, and the whole empire anew (?) I wish (?) or ; they congratulated me and some came personally to our poste.....others envoys.....and by (?) him the empire, and the place.....and to our service they came"[11]

Herzfeld holds that among the princes, enumerated in the Paikuli inscription, some can be considered Indian Śakas. "In the group of princes of royal rank we have Béruwān-i-spandār (ā)-tān, the

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10 E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* II p. 42.

11 E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* Vol. I, p. 119.
The relevant text is 'keśare u hrome u zāmāsp i—kuśdān a xv (a) razm (ā)—n śāh u,.....zandafrīk śāh u makūrān śāh...śāh ut amrū apgar (i) nān ut ābirān śāh u śīka..... śātrap gōnak-gōnak.....pādēsē i amma ēstēnd a hamāke śatre pa nōke p (ā) des śéamax xvahem u ke xvat o dar i ama amat énya frēstakāns.'

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Paradan Śāh, perhaps Varazgarte Śāh, the king of the Ābhiras and probably Sika whose name is incomplete and title is missing." The next group opened by the words *satrap gonāk gonāk* (all sorts of satraps) evidently consists of Śaka satraps from India. "I cannot interpret the name of the first tribe, the Sakūrišān", writes Herzfeld, "but the second tribe the Amokan were occupying the district around Quetta, the following are the people of Saurāṣṭra, the next satrap Mitra Alasen has a name ending in *sena*, as do many names of Indian Satraps. They all came to pay homage to the new king of Iran and non-Iran, after the overthrow of their former supreme lord Varahran III Śakānśāh. Inspite of the rivalry of the Kuśāna, not only the suzerainty of the Śaka empire over the territory reaching from Sīstan as far as to the mouth of the Indus and to Cambay and Rajputana had been maintained until 284 A. D. but it had passed over to the Sassanian viceroy of Sakasthan Varahran III, all the easier, since the power of the Kuśāns themselves had previously been destroyed and seriously weakened by Ardashīr and Hormizd I"[12]

It is clear from the aforesaid quotation from Herzfeld that the Śaka satraps of Seistan, Saurāṣṭra and Avanti and the Kuṣāṇa king of the Kabul and Peshawar regions had acknowledged the suzerainty of the Sassanids. Together with them some Indian powers and peoples like the Ābhiras also established contacts with them.

Hormizd II (301-309), the son and successor of Narse, married the daughter of the Kuṣāṇa king of Kabul and on some of his gold coins assumed the title *Kusan Malkān Malka*.[13]

According to Cunningham, this legend refers to the alliance made by the Kuṣāṇa king with the Sassanid monarch by giving him the hand of his daughter and ceding the province of Balkh to the north of Hindu Kush.[14] On the part of the Sassanids also the desire to strengthen their relations with the Kuṣāṇas was keen on account of the pressure of Rome.

It is very significant that Śiva and his bull and the Indian altar figure on the coins of Hormizd II showing pronounced Indian influence on him and his court which came from the Kuṣāṇas.[15]

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[12] E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli* II p. 42.

[13] F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian Coins* pp. 89, 281—3

[14] *ibid* pp. 169-71

[15] Paruck, *op. cit.* p. 90; R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of Coins of the Punjab Museum* Vol. I p. 213.

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We have some instances of the occasional uprisings of the Kuṣāṇas, for instance, during the early part of the reign of Shāhpuhr II, when, according to Tabari, as interpreted by Marquart, they became assertive and assumed their full imperial titles. But the Sassanids exercised relentless pressure on them which drove them to seek alliance with the Indian monarch Samudragupta, as a remark in his Allahabad Pillar inscription indicates. But in 356 A. D. the Kabul valley passed under the occupation of the Sassanids, as an inscription of the forty-seventh year of the reign of Shāhpuhr II, found at Persepolis, which refers to the Chief Judge of Kabul, named Slok, who prayed for the safe return of Shāhpuhr to Kabul, shows.[16] The discovery of the crest of the Sassanid empire depicting two winged horses facing each other in heraldic pose at Gunde-Peisa near Begram,[17] the find of the Merv coins of Shāhpuhr II at Taxila[18] and the issue of a special type of coins by him bearing his name in Tukharian characters prove that the Sassanid emperor campaigned in Kabul and Taxila and inflicted a defeat on the Kuṣāṇas.

3. *The Sassanids and India*

Jarl Charpentier has shown that the Sassanids held sway over the greater Sakasthan until about 390-400 A. D., when Kathiawar, Gujrat and Malwa were reconquered by Candragupta II, but the lower Indus Valley, at least the region to the west of the river, was probably held by the Sassanids until their downfall by the middle of the 7th century, when the Arabs arrived as their successors.[19] He bases his view on the remark of Cosmas Indikoplenstes contained in his *Christian Topography* that "the river Indus empties into the Persian Gulf and has different mouths, one belonging to Persia and another to India." He also cites the *De Bello Persico* of Procopius where it is stated that at the time of Justinian (527-566 A. D.) the Persian merchants had the monopoly of silk trade in the ports of India. These merchants used to charge heavy prices for Indian silk in western markets causing thereby a serious drain on the treasury. Hence Justinian entered into a treaty with the Abyssinian king Hellestheaeus with the object of inducing the traders of that

16 E. Herzfeld, *Kushano-Sassanian Coins* p. 36

17 R. Ghirshman, *Bégram* p. 70.

18 J. Marshall, *Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual Report) (1914-15) Nos. 48-49; (1915-16) nos. 51 and 52.

19 J. Charpentier, 'Sasanian conquest of Indus Region, *Krishnaswamy Aiyangar Commemoration Volume* pp. 12-17.

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country to supply silk to Rome & Byzantium from India. But as Procopius writes," it was not possible for the Abyssinians to buy silk from the Indians, as Persian merchants were always hanging about the ports, where the Indian vessels first put in, living as they do in the next neighbourhood, and these Persians were accustomed to buy the wares wholesale."[20]

We learn from Indian sources that the Guptas devoted their attention to the north-western and western region. The *Ārya-mañjuśrī-mūla-kalpa* states that Samudragupta led military expeditions in the west as well as the north up to the frontiers of Kaśmīra.[21] It was probably in consequence of these campaigns that the western and northern kings and peoples, including the Ābhiras of the west[22] and the Kuṣāṇas of the north, together with other republican tribes of the Panjab, recognised his authority. This tradition is corroborated by the discovery of some coins of Kuṣāṇa type with the names of Samudra and Candra. Samudragupta's son and successor Candragupta Vikramāditya exterminated the Śakas of western India and annexed their kingdom to his empire.[23] He also led a military expedition across she Panjab and Afghanistan upto the land of the Vālhīkas (Bactriana), as his identification with Candra of the Mahrauli inscription accepted by most of the scholars now, demonstrates.[24] Thus western and north-western India formed part of the Gupta empire and the Śakas and Persians settled there became subservient to the Guptas. In particular, the colony of the Pahlavas in Gujrat, which produced Tuṣāspa at the time of Aśoka, and Sviśākha, son of Kulaipa, at the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (cir 150 A. D.), who were associated with the maintenance of the

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20 Procopius, *De Bello Persico*, ed. T. E. Page and W. H. Rouse with an English translation by H. B., Dewing (Loebs Classical Library) Vol. I, XX, 9-12.

21 K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (text) p. 52.

22 The Ābhīras are mentioned in the Paikuli inscription noted above as well as the *Kāmaśāstra* of Vātsyāyana in the western region of India.

23 A. S. Altekar & R. C. Majumdar, *The Gupta-Vākāṭaka Age* p. 153; R. C. Majumdar, *The Classical Age* p. 19.

24 Hoernle. Jayaswal, Bhandarkar, Barnett etc. identify Candra of Mehrauli epigraph with Candragupta II. For references see Buddha Prakash, 'The Central Asiatic Expedition of Candragupta Vikramāditya,' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 13 (1947) p. 31.

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famous Sudarśana lake near Girnar, professed loyalty to Kumāragupta and Skandagupta, and produced governors to administer that region for them, as the reference to Parṇadatta and his son Cakrapālita, whose names are Sanskritised forms of the Iranian names Farnadāta and Chakarapāta, as shown by Charpentier, and who, thus, appear to have been of Pahlava extraction, as the *goptris* of Gujrat, in the Junagarh Rock inscription of Skandagupta, demonstrate.[25] Towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta the Kidarites and the Hūṇas exercised considerable pressure on the north-western frontiers of the Gupta empire and seem to have pushed through them into the interior of the country[26] to be repelled by the valiant Skandagupta. During this period the Hūṇas settled along the river of Gazni and the lake Āb-i-Istādā which came to be known as Zabulistan after their tribal name Jaubla or Javla (Chol). It seems that a chief Ramanila whose coins have his bust facing the left instead of right in token of his independent status founded the kingdom of Zabul[27] which extended upto the valley of the Kabul in the north, reached the mountain range of Sulaiman in the east, touched the basin of the Helmand in the west and met the mountainous regions of the south which are regarded as the cradle of the Afghans. Recently A. D. H. Bivar has published two inscriptions from Uruzgan situated midway between the upper waters of the rivers Helmand and Arghandab reading as follows :—

Boo Ssaho Zooloo mihroziki

Bo Ossoho Zoolomihrooo

(The divine and glorious king of Zabul, Mihira)[28] These records prove the domination of the Hūṇas of the family of Mihirakula in

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25 *Journal af the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Socicty*, Dec. 1930 pp. 282-83.

26 Jagannath Agrawal'. The Route of the First Hūṇa Invasion' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* (21st Session 1958) Trivandrum pp. 160-161. Prof. Agrawal holds that the first Hūṇa invasion occurred through the Bolan pass near Quetta. He bases his theory on the discovery of the inscriptions of Jaula Mihira at Uruzgan and the existence of their kingdom there which gave the name Zabulistan to this region. It may well be that the Hūṇas poured into India together with the Kidarites who had occupied Peshawar. They could have set up a kingdom in the Gazni region.

27 R. Ghirshman, *Les Chionites-Hepthalites* p. 35.

28 *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1954) pp. 112. *Afghanistan* (1953) Vol. VIII pp. 1-4.

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the region called Zabulistan. About the year 455, when a tribe of the Hūṇas invaded India, one of their chiefs inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sassanid monarch Yazdegird II. After the death of that morarch in 457, a civil war broke out in Iran between Peroz and Hormizd. The former took shelter among the Hephthalites and with their help dethroned his brother and himself became king. But soon hostilities broke out among the Sassanids and the Hephthalites, the former sustained a defeat and Peroz undertook to pay tribute and sent his son Kavadh as a hostage to his rival, probably, Akun. In 484 Peroz made another effort to defeat them and was killed. Thus, it is clear that the rise of the Hephthalites in Balkh resulted in the weakening of the Sassanid empire. They assumed supremacy in the eastern territories which acknowledged the sway of the Sassanids and then came under the authority of the Guptas. It is not at all possible that the Sassanids continued to maintain any effective control over the erstwhile Śaka and Kuṣāṇa realms after the campaigns of Samudragupta and Candragupta and, then, the invasions of the Hūṇas or Jaulas. The reference to the western mouth of the Indus being Persian in the work of Cosmas only shows that the people of that region had a predominant Persian strain, and the remark of Procopius that Persian merchants used to monopolise the silk trade with the West by purchasing all the stocks from Indian traders does not at all indicate Persian domination over Indian territories, but rather hints at the brisk commercial activity of Persian merchants in the ports of Persia or the neighbouring regions "where the Indian vessels first put in." To infer the existence of Sassanian supremacy in India from this evidence is quite unwarranted. Thus, we observe that the view of Charpentier is only partially correct.

4. *The Sassanids and the Sajjhāṇavaṁśa of the Titthogālīpainnaya*

The above discussion shows that the Sassanids overpowered and eclipsed the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas in the third century A. D. They became the overlords of the Scythian rulers of western and northern India and continued to be so till the Guptas conquered the regions held by the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas. The period of Sassanid overlordship over the realms of the Śakas and Kuṣāṇas lasted from the second quarter of the third century A. D. up to the last quarter of the fourth century A. D. with varying vicissitudes. During this period the Sassanids had virtually stepped into the shoes of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas. This state of affairs is reflected in a remarkable verse of the Jaina text *Titthogālīpainnaya* which seems to have been

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composed in the fourth century A.D.[29] and is the earliest work of Jaina chronology. This verse refers to some Indian dynasties like the Nandas, Mauryas and Śakas and then mentions the *Sajjhāṇavaṁśa* or *Sajjhāṇa* dynasty.[30] The Sajjhāṇa dynasty rose to power after the end of Śaka rule. This Sajjhāṇa dynasty evidently stands for the Sassanid dynasty, the word *sajjhāṇa* being a Prakritised Indian variant of Sāsān. Initially the word '*sāsān*' seems to have possessed palatal spirants, as we can gather from the word *zāzāna* occurring in the Bisutun inscription of Darius. (Sen, *Old Persian Inscriptions* p. 29). One of these spirants appears to live in the Prakrit form *sajjhāṇa*. As we have seen in this study, the Sassanids eclipsed and replaced the Scythians in western and north—western India. Hence the author of the said text rightly referred to the rule of the Sajjhāṇa (Sassanid) dynasty after the Scythian period. This is probably the only unique reference to the Sassanids in Indian literature and it answers to the real political situation in western and north-western India after the débâcle of the Scythians in the fourth century A. D. The history of this period, studied here, corroborates the aforesaid reference to the Sassanids in the Jaina text. Hence we can assume that the author of this text was quite well acquainted with the changes in the political situation of western and north-western India following the establishment of Sassanid rule in Iran. It is significant that Kālidāsa, in the latter half of the fourth century, mentioned the Pārasīkas in place of the Śakas as the next-door neighbours and adversaries of Raghu.[31]

5. The cultural consequences of Sassanid influence in north-western India.

The specification of the aforesaid reference to the Sassanids (Sajjhāṇavaṁśa) in the *Titthogālīpainnaya* provides a literary confirmation of the data pertaining to the hegemony of this Iranian

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[29] Muni Kalyāṇa Vijaya 'Vīra Nirvāṇa Samvat our Jaina Kāla gaṇanā (In Hindi) (The date of the Decease of Mahāvīra and Jaina Chronology) *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* Vol. X part 4 p. 614; Shantilal Shah, *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas* pp. 21-22.

[30] *Titthogālīpainnaya* p. 23 Verse 705

ता एवं सगवंसो य नंदवंसो य मरुयवंसो य ।
सयराहेण पणट्ठा, समयं सज्झाणवंसेण ।।

[31] *Raghuvaṁśa.* IV, 61

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना ।
इन्द्रियाख्यानिव रिपूंस्तत्त्वज्ञानोदयात्मधी ।।

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dynasty over western and north-western India in some parts of the third and fourth centuries A. D. The evidence from the Iranian side is strikingly corroborated from the Indian side also. This cogent testimony of Sassanid overlordship over the domains of the Scythians in some parts of India throws a flood of light on the background of cultural contacts and exchange of ideas between India and Iran during this period. We know that under the Sassanids Zoroastrianism received a renewed impetus and Ahurmazda, under the Pehlvi name Harmuz, became the greatest god of Iran. Curiously enough, V. S. Agrawala has traced a reference to Harmuz and his maiden daughter Hverenah in the description of Harimedhas and his maiden daughter Dhvajavati in the *Udyogaparvan* (108, 13) of the *Mahābhārata*.[32] Likewise, it is possible to find some Sassanid religious motifs in the account of Maga-Bhojaka-Brāhmaṇas in the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*. In this text Maga is described as the son of the sun (āditya) and Nikṣubhā.[33] It is stated that Nikṣubhā was born as the daughter of the sage Sujĩhva (Rigjĩhva or Rijĩhva) of the Mihira family as a result of the curse of the sun-god. Later on, the sun-god became enamoured of her and from their union was born a son Jaraśabda[34] who became the progenitor of the Magas. This Jaraśabda reminds one of the name of Zarathuśtra himself. His followers, the Magas and Bhojakas, were intensely devoted to the cult of fire and the sun. They are said to be wearing the sacred girdle (*avyanga*) known as *aiwyaongha* in Iran. To consecrate the temple of the sun, Sāmba is said to have invited them from Śākadvĩpa. In fact, according to the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā*, ch. I x, only the Magas could officiate as priests in a sun-temple. Varāhamihira, the author of this work, was probably himself a Maga Brāhmaṇa.[35]

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[32] V. S. Agrawala, 'Mahābhārata—A Cultural Commentary', *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. 37 (1957) p. 5

[33] Nikṣubhā is in the list of the eight Magas or Bhojakas that are divine forces emanating from the body of the sun-god. They are Mihira, Nikṣubhā, Rājñĩ, Daṇḍanāyaka, Pingala Rājña, Strāuśa, and Iśa Garumtāt. In the art of Bamiyan the representation of the eight Buddhas recalls the aforesaid eight Magas or Bhojakas, (A.Godard and J. Hackin, *Les antiquitēs bouddhiques de Bamiyan* (1928) Pt. XXII.

[34] *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* I, 139 pp. 113-33.

[35] D. K. Biswas 'The Maga Ancestry of Varāhamihira' *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXV (1949) pp. 175-183.

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D. R. Bhandarkar has referred to some coins of Sassanian type and fabric bearing inscriptions in Nāgarī, Sassanian Pehlvi and an alphabet which is probably a development of the modified form of the Greek alphabet used by the Scytho-Sassanids, found in western India. These coins have the legend Śrī Vāsudeva in Nāgarī on the reverse and Śrī Vahmana in Pehlvi on the obverse.[36] These coins indicate Persian influence which lingered on in these regions.

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36 D. R. Bhandarkar, 'Foreign Elements in Hindu Population' *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XL pp. 1-37; E. J. Rapson, *Indian Coins* p. 30; F. D. J. Paruck, *Sassanian coins* p. 98, 270-71.

At a place called Bambhore in Sind situated on a creek of the Arabian sea some pottery of Sassanian design has been recently discovered which points to Sassanid influence.

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CHAPTER XVII

On Vikramāditya Traditions

1. *Traditions about Bikarmājit a contemporary of Ardashīr or Shāhpuhr mentioned by Farishtā.*

The Vikramāditya tradition has been a fertile field for the luxuriant growth of legends. Some of these legends are pure fiction and romance but others rest on historical basis. Hence it is always desirable to analyse and examine these legends critically before passing any judgment on them. Here it is proposed to study some such legends mentioned in the history of Farishtā.

Farishtā states that "Bikarmājīt (Vikramāditya) was the king of Ujjain (Ujjayinī) and was a contemporary of King Ardashīr of Iran. According to some, he lived in the period of Shāhpuhr. People associate an era with the date of his death. 1025 A. H. corresponds to 1663 A. V."

2. *The problem of the era of* 57-58 B. C.

Evidently the era referred to by Farishtā is the famous Vikrama era of 57-58 B. C. We know that for several centuries after its commencement the era of 57 B. C. was known as Kṛta era. In the Nandsa inscription of 225 A. D., the Barnala inscription of 278 A. D., the Vijayagarh inscription of 371 A. D., the Mandasor inscription of 404 A. D., the Ganadhar inscription of 423 A. D., and the Nagari inscription of 424 A. D., it is called Kṛta era. In the Mandasor and Nagarī inscriptions, cited above, it is associated with the Mālavas. In the fifth century A. D., this era came to be known as the Mālava era, *e. g.* in the Mandasor inscription of 436 A. D. and in another inscription from the same locality dated 532 A. D. It is for the first time[2] in the last decade of the ninth century in 898 A. D. that this era is called Vikrama Saṁvat in the Dholpur inscription of Caṇḍa Mahāsena. But, in the Gyaspur inscription written 38 years later it is again called Mālava era. Of the thirty four inscriptions of the tenth century A. D. mentioning this era, only two call it Vikrama era and the rest, simply, Mālava era. But, in

[1] *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā* tr. Mohammad Fida Ali Vol. I p. 38.

[2] A Copper plate from Dhinkini in Kathiawar of the eighth century refers to the Vikram era. But this is a spurious plate as shown by A. S. Altekar in *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXVI.

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the eleventh and twelfth centuries this era became usually known as Vikrama era, for instance, in the inscriptions dated 1042, 1104 and 1119 A. D.[3]

It is clear from the aforesaid enumeration of the inscriptions dated in the era of 57 B. C.-58 B. C. that originally it was called *Kṛta*, then was known as *Mālava* and, later on, in the tenth century was designated as *Vikrama*. This shows that the name of Vikramāditya was not associated with it from the very beginning. It had its origin in the republican state of the Mālavas and signified a decisive victory achieved by them over the Scythians which enabled them to restore their integrity after a serious rebuff. As this victory ushered in a period of glory, stability and prosperity for these people, it was remembered as the commencement of the age of truth and virtue and the era founded to commemorate it was aptly called *Kṛta* era.[4] In the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., when the Gupta era was popular in North India, the Mālavas clung to their own indigenous era and, in order to emphasize their vital association with it, began to call it Mālava era in place of Kṛta era.

When in the tenth and eleventh centuries the Mālava era began to be called Vikrama era, its foundation was ascribed to a king Vikramāditya. Jaina authors played a leading part in the development of this tradition. Concerned as they were with the history of the patriarch Kālaka, the abduction of whose sister Sarasvati by King Gardabhilla (Dappaṇa) touched off that se uence of events, which culminated in the victory of the Mālavas over the Śakas and led to the foundation of the era of 57 B. C.—58 B. C., they wove the episode of Vikramāditya into it in a simple credulous way. The *Prabhāvakacarita*[5] (13th cent. A. D.), the *Śatruñjaya-Māhātamya* (12th cent. A. D.) and such other texts have inserted the episode of Vikramāditya in the story of Kālaka. But in earlier Jaina texts of the Śvetāmbara sect, for instance, the *Niśīthacūrṇī* and *Vvavahāra-Cūrṇī*, there is no reference to Vikrama in connection with the ousting of the Śakas from Ujjain. His role is rather assigned to Balamitra-Bhānumitra who took possession of Ujjain after the extermination of the Śakas on the expiry of four years of their rule.[6]

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3 *Epigraphia Indica* Vols. XIX, XXIII.

4 V. S. Agrawala, 'Vikrama Era and Vikramāditya'. *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (*Vikramāṅka*) 1944. pp. 125-136.

5 *Prabhāvakacarita* of Prabhācandra ed. Muni Jina Vijaya (Singhi Jaina Granthamālā) pp. 22-27.

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3. *Al-Birūni's reference to two Vikramādityas*

When Al-Birūni came to India, he also heard the legends about the association of the era of 57-58 B. C. with Vikramāditya which he reported as follows :—

'A Śaka king tyrannized over the country between the river Sindh and the ocean—some maintained that he was a Śūdra or low-caste Hindu from the city of Almansura; while others maintained that he was not a Hindu at all, but had come to India from the West. The Hindus had much to suffer from him, till at last they received help from the East, when Vikramāditya marched against him, put him to flight and killed him in the region of Karur between Multan and the castle of Loni. Now this date became famous as people rejoiced in the news of the death of the tyrant and was used as the epoch of an era, especially by the astronomers.....Since there is a long interval between the era which is called the era of Vikramāditya and the killing of the Śaka, we think that Vikramāditya, from whom the era has got its name, is not identical with that one, who killed Śaka, but only a namesake of his.[7]

The above quotation shows that, according to Al-Birūni, there were two Vikramādityas, the latter being the victor and killer of the Śaka king and the founder of an era known after his name, and the former being the king who flourished long before him and from whose time the said era was dated. In other words, the Vikrama era was founded in commemoration of the victory of Vikramāditya over the Śakas and tacked on to another which was founded long before that event. Who this second Vikramāditya of Al-Birūni can be ? Considering the data furnished by Indian history, there remains no reason to doubt that this second Vikramāditya, the conqueror of the Śakas, was no other than Candragupta II Vikramāditya.

4. *Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and the Śakas*

Candragupta II conquered the Śakas of Malwa and Kathiawar, and put an end to their rule. The long series of coins testifying to the rule of the Western Kṣatrapas for well over three hundred years comes to an end between 388 A. D. and 397 A. D, the period of

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[6] Muni Kalyāṇa Vijaya' 'The Era of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and Jaina Chronology' (In Hindi) *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* Vol. X Part 4 pp. 639-642.

[7] Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Vol. II p. 6.

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Rudrasiṁha III. In place of these coins, Candragupta II issued his own coins which are almost exact copies of the former and on which the dates are given in the Gupta era. On these coins the first symbol denoting 90 is clearly legible.[8] Thus, it is clear that Candragupta conquered the realm of the Kṣatrapas after 388 A. D. towards the end of the fourth century and issued his currency there in the beginning of the fifth. The Udayagiri Cave inscription, engraved at the instance of Vīrasena, refers to the march of Candragupta in that region in course of the conquest of the whole earth. Candragupta also worsted the Śaka ruler when he invaded the Gupta empire under Rāmagupta and sought the hand of his queen Dhruvadevi. Later, he crossed the seven tributaries of the Indus and conquered the country of the Vālhīkas, as we gather from the Mehrauli Iron Pillar inscription of Candra, who is very plausibly identified with Candragupta II. These victories over the Śakas won him the surname of *Śakāri* or *Śakāntaka*.

5. Candragupta II Vikramāditya's association with Ujjayinī in Malwa.

After exterminating the Śakas and annexing their kingdom Candragupta made Ujjayinī the second and more important capital of his empire. Farishtā has noted that there was a very fine image of Vikramāditya in the temple of Mahākāla at Ujjayinī which Iltutmish brought to Delhi after the conquest of Malwa.[9] This shows the close association of Vikramāditya with Malwa and Ujjain. It appears that after the conquest of the Śakas and the declaration of Ujjain as the second capital of the empire Candragupta Vikramāditya's association with Malwa became so close that he began to dominate the legends and traditions current there. It was as a result of these associations that Candragupta Vikramāditya's great exploit of exterminating the Śakas was identified with the earlier feat of defeating the Śakas perfomed by the Mālavas, and the name of Vikramāditya was tacked on to the era started to commemorate that event. The tradition reported by Al-Birūni makes this point crystal-clear.

6. The identification of Candragupta II Vikramāditya with the traditional Vikramāditya credited with the foundation of the era of 57-58 *B.C.*

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8 Altekar & Majumdar, *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* pp. 153-154; *The Classical Age* ed. R. C. Majumdar p. 19; V. S. Agrawala 'Jyotirathā,' *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (Candra Bali Pandeya Commemoration Volume) Vol. 63 pp. 412-418.

9 *Tārīkh-i- Farishtā* (op. cit). Vol. I p. 250.

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Farishtā's tradition gives a decisive turn to this question by showing that Vikramāditya, with whom the era known after his name is associated, was a contemporary of Ardashīr or Shāhpuhr, the Sassanid monarchs. Farishtā, as if doubting the contemporaneity of Vikramāditya and Ardashīr, states that, according to some, he lived in the period of Shāhpuhr. We know that Ardashīr founded the Sassanid empire in 226 A. D. In his dynasty there were many Shāhpuhrs. Shāhpuhr I (231-272 A. D) was the son of Ardashir I Shāhpuhr II (309-379 A. D.), was the son of Hormizd (309-379) and a contemporary of Samudragupta in India, Shahpuhr III was the son of Shahpuhr II who came to the throne in 383 A. D. after the brief rule of his uncle Ardashīr II lasting from 379 to that year. He ruled up to 388 A. D. and was thus a contemporary of Candragupta II Vikramāditya. We have said something about the relations of Candragupta II and Ardashīr II in another study. Besides Ardashīr II, Shāhpuhr III was also his contemporary. This contemporaneity of Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Ardashīr II and Shāhpuhr III lies at the basis of the tradition that Bikarmājīt lived in the period of Ardashīr or Shāhpuhr, reported by Faristhā. This tradition leaves no room for doubt that the Vikramāditya with whose name the era of 57 is associated was no other than Candragupta II Vikramāditya, for no other king of this surname was a contemporary of any Sassanid king named Ardashīr or Shāhpuhr. Later on, when the name of Vikramāditya was permanently attached to the era of 57-58 B. C., it began to be believed that there was a Vikramāditya in 57-58 B. C. also. However, the confusion about his identity continued to exist, as is manifest from the tradition of two Vikramādityas reported by Al-Birūni. But after that time people forgot everything about Candragupta II Vikramāditya and completely identified him with that Vikramāditya whom they placed in 57-58 B. C. This accounts for the late appearance of the tradition of Vikramāditya of 57-58 B. C. and its complete absence from early Indian records.

7. *Candragupta II Vikramāditya and the South.*

The aforesaid conclusion is reinforced by another piece of evidence. While reporting the traditions of Vikramāditya, Farishtā states that the Deccan formed part of his kingdom.[10] Whereas there is no specific reference to the influence of the Vikramāditya placed by later writers in 57-58 B.C. over the states of the south, we have

[10] *Tārīkh-i-Farishtā* (*op. cit*) Vol. I p. 197

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ample evidence to demonstrate the dominant influence of Candragupta II Vikramāditya over the southern states and regions. We know that Candragupta II married his daughter Prabhāvatiguptā to the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II. Rudrasena passed away leaving two minor sons Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena. Hence Prabhāvatiguptā acted as regent for her minor son. But Divākarasena also died in the thirteenth year of her regency. After some time, when Dāmodarasena came of age, he ascended the throne and assumed the name Pravarasena II. During the regency of Prabhāvatiguptā the Gupta monarch dominated the administration of the Vākāṭaka kingdom, as is manifest from the fact that the Poona and Riddhapur copper plate grants of Prabhāvatiguptā, unlike other Vākāṭaka records, begin with the genealogy of the Guptas rather then the Vākāṭakas,.[11] After the coronation of Pravarasena II also Candragupta continued to exercise influence in the Vākāṭaka court and deputed his statesmen, administrators and men-of-letters to work there. The poet Kālidāsa also seems to have resided at the Vākāṭaka capital on some deputation from his patron Candragupta. At a distance of three miles from the Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana (modern Nandardhan,) was the famous hill Rāmagiri (modern Ramtek, 28 miles north of Nagpur) from where the Riddhapur grant of Prabhāvatiguptā was issued and the itinerary of the cloud in the *Meghadūta* commenced. During the visits of Kālidāsa to this sacred place in course of his residence at Nandivardhana, the theme of the *Meghadūta* must have suggested itself to the poet, as shown by V. V. Mirashi,.[12] It was also during this stay at the Vākāṭaka court that Kālidāsa composed or revised the Prakrit poem *Setubandha* for the sake of Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya, as we learn from the commentary of Rāmadāsa on this work.[13] Thus, it is clear that Candragupta II had a predominant position in the Vākāṭaka state..

Pravarasena II also composed some Prākrit gāthās, which are incorporated in the *Gāthāsaptaśatī*. Bhuvanapāla mentions him as the author of 11 verses of this collection. The Nirṇayasāgara Press

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11 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XV p. 41; *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. XX. p. 53.

12 V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* Vol. I p. 20

13 *Setubandha* (Nirṇaya Sāgara Press edition)

इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येनाज्ञप्तो निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासमहाशयः सेतुबन्धं चिकीर्षुः मंगलमाचरन्नाह ।

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edition attributes 5 gāthās of this anthology to him and Pitāmbara adds two more to this number. It is likely that about his time the following verse no 463 referring to the liberality of Vikramāditya was composed.

संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देन्तेण तुह करे लक्खं ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइच्चचरिअं अनुसिक्खियं तिस्सा ।।

As Mirashi has shown, the idea of this verse occurs in the Sanjan Copper plate inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amogavarṣa I, where the reference is clearly to the king of the Gupta dynasty. In his words, "it is not surprising that such a gāthā should have been composed in Vidarbha about Candragupta II and should have found a place in the anthology of Mahārāṣṭra, for the influence of that illustrious and mighty Gupta emperor was very great at the courts of both the Vākāṭakas and the early Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who ruled to the north and the south of the Godavari, where the gāthās of the Saptaśatī were mainly composed" (*Studies in Indology* Vol. I p. 88).

To the south of the Vākāṭaka realm was the kingdom of Kuntala, which included southern Mahārāṣṭra and the northern Kanarese districts of the Mysore State. We learn from the fragment of a work called *Kunteśvaradautya* that Kālidāsa was sent on an embassy to the court of the king of Kuntala by Vikramāditya. At first he was not received with appropriate courtesy and ceremony and had to sit on the ground. But later he strengthened the position and influnce of his master in the court of Kuntala and when he returned home he could report that "leaving the responsibility (of governing his kingdom) to you (Vikramāditya), the lord of Kuntala is engaged in kissing the faces of his beloveds".[14] On this report Vikramāditya was also gratified and confirming it observed, "let the lord of Kuntala continue to kiss the faces of his beloveds, leaving the responsibility (of governing his kingdom) to me."[15] The king of Kuntala mentioned in the above work has been identified with the

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[14] *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* p. 168; *Kāvyamīmānsā* (ed. C. D. Dalal) p. 61.

पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणाम्,
त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ।

[15] *ibid.*

पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणाम् ।
मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ।

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Kadamba king Bhagīratha by H. Heras[16] and R. M. Moreas,[17] with Pravarasena II Vākāṭaka by S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar[18] and A. S. Altekar[19] and with the Rāṣṭrakūta king of Manpur named Devarāja, the son of Mānāṅka by V. V. Mirashi.[20] Mirashi holds that under the influence of Candragupta II the Vākāṭakas of Vidarbha and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Kuntala forgot their enmity and became friendly to each other. This eventually led to the marriage of the Vākāṭaka prince Narendrasena, the great grandson of Candragupta II, with the Kuntala princess Ajjhitabhaṭṭārikā recorded in the Balaghat plates.[21] Whoever this king of Kuntala[22] may have been, it goes without saying that he was under the influence of Candragupta II Vikramāditya.

Thus, it is clear that Candragupta II had a great influence in the south and was virtually responsible for the administration of the states of Vidarbha and Kuntala. It is for this reason that in the Mehrauli Iron Pillar Inscription of Candra it is stated that "the southern seas are perfumed by the breezes of his valour"[23] The tradition of Bikarmajit's rule over the south recorded by Faristhā accords well with the aforesaid facts about Candragupta II Vikramāditya.

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16 *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* Vol. XII p. 458.

17 *Kadambakula* pp. 19-22.

18 *Ancient India* Vol. I pp 271-79; *Journal of the Mythic Society* Vol. XV p. 160-162

19 *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Age* p. 102

20 *Studies in Indology* p. 10.

21 *ibid* p. 11

22 Mirashi treats the *Kunteśvaradautya* as a drama of Kālidāsa (*op. cit* pp. 1-11). But V. Raghavan doubts the existence of any work of this name. "It is not improbable", he observes "that *Kunteśvaradautya* does not mean exactly a poetic composition but refers to the incident in Kālidāsa's life and career, *viz.* the embassy he went on from Vikramāditya to Kuntaleśa; and there might have been handed down in tradition a few stray verses which Kālidāsa spoke at both the courts as the ambassador." ('Kālidāsa's 'Kunteśvaradautya', *B. C. Law Volume* II p. 196) This matter can be finally decided only after the discovery of fresh material pertaining to this work.

23 J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* No. 32 line 2.

तीर्त्वा सप्तमुखानि येन समरे सिन्धोर्जिता वाह्लिकाः
यस्याद्याप्यधिवास्यते जलनिधिर्वीर्यानिलैर्दक्षिणः ।

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8. *Concluding remarks*

The aforesaid discussion shows that the traditions about Vikramāditya, recorded by Farishtā, confirm the view that Vikramāditya, with whose name the famous era of 57-58 B. C. is associated, was no other than Candragupta II Vikramāditya, the contemporary of the Sassanid monarchs Ardashīr II and Shāhpuhr III.

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CHAPTER XVIII

The Age of the Mṛcchakatika

1. *Reference to Subandhu*

In the eighth act of the Mṛcchakaṭika, ascribed to Śūdraka, there is a scene of the strangulation of Vasantasenā by Śakāra, the villain of the play. While preparing to throttle her, he says ;

"Is he (Cārudatta, with whom Vasantasenā was in love, and whom she was calling at that time) Indra or Bāli's son Mahendra or Rambhā's son Kālanemi or Subandhu or the king Rudra or Droṇa's son Jaṭāyu or Cāṇakya or Dhundumāra or Triśaṅku ? Or, even they would not be able to save you,"[1]

Here the villain enumerates all the powerful personalities who, in his opinion, could come to the rescue of Vasantasenā. In this list we come across the name of Subandhu. Evidently he must have been a famous and powerful man. We have two inscriptions of a king named Subandhu. One of them is engraved on a copper plate discovered in the debris of cave No. 2 at Bagh and records the grant of the village Dasithakapalli by the king Subandhu of Māhiṣmati to the Buddhist monks for their maintenance, the upkeep of their monastery and the worship of Lord Buddha.[2] The second inscription is inscribed on a copper plate found in the state of Barwāni in central India and records the gift of a piece of land in the village (*padraka*) named Sohajanā in the Udumbaragartā district (*pathaka*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Saṣṭhi-svāmin by the great king (mahārāja) Subandhu stationed at Māhiṣmati for the spiritual welfare of himself and his parents.[3] The date of the first inscription is missing though the month

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[1] *Mṛcchakaṭika*, VIII, 34, (Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series p. 427

किं शे शक्के वालिपुत्ते महिन्दे लम्भापुत्ते कालणेमी शुवन्धू ।
लुद्दे लाम्रा दोणपुत्ते जडाऊ चाणक्के वा धुन्धुमाले तिशङ्कू ।।
अधवा एदेवि देण लक्खन्ति ।

[2] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department of the Gwalior State for* 1928-29, p. 28.

[3] R. R. Haldar, 'The Barwani Copper-plate inscription of Mahārāja Subandhu; the year 167, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIX (1927-28) pp. 261-263.

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śrāvaṇa can be read, but the date of the second is 167. V. V. Mirashi holds that this date is in the Cedi-Kalacuri era of 249-50 A. D. Accordingly, the date of Subandhu is 416-417 A. D.[4] He agrues that the date of Subandhu cannot be referred to the Gupta era, for about the year 486-487 A. D. the Vākāṭakas were ruling in eastern and western Malwa and the Anūpa country and the Gupta sway had disappeared from there.

Mirashi's argument rests on the supposition that Malwa "had slipped out of the hands of the Guptas in the period of disorder which followed the Hūṇa invasions." He disregards the fact that the Hūṇa invasion of 455 A. D. was so thoroughly repelled by Skandagupta as to leave no effect on the destiny of the Gupta empire. The claim of Skandagupta that he preserved the unity and integrity of the empire by warding off the menace of disruption, caused by the upsurge of the enemies, particularly the Hūṇas, after the death of his father[5], and established a sound administration by appointing able governors (*goptṛ*) in all provinces (*deśa*)[6], shows that there was no diminution of territory in his time. It is expressly stated in the Junagarh Rock inscription that Skandagupta ruled over the country (*avani*) consisting of big provinces (*sphītaparyantadeśām*) washed by the waters of the four oceans (*caturudadhijalāntām*).[7] That the Gupta empire remained intact and central India up to the Narmada formed part of it up to the time of Budhagupta is demonstrated by his Eran epigraph of 165=384-85 A. D. In line 3 of this record it is stated that under Budhagupta Mahārāja Suraśmicandra administered the vast territory between the Yamunā and the Narmadā.[8] Thus, Māhiṣmati, modern Maheśvara on the

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[4] V. V. Mirashi, 'The Age of the Bagh Caves' *Indian Historical Quarterly* Vol. XXI (1945) pp. 79-85.

[5] J. F. Fleet, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III. No. 13, Bhitari stone inscription, verse 6.

पितरि दिवमुपेते विप्लुतां वंशलक्ष्मीं भुजबलविजितारिर्यः प्रतिष्ठाप्य भूयः।

[6] *Ibid.* No. 14, Junagarh Rock Inscription, verse 7

सर्वेषु देशेषु विधाय गोप्त्रीन्

[7] *Ibid*, verse 3.

नृपतिगुणनिकेतः स्कन्दगुप्तः पृथुश्री चतुरुदधिजलान्तां स्फीतपर्यन्तदेशाम्।
अवनिमवनतारिर्यश्चकारात्मसंस्थां पितरिसुरसरित्वं प्राप्तवत्यात्मशक्त्या ॥

[8] *Ibid.* No. 19, Eran stone pillar Inscription of Budhagupta line 3.

कालिन्दीनर्मदयोर्मध्यं पालयति लोकपालगुणैः।
जगति महाराजश्रियमनभवति सुरश्मिचन्द्रे च ॥

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Narmada[9], must have been included in the domain of this Gupta administrator. Later on, in 510-511 A. D. Malwa was a part of the Gupta empire under the valiant king Bhānugupta and his gallant general Goparāja.[10] Thus, it is clear that the theory of the break-down of Gupta rule in Malwa in the later half of the fifth century A. D. nas no leg to stand upon.

Mirashi argues that the use of Mālava era in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (434-37 A. D. and 473 A. D.), as well as other inscriptions found in that region, is a pointer to the decline of Gupta authority. This view is negatived by the aforesaid Mandasor inscription itself. Though it refers to the year 493 of the Mālava era, it clearly states that in it Kumāragupta was ruling over the earth "which was girt by the tinkling girdle of the four oceans, which had the Sumeru and Kailāsa mountains as her heavy breasts and which smiled in the efflorescence of the flowers of the forest glens.'[11] Thus, it is clear that the use of the Mālava era was not necessarily inconsistent with the existence of Gupta sovereignty. The rulers of Mandasor or Daśapura namely Naravarman, Viśvavarman and Bandhuvarman were admittedly the feudatories of the Guptas and to say that the Mandasor inteription[12] of the year 461, the Bihar Kotra inscription[13] of the year 474, the Gangdhar inscription[14] of the year 480 and the Mandasor inscription of the years 493 and 529 bespeak the secession of Dasārṇa from the Gupta empire does not stand to reason.

If we accept Mirashi's view that Subandhu ruled in 416-17 A. D. as an independent ruler in Anūpa country on the Narmada it would mean that the Guptas had lost their hold over that region by that time. But the evidence at our disposal completely disproves this

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9 F. E. Pargiter identified Māhismati with Māndhatā on the Narmada, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1910) pp. 445-446.

10 Fleet, *op cit.* No. 20, Eran Posthumous stone pillar inscription of Goparāja and Bhānugupta, line 5.

श्री भानुगुप्तो जगति प्रवीरो राजा महान् पार्थसमोऽतिशूरः ।

11 Ibid, No. 18, line 13.

चतुःसमुद्रान्तविलोलमेखलां सुमेरुकैलासबृहत्पयोधराम् ।
वनान्तवान्तस्फुटपुष्पहासिनीं कुमारगुप्ते पृथिवीं प्रशासति ।।

12 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XIII, p. 320.

13 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXVI, p. 130.

14 Fleet, *Op. cit,* No. 17.

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view. We know that ever since the marriage of Candragupta Vikramāditya's daughter Prabhāvatiguptā with the Vākāṭaka king Rudrasena II in cir. 395 A. D. the Guptas acquired considerable influence in Vidarbha. Rudrasena II died soon afterwards leaving two minor sons, Divākarasena and Dāmodarasena. His elder son Divākarasena also passed away at a very young age. Hence Prabhāvatiguptā began to reign as regent on behalf of her younger son Dāmodarasena, the future Pravarasena II. Her Poona copper plate grant[15] and Riddhapur copper-plate grant[16] open with a genealogy of the Guptas rather than the Vākāṭakas. As tradition has it, the poet Kālidāsa was sent to the court of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II for whom he composed or revised the Prākrit poem *Setubandha*. During his stay at the Vākāṭaka court at Nandivardhana, modern Nagardhan or Nandardhan in the vicinity of Ramtek, which lies 28 miles north of Nagpur, the poet wrote his famous lyric *Meghadūta*, in which the cloud-messenger starts the itinerary from Rāmagiri, which has been identified with Rāmtek.[17] On coming of age Dāmodarasena ascended the throne under the name Pravarasena II and ruled from cir. 420 to 450 A. D.[18] He held northern Vidarbha, while his collateral Sarvasena (cir. 330-355 A. D.) ruled over southern Vidarbha from Vatsagulma, modern Basim, in the Akola district in the Hyderabad state. The kingdom of Anūpa, with Māhiṣmati as its capital, was incorporated in that of Vidarbha. According to the *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, Vidarbha had a number of feudatory kingdoms, *viz*, Kuntala(comprising the upper valley of the Krishna and including the southern Maratha country and northern districts of the Mysore state), Aśmaka (the country along the bank of the Godavari), Riṣika (modern district of Khandesh), Murala (the region washed by the Muralā, a tributary of the Godavari), Nāsikya (the country round Nasik in the Bombay state) and Konkaṇa (the strip of land between the western sea and the Sahyadri mountain)[19]. Mirashi has also shown that Candragupta took over the administration of the state of Manpur and Kuntala from Devarāja, the ease-loving son of Mānānka, in consequence of the diplomatic mission of Kālidāsa reported in the *Kunteśvaradautya*.[20] Thus, the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II

[15] *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XV, p. 41.

[16] *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXII, p. 58.

[17] V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* Vol. I, pp. 16—20.

[18] *Ibid*, p. 82.

[19] *Ibid*, pp. 167—168.

[20] *Ibid* pp. 9—11.

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and the Kuntala king Devarāja being friendly to the Guptas, there is no possibility of the decline of Gupta influence in the Deccan in the first half of the fifth century.

Like Candragupta II, Kumāragupta I also wielded considerable influence in the south. A hoard of 1395 coins of his time has been found in the Satara district [21] In the west, his coins figure in the hoard discovered at Kumarkhan in Viramgaon Taluka of Ahmedabad district as well as in that discovered at Sanund in the same district.[22] Recently 46 gold coins of Mahendrāditya (Kumāragupta I) and 3 of Kramāditya (Skandagupta) have been found in village Pitaiband in the Raipur district of Madhya Pradeśa showing their influence in the Chattisgarh region in South Kosala.[23] Further south, the Kadambas of Vaijayanti, modern Banvasi in the North Kanara district, seem to have contracted matrimonial alliances with the Guptas by giving the hands of their daughters to them. We learn from the Talagunda inscription of the Kadamba King Kākusthavarman, who flourished about 450 A. D.,[23] that he married his daughter to the Gupta king, who could only be Kumāragupta I.[24] These facts show that like Candragupta, Kumāragupta preserved his influence in the south.

Mirashi holds that since the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthvīṣeṇa II counts the king of Malwa, Mekala and Kosala among his vassals in his Balaghat Plates,[25] there can be no scope for an independent ruler like Subandhu in the eighties of the fifth century. But the same argument can be advanced even with greater force against the placing of Subandhu in the second decade of that century which marked the moon-tide splendour of the Gupta empire under Candragupta and Kumāragupta. Under these kings there could be no possibility of the existence of the independent king Subandhu.

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21 J. Allan, *Catalogue of Gupta coins in the British Museum* X p. CXXX

22 P. L. Gupta, 'Kumarkhan hoard of Gupta gold coins', *Journal of the Numismatic Society* Vol. XXII (1960) *A. S. Altekar Commemoration Volume* p. 265.

23 Balcandra Jain, 'Hitherto unknown Repousse coins of Kramāditya *ibid*, pp. 184-187.

23 *The Classical Age*, p. 272.

24 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII, p. 33.
गुप्तादिपार्थिवकुलाम्बुरुहस्थलानि स्नेहादरप्रणयसम्भ्रमकेसराणि ।
श्रीमत्यनेकनृपषटपदसेवितानि योग्रबोधयद्दुहितृदीधितिभिर्नृपार्कः ॥

25 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX, p. 271

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It is clear from the aforesaid discussion that the era used by Subandhu can not be the Cedi-Kalacuri era. It is the Gupta era as held by Haldar and Majumdar.[26] It is likely that about 486-87 when there was some disturbance in the central and southern parts of the Gupta empire following the raids of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthviṣeṇa II, Subandhu carved out a principality for himself at Māhiṣmati by dint of his prowess. The fact that he used the Gupta era in his records is not surprising since the Ucchakalpa kings Jayanātha and Śarvanātha are also known to have dated their records in the Gupta era without making any reference to Gupta sovereignty, as rightly pointed out by Mirashi himself.[27] The Ucchakalpa kings are believed to be owing allegiance to the Guptas as their next neighbours the Parivrājakas are known to have acknowledged their suzerainty. Mirashi holds that the Ucchakalpa king Vyāghra transferred his allegiance from the Guptas to the Vākāṭakas. It is not necessary to go into this controversy here. Suffice it to say that the use of the Gupta era by the Ucchakalpa kings lends colour to its use by Subandhu also.

Subandhu appears to have been a dashing and energetic chieftain who made his mark on the minds of the people of central India in the last quarter of the fifth century A.D. and probably even the first quarter of the sixth. There is no king named Subandhu besides him, who may be identified with his namesake, mentioned in the Mṛcchakaṭika.

2. *Mention of King Rudra*

In the aforesaid passage of the play the villain names the king Rudra just after Subandhu. Obviously this Rudra must have been a well-known figure in Ujjayinī at the time the play was written. As we have seen above, Subandhu, mentioned in this play, flourished in the last quarter of the fifth century and probably the first quarter of the sixth. Hence King Rudra should also be placed in that period.

The *Pādatāḍitakam* of Śyāmilaka refers to one Rudravarman of Daśapura (*Dāśeraka Rudravarman*). He figures in a list of coquets[28] and ranks as a poet.[29] At another place in this monologue play there

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[26] R. R. Haldar, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIX, p. 261; R. C. Majumdar, *The classical Age.*

[27] V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, pp. 199-205.

[28] *Caturbhāṇī* ed.V.S. Agrawal and Moticandra, p. 159.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 257.

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is a reference to *dāśerakādhipati* or the king of Daśapur (Daśera). The viṭa calls him his brother or friend. V.S. Agrawala and Moticandra plausibly identified him with Dāśeraka Rudravarman mentioned elsewhere in the play. His son was named Guptakuka, which is a significant name, showing his contemporancity with the Guptas. Recently H.V. Trivedi, Deputy Director of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, Bhopal, has found some unique copper coins of a king Rudra at Mandasor. In his letter received on 27.11.1961 he has kindly informed me that "the coin in question is small, like those of Jiṣṇu and on one side it has the inscription *Rudrila* in Gupta Brāhmi script and on the other side either conch or wheel". This king Rudra can be identified with Rudravarman of the *Pādatāḍitakam* and king Rudra of the *Mṛcchakaṭika*.

We learn from several inscriptions found at Mandasor or in the neighbouring area that a line of kings ruled at that place. Their genealogy is as follows :—

Jayavarman
|
Siṁhavarman
|
Naravarman
|
Viśvavarman
|
Bandhuvarman

In the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman Viśvavarman is called a *goptā*, a term, which, according to the Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta, means a military governor. Under his son Bandhuvarman in the year 493 V. or 436 A. D. the silk weavers' guild constructed the sun temple at Mandasor. It appears that Rudravarman was a successor of Bandhuvarman at Mandasor. The fact that he issued his own coins shows that he assumed a greater degree of independence than his predecessors. We can place him in the later half of the fifth century. He seems to have acquired considerable name and fame in the fashionable coquettish circles of Ujjayinī, as the *Pādatāḍitakam* suggests. Hence, it is no wonder that the villain of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* refers to him as an influential personality of his times.

3. *Allusion to 'Khera Khāṇa.'*

In the sixth act of the play there is an interesting scene of the escapade of Āryaka, who had broken out of the prison of king

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Pālaka, in a covered cart, intended to carry Vasantasenā to her lover, Cārudatta. Two royal guards Candanaka and Viraka apprehended the cart and the former peeped into it. But Āryaka entreated him to spare his life and he promised him safety. So he reported to the other guard that he had seen into the cart and found Vasantasenā in it. But, while saying so, he first uttered the masculine term of address *ajja*, and then corrected himself by speaking the feminine term *ajjaā*. This created a doubt in the mind of the other guard. Therefore, the former stated that such mistakes of gender could easily creep in the speech of the southerners. In that continuation he remarked that one, used to the languages of foreigners (mleccha), was apt to commit such errors of gender. He gave a long list of foreign tribes which contains some very strange and obscure names not known from other sources.[30] One such name is *Kherakhāṇa*.

The name *Kherakhāṇa* occurs after *Cīna* and *Babbara* standing for the Chinese and their Asiatic neighbours. In the word *Kherakhāṇa* the part *khāṇa* has unmistakable resemblance with the word *xwn* which occurs in a letter of the Sogdian merchant Nanai-vandak to his colleague Nanai-dvar of Samarkand as the name of a tribe which conquered Lo-Yang in 313 A. D.[31] The Sogdian word *xwn* is identical with the Pehlvi *khiyon*, Syriac *kywn* and *kiyonaye*, Mongol *kwyn* and the Classical *Chunni* or *Chionitae*. The initial guttural of these words is replaced by the aspirate in such forms as the Avestan *hyāona*, Chinese *hua* or *hoa* or *hoa-tun* or *un*, Sanskrit *hūṇa*, and *hiono* of the coins. These words refer to the tribe of the Khionites which has been identified with the Hephthalites by R. Ghirshman with perfect plausibility.[32] This view is questioned by Enoki and Göbl.

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[30] *Mṛcchakaṭika* Act VI, p, 348.

चन्द्रनक–अरे ! को अप्पच्चयो तुह ? वयं दक्खिणत्ता अव्वत्तभासिनो । खस–खत्ति–खडोविलय–कण्णाड–कण्णप्पावरण–दविड–चीण-चोल बब्बर–खेरखाण–मुखमधुघाट–पहदाणं मिलिच्छजादीणं अणेअ–देस–भासा भिण्णा जहेट्ठं मन्तआम–दटठो दिटठा वा, अज्जो अज्जआ वा ।

[31] W. B. Henning, 'The Date of the Ancient Sogdian Letters', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* Vol. XII (1948) pp. 601-615.

[32] R. Ghrishman, *Les Chionites-Hepthalites* (introduction) p. XII. J. Marquart, *Eranśahr* p. 57; T. Nöldeke, *Etudes historiques sur la Perse ancienne* pp. 161-163, A Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanids* pp. 28-40; K. Enoki, 'The Origin of the Hephthalites' *East and West* (Rome 1955) Vol. VI, Part III pp. 231-232.

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Even earlier, Marquart, Nöldeke and Christensen had distinguished the Khionites from the Hephthalites. But, on the coins, the words *hephthal* (hutla) and *hiono* occur together showing that they were the issues of the kings of one and the same tribe. According to Ghirshman, *hephthal* is a dynastic name and *hion* (khion) is a tribal designation. As has been shown in another study contained in this volume, these Khionite-Hephthalites were different from the Hiung-nu, who are known to have played a significant past in Chinese history in the later part of the first millenium B. C. and the earlier part of the first millenium A. D. They represented a section of the Iranian nomadic people who spread along the Oxus and in the Steppes between the Aral Sea and the Caspian Sea in the first half of the fourth century A. D. In the last quarter of that century they had developed considerable power along the Oxus and maintained friendly relations with the Sassanids of Persia. In the last decade of that century the poet Kālidāsa mentioned them on the bank of the Oxus in connection with the northern campaign of Raghu. In the first half of the fifth century A. D. they were rebuffed, repulsed and subdued by the Sassanid monarchs Yazdegird I, Bahram V and Yazdegird II. But about 454 A. D. they inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sassanids and, flushed with victory, swooped down southwards and invaded India. The gallant prince Skandagupta repelled and routed them from the country. But towards the end of the fifth century they hovered and settled along the north-western frontiers of India on the banks of the Indus and in the first quarter of the sixth century advanced from there towards the heart of India, occupied Malwa and the middle country and raided up to Bihar and Bengal.

As we have observed, the initial aspirate of the word *hūṇa* was the remnant of an aspirated guttural sound preserved in Sogdian and Persian. It is noteworthy that the writers Tabari, Firdausi and the author of the *Bundahishn* have called the antagonist of the Sassanid king Peroz (459-484 A. D.) Akhshunwar, Khushnawaz and Akhshuvan respectively. In these forms there is a guttural in the beginning. F. W. K. Müller traced these forms to the Sogdian '*kshevan*' meaning a king and R. Ghirshman treated them as variants of '*khevan*', the tribal name of the Khionites. Thus, it is clear that in Pehlvi and Persian the guttural sound in the beginning of this word was clearly pronounced. In some manuscripts of the *Mahābhārata* this prononciation has survived. In chapter 47 of the *Sābhā-*

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parvan of this epic we have a reference to *hūṇa* and *hārahūṇa*.[33] The first line of this verse is given in the critical edition as follows: *Cīnān-hūṇāñ-śakān-oḍrān-parvatāntaravāsinah*. But in the manuscript of the Sarasvati Mahal library Tanjore, called G6, the reading of this line is *Cīnān-hūṇān-khavāh-kāṣāh-parvatāntaravāsinah*. Here the word *khavāh* occurring after *hūṇān* obviously stands for the Khionites. In this form the initial guttural consonant is very clear. The form *khāṇa* of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is also based on this gutturalised pronunciation of this word prevalent in Iran, Sughd and the neighbouring countries. The fact that the author of this play had the insight to know and use this form even when its variant without the guttural had become current in India shows his capacity for minute observation and realistic presentation of things.

To the word *hyon* is often added an adjective *karmir* in the *Bahman Yaśt*. As Bailey has shown, the forms of *karmir* are *krmyr*, *klmyl*, *xarmer* etc. To this word he has traced the Krorayina *kremeru*, Pehlvi *karkehanen*, Armenian *karkehan*, Arabic *karkuhan*, Khotanese *kirkiyan*. The Tibetan *ke-ke-ru*, Mongol *k'k'*rw, Kafiri *kremeru*, *kremer*, *kemer* also appear to him to belong to this family[34]. As the Iranian *spet hyon* corresponds to the Indian *śvetahūṇa* or *sitahūṇa*, so *karmir-hyon* resembles *hārahūṇa*, *harahūṇa* or *halahūṇa*[35]. In *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 19, cited above, the Hūṇas and Hārahūṇas are mentioned in the same verse which shows that a distinction was drawn between them. If one stands for the *spet hyon*, the other signifies the *karmir hyon*. Bailey has shown that *karmir* meant 'red' and was associated

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[33] *Mahābhārata* II, 47, 19, ed. F. Edgerton (Poona 1944) Vol. 2 pp. 233-34

चीनान्हूणाञ्शकानोड्रान्पर्वतान्तरवासिनः ।
वार्ष्णेयान्हारहूणाँश्च कृष्णान्हैमवताँस्तथा ।।

The variants of हूणान् are कृष्णान्, हूनान्, कृषान्, भ्रूणाः, पूर्णाः; those of शकानोड्रान् are शकानौत्रान्, सकाम्बोजान्, शकान्मेढ्रान्, शकान्पौण्ड्रान्, शकानोढ्रान्, खषाःकाचाः, खवाःकाषाः; those of पर्वतान्तरवासिनः are पौद्रान्बर्बरवासिनः, बर्बरान्वनवासिनः, those of वार्ष्णेयान् are वल्भीकान् बाह्लीकान्, निषादान्; those of हारहूणान् are हारहूराँश्च, हारहूनांश्च, पारसीकाँश्च, वारिषेणां पारसीकान्, वाह्लेयकान्पारसीकान् वार्ष्णनीयान्पारसीकान्, निषादान्यासिकाँश्चैव ।

[34] H W. Bailey, Hārahūṇa, *Asiatica* (Festschrift Friedrich Weller) (1954) pp. 13-18

[35] *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* ed. Kern XVI, 38-9

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with the Hūṇas on account of the red colour of their hats, armour and banners[36]. But this word also means 'dark'. We know that according to the Chinese tradition, accepted by most of the steppe-peoples, the colour of the north was black[37]. Hence all northern peoples were regarded as black and 'black' became a synonym for 'northern'. For instance, 'black' Bulgars meant the northern Bulgars and 'black' Ugrians were the northern Ugrians. Similarly the Savarti or Sevordik were called 'Black Sons' in Armenian sources. It is possible that the word *hārahūṇa* signified the Hūṇas from the north. It is even more likely that the dichotomy of White Hūṇa and Dark Hūṇa was the result of the Central Asiatic conception of the aristocracy being regarded as 'white' and the commonalty being treated as 'black'.[38] The White Hūṇas may represent the nobles and the Hārahūṇas, the common people among them. In fact, Pelliot equated *hārahūṇa* with the Mongol *Qārā Qūn*.[39] The word *hāra* or *hara* had also a guttural sound in the beginning which was sometimes aspirated. The vowel following it was a, ā or e, as the numerous forms, studied by Bailey show. Hence it could be read as *kher*. Thus, *kherakhāṇa* of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* is a near approach to the Iranian spelling and pronunciation of the Sanskrit *hārahūṇa*. The period to which this reference can be assigned is the later half of the fifth century or the first half of the sixth century A.D., when the Hūṇas became prominent in India.

4. *The identification of 'Madhughāta'*

In the enumeration of foreign tribes, whose languages the guard Candanaka claims to have known, figures *madhughāta* (*madhughāda*). In this connection it is significant to note that in the T'ang period the Chinese called the Mongols *meng-u* which was pronounced as *mung-nguet*.[40] The last syllable *nguet* can be easily equated with *ghāta* in madhughāta. As for the first, it might have been garbled as *madhu*. So *madhughāta* seems to represent the Mongols.

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36 *Bahman Yaśt*, ed Anklesaria VI, 3 quoted by H. W. Bailey *op. cit.* p. 13

37 J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesischen Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* (*Hunnen*) Vol I, p. 20.

38 Otto J. Maenchen—Helfen, 'The Yuch-chih Problem Re-examined,' *Journal of the American Oriental Society* Vol 65 (1945) p. 76 et seq.

39 Pelliot cited in Renou and Filliozat, L' *Inde Classique* p. 254.

40 P. Pelliot, *Journal Asiatique* (1920) I, 146; D. Sinor, *Asia Major* N. S. II, 245

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Bailey has shown that the Mongols are mentioned in the following line of a sixth century Khotenese poem: *Mamkuya rro īndā heina khoca u huna cimgga supīya.* He equates *mamkuya* with *monku* or *mongu*, the Chinese transcription of the name of the Mongols.[41]

In the second century A. D. the region from the confines of Manchuria up to the Ili passed under the domination of the Sien-pei, a name which Pelliot restored as Sarbi, Sirbi or Sirvi.[42] In the fifth century another Central Asiatic horde called Jou-Jouan or Jouan-Jouan dominated the vast stretch of territory from Leao-ho on the frontier of Korea upto the Irtysh and the approaches of Karashahr. Among them the titles *khān* and *qaghān* are for the first time attested. These were Mongol titles which replaced the old Hiungnu title *shan-yu*.[43] It was as a result of the pressure of these Mongol hordes that the Hephthalites were pushed down the Oxus towards the Indus. So in the later half of the fifth century the Mongol Jouan Jouan were the northern neighbours of the Hūṇa-Hephthalites. Hence in the *Mṛchhakaṭika* the position of the *Kherakhāṇa* and the *Mukhamadhughāta* accords with the aforesaid juxtaposition of tribes in parts of Central Asia.

5. *The political revolution.*

The *Mṛcchakaṭika* is connected with a political revolution at Ujjayinī in which Āryaka broke out of the prison of Pālaka, encompassed his murder and proclaimed himself the king. Curiously enough we learn from the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa* that one 'P-initialled' (*pakārākhya*) son of a king 'Bh-initialled' (*bhakārākhya*) was cast in prison by a king named Gopa (*gopākhya*). But he got released and in the company of a merchant reached the camp of a king, who had invaded that territory, in the dead of night, and was anointed

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41 H. W. Bailey, *Asiatica* (op. cit.) p. 19.

42 P. Pelliot, 'Tokharien et Koutchéen', *Journal Asiatique* (1934) I, P. 35; Torii, 'Etudes archéologiques et éthnologique, populations primitives de la Mongolie orientale, *Journal of the College of Science*, Imperial University of Tokyo, Vol. XXXVI pp. 9-19.

43 Paul Pelliot, *La Haute Asie* p. 8, Lawrence Krader, 'Qan-Qaghan and the beginnings of Mongol kingship, *Central Asiatic Journal* Vol I, P. 17.

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by him at day-break as the king of the Magadhans.[44] K.P. Jayaswal has identified 'Bh-initialled' with Bhānugupta, 'Gopa', with Goparāja, and 'P-initialled' with Prakaṭāditya. According to him, Bhānugupta had imprisoned his son, who was subsequently known as Prakaṭāditya, probably on account of his rebellions nature, and consigned him to the custody of his feudatory Goparāja.[45] In 510-11 A.D. this feudatory Goparāja was killed in a battle and his wife became a *sati*, as we learn from the Eran stone inscription of G. E. 191.[46] This battle is believed to have been fought with the Hūṇa invader Toramāṇa. It appears that in the hurly-burly of the Hūṇa invasion this rebel 'P-initialled' got released and was installed on the throne after the death of Goparāja. The story of the release of Āryaka from the prison of Pālaka and his coronation as king after his death assumes a singular topical interest in the context of this political coup in later Gupta history.

There is a verse in act VIII of the drama, where a garden, the trees of which perform the meritorious function of affording protection to the unsheltered, is compared to a new kingdom and the heart of the wicked, which know no restraints and regulations and are capable of being utilised according to one's own sweet-will[47]. This reference to the new kingdom may refer to the new rule of Āryaka. Here the

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[44] K.P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India* (Text) pp. 56-57

तस्याप्यनुजो भकाराख्यः प्राचीं दिशि समाश्रितः।
तस्यापि सुतः पकाराख्यः प्राग्देशेष्वेव जायतः ।।
क्षत्रियः अग्रणी प्रोक्तः बालबन्धानुचारिणः।
दशवर्षाणि सप्तं च बन्धनस्थमधिष्ठितः ।।
गोपाख्येन नृपतिना बद्धो मुक्तोऽसौ भगवाह्वये।
पश्चाद्देशसमायातः अकाराख्यो महानृपः ।।
प्राचिं दिशिपर्यन्तं गंगातीरमतिष्ठत ।।
तत्रौ च क्षत्रियो बाल वणिजा च तथागतः।
रात्रौ प्रविष्टवांस्तत्र राज्यन्ते च प्रपूजितः ।।
मागधानां तदा राज्ये स्थापयामास तं शिशुम् ।

[45] *Ibid.* introduction pp. 63-64.

[46] Fleet, *op. cit.* Vol. III No. 20.

[47] *Mṛcchakaṭika* VIII, 4

अशरणशरणप्रमोदभूतैर्वनतरुभिः क्रियमाणचारुकर्म।
हृदयमिव दुरात्मनामगुप्तं नवमिव राज्यमनिर्जितोपभोग्यं ।।

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word *agupta* seems to have a *double entendre* and is likely to refer to the new kingdom, mentioned in the play. Should this view be correct, we would notice here a reference to the non-Gupta new régime. After the death of Goparāja the region of Malwa passed under the domination of the Hūṇa king Toramāṇa who set up his own nominees there. One Dhanyaviṣṇu is definitely known to have transferred his allegiance to him[48]. For the time being, Gupta régime was overthrown. *The Mṛcchakaṭika* seems to hint at this state of affairs.

It appears from the first act of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that there was no arrangement of street-lighting at Ujjayinī. The villain and his attendant gave a hot chase to Vasantasenā in the darkness of night. Cārudatta also asked his servant to escort the courtezan to her residence with a lamp and referred to the numerous dangers on the way at night (*bahudoṣā hi śarvarī* I, 58). In the third act again the clown refers to the darkness in the streets which was somewhat relieved by the emergence of the moon. He also mentions the menace of the thieves[49]. The burglary of Śarvilaka which follows this remark confirms it. It appears that in the political upheaval and turmoil of the first quarter of the sixth century the administrative system was upset and life in cities became somewhat unsafe. The *Mṛcchakaṭika* describes this atmosphere of instability at Ujjayinī.

6. *The court scene.*

In the ninth act of the drama we get a court scene. The presiding officer of the court (*adhikaraṇika*) is assisted by a merchant (*śreṣṭhin*) and an official (*kāyastha*). All these are called *adhikaraṇabhojakas*. They have an attendant or peon named Śodhanaka who cleans the courtroom, arranges the furniture, receives the officers and calls the complainants. Śakāra presents himself and lodges the complaint about the alleged murder of Vasantasenā. The kāyastha takes it down. Then the court summons the mother of Vasantasenā and records her statement. Thereafter Cārudatta is sent for and questioned. The police authorities are examined. The mate-

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[48] J. F. Fleet, *op. cit.* No. 36.

[49] *Mṛcchakaṭika* Act III p. 115,

एसो वि अन्धआरस्स विअ अवआसं देन्तो अन्तरिक्ख-पासाददो ओदरदि भअवं चन्दो *ibid.* p. 154 किं एत्थ उज्जइणीए चोरो वि णत्थि, जो एदं दासीए पुत्तं णिद्दाचोरं ण अवहरदि *ibid.* p. 157 घन-तिमिर-निरुद्ध-सर्वभावा रजनिरियं जननीव संवृणोति ।

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rial exhibits are considered, and finally the verdict is returned and the sentence pronounced.

According to the drama, the court formed part of a big establishment where other administrative business was also transacted. This is clear from the remarks of Cārudatta that the ministers wrapt in thought, envoys moving to and fro, spies present on the spot, litigants preferring their cases, clerks behaving like serpents, and horses and elephants crowding the campus gave an appearance of a sea to the establishment (*rājakaraṇa*).[50] Cārudatta calls it devoid of justice and equity (*nīti-kṣuṇṇa-taṭañca*) and full of extortion and violence (*hinsra*)

This estimate of the court agrees with that given in the *Pādatāḍitakam* of Śyāmilaka. In it the judge (*pradhyāti*) is stated to be either drowsing or shouting in the court whereas his brother coaxed money from the litigants.[51] The officials, clerks and copyists demanded tips and the *amins* with big sticks (*kāṣṭhamahattara*)[52] dogged the clients for bribes. Hence the people groaned and felt that apart from success or sentence the court was a source of botheration.[53]"

As regards the constitution of the court we note that it was a combination of official and public elements. In the Gupta period there was a tendency to associate non-official elements with the administration. We learn from the inscriptions on the copper plates found at Damodarpur and Paharpur that trade, industry and finance were adequately represented in the administrative system. According to the Damodarpur plates the district

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50 *Mṛcchakaṭika* IX, 14.

चिन्तासक्त-निमग्न-मंत्रि-सलिलं दूतोर्मिशंखाकुलं,
पर्यन्तस्थितचारनक्रमकरं नागाश्वहिस्रालयम् ।
नानावाशककंकपक्षिरुचिरं कायस्थसर्पास्पदं
नीतिक्षुण्णतटञ्चराजकरणं हिंस्रैःसमुद्रायते ।।

51 *Caturbhāṇī* ed. V. S. Agrawala and Moticandra p. 214.

प्रध्याति विष्णुदासो भ्रात्रा किल तर्जितोऽस्मि कोङ्केन ।
द्राक्तेनाभिहतोऽहं क्रोशति विष्णुः स्वपिति चात्र ।।

52 *Ibid.*

मृगयन्ते तदधिकृता मृगयन्ते पुस्तपालकायस्थाः ।
काष्टमहत्तरैरपि विधृतोऽस्मि चिरं मृगयमाणैः ।।

53 *Ibid.* p. 213.

कुतो जयदण्डाभ्यां सह संयोगः केवलं क्लेशोऽनुभूयते ।

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magistrate (*viṣayapati*) was assisted by a board consisting of the *nagaraśreṣṭhin*, representing the financial corporations, the *sārthavāha*, or the leader of the caravan-merchants, the *prathamakulika* or the chief of the artisans and the *prathamakāyastha* or the first secretary.[54] The Viṣayapati was obliged to consult this board in matters pertaining to his administrative duties particularly the transfers of land for charitable purposes. The seals discovered at Basarh (Vaiśālī) reveal the offices of śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha and kulika, of śreṣṭhin and kulika, of śreṣṭhin and of kulika or prathamakulika respectively.[55] They show that in some spheres the śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha and kulika jointly acted; in others, the śreṣṭhin and kulika collaborated and in the rest they worked individually. It appears that a part of this big establishment was reserved for the court where the śreṣṭhin and the kāyastha sat with the *adhikaraṇika* to try cases and dispense justice. The collaboration of the śreṣṭhin with the adhikaraṇika, mentioned in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, points to the administrative system of the Gupta period when the śreṣṭhin and others were intimately associated with the district authorities.

In the sixth century the trading and merchant communities obtained some charters of rights (*ācāra-śtithi-patra*) from the kings in which their privileges and immunities were specified and the procedures of law applied to them were codified. One such document is the charter of Viṣṇuṣeṇa dated 592 A. D.[56] Some of its clauses agree with the proceedings described in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*. In line 5 of this charter we read that a man could not be arrested on mere suspicion.[57] In the drama we observe that when Śakāra made the accusation against Cārudatta and Vasantasenā's mother lent some support to it by stating that her daughter had gone out to meet him, the magistrate did not issue the process against him, but asked the peon to request him to visit the court as "the presiding officer wanted to see him in connection with some special work.[58]" In line 8 of the charter it

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54 D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization* pp. 283, 285, 324, 328, 337.

55 *Archaeological Survey of India*, (Annual Reports) 1903-4, p. 104

56 D. C. Sircar, 'Charter of Viṣṇuṣeṇa, Samvat 649, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol XXX part V (Jan. 1954) pp 168-181.

57 *Ibid.* p. 179, first plate line 5 शंकया गृहणं नास्ति ।

58 *Mṛcchakaṭika* Act IX p. 472.

भद्र शोधनक ! पश्य, आर्यचारुदत्तं स्वैरमसम्भ्रान्तमनुद्विग्नं सादरमाह्वय ·
'प्रस्तावेणाधिकरणिकस्त्वां द्रष्टुमिच्छतीति'

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is stated that an oral allegation (*utkṛṣṭi*) could not be entertained without a written complaint (*āvedanaka*).[59] In the drama the magistrate causes the complaint of Śakāra to be taken down by the clerk before proceeding to enquire into it.[60] In lines 5 and 6 of the record there is a provision that in some cases, notably the outbreak of fire, "*chala* is not to be entertained." D. C. Sircar interprets this term *chala* as a "half-hazard allegation", "a careless accusation" or a "pretext[61]". Curiously enough, this expression *chalo na grāhyaḥ* occurs in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* as *chalam-atra na grahyate*. The magistrate exhorts Cārudatta to speak the truth, give up silence (*dhairya*) since *chala* was not permissible there.[62] Here *chala* is used in relation to *dhairya* (silence). It signifies the evasion of examination in the court. Its sense is that a witness can be compelled to give evidence in the court in respect of a vital matter. So the magistrate informs Cārudatta the he will not be permitted to suppress the facts by keeping silent. On this showing, the expresion in the charter *kṣemāgni-samutthāne chalo na grāhyaḥ* means that in the case of an outbreak of fire the persons concerned will be brought to the court by the process of the law and be subjected to examination and cross-examination with a view to bringing out the correct facts. The phrase *svayam hrasite karṇe chalo no grāhyaḥ* means that if a man is in the know of actual facts by reason of his hearing them himself, he shall be forced to give evidence in respect of them in the court. The clause *āpaṇe āsanasthasya chalo na grāhyaḥ* means that a person will not be permitted to evade his statement in the court on the ground that he has to occupy the seat of his shop implying thereby that he is the only person to conduct the business at his shop. The section *ā madhyānhād ūrdhvam uttarakulikavārikāṇām chalo na grāhyaḥ* means that the officers called uttarakulikavārika will not be allowed to be absent from the court after midday. Thus, we observe that the technical term *chala* has the sense of' 'evasion of evidence'. This principle *chalam na grahyate* is intended to prevent a *suppressio veri*. Its occurrence in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* and the charter of Viṣṇuṣeṇa shows that it was a common term of legal use in that age. Thus, both these works breathe the air of the same epoch.

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59 First Plate line 8 आवेदनकेन विना उत्कृष्टि न ग्राह्या ।

60 Act IX p. 465, व्यवहारपदं प्रथममभिलिख्यताम् ।

61 *Epigraphia Indica*, op. cit. pp. 170-171.

62 Act IX, 18

व्यवहारः सविघ्नोऽयं त्यज लज्जां हृदि स्थिताम् ।
ब्रूहि सत्यमलं धैर्यं छलमत्र न गृह्यते ।।

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7. *Concluding observations.*

It is clear from the aforesaid data of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* that it is a work of the early sixth century A. D. The person who wrote it fathered it on one Śūdraka. That it could not be the work of that Śūdraka, to whom it is ascribed, is manifest from the fact that the death and last rites of Śūdraka are mentioned in it[63]. No person can be aware of his death in his lifetime.

The date of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* has been discussed by several scholars. Candra Bali Pandeya in his book entitled '*Śūdraka*' identified Śūdraka of the *Mṛcchakaṭika* with Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī pulumāvī and assigned the play to the Śātavāhana period[64]. But his arguments are based on so many presumptions and speculations that it is difficult to accept them. The data studied here militate against this view. Similary, the view of Sten Konow that the play was composed by the Ābhīra prince Śivadatta, who or whose son Iśvarasena is held to have overthrown the last king of the Āndhra dynasty and to have founded the Cedi era of 248-49 A. D., rests on insufficient data. Sylvain Lévi's suggestion that the author of the play lived after Vikramāditya, the patron of Kālidāsa, has much to commend itself, but his view that he wished to give it an appearance of antiquity by associating it with a prince, who preceded Vikramāditya, is too far-fetched and insufficient to suggest a date.[65]

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[63] Act I, 4

राजानं वीक्ष्य पुत्रं परमसमुदयेनाश्वमेधेन चेष्ट्वा ।
लब्ध्वा चायुः शताब्दं दशदिनसहितं शूद्रकोऽग्निं प्रविष्टः ।।

[64] *Śūdraka* (Samvat 2010) pp 1-38.

[65] A. B. Keith, *The Sanskrit Drama* pp. 128-181.

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CHAPTER XIX

A Historical Approach to the Karpūramanjarī of Rājaśekhara.

1. *Rājaśekhara and his 'Karpūramañjarī'*

The *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara is a unique Prakrit play. It is the only Prakrit play of the saṭṭaka class that has come down to us.[1] Its author Rājaśekhara was a Yāyāvara Brāhmaṇa from Mahārāṣṭra.[2] His great grandfather Akālajalada is called a crest-jewel of Mahārāṣṭra.[3] His grandfather Surānanda distinguished himself as a man of letters and his father Durduka or Duhika took to government service and rose to be the chief-minister (Mahāmantrin). Rājaśekhara came to the court of the Gurjara-Pratihāras at Kanauj and was appointed the teacher of Mahendrapāla or Nirbhayarāja[4], a fact of which he was always proud. During the reign of Mahendrapāla (Cir 885 or 890-910 A. D.) he enjoyed great esteem and prestige at Kanauj. After the death of this king he remained at the court of his successor Mahīpāla (Cir 912—944) and at his instance wrote his work *Bālabhārata.* For sometime he lived in the court of the Kalacuri King Yuvarājadeva I at Tripuri and there wrote the drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā.*

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1 According to the *Sāhityadarpaṇa* a saṭṭaka is written entirely in Prakrit, its acts are called *Javanikā*, it is characterised by the marvellous flavour (*adbhutarasa*) and is devoid of *praveśaka* and *viṣkambhaka.* cp. Bhāvaprakāśa.

सैव प्रवेशकेनापि विष्कम्भेन विना कृता
अंकस्थानीयविन्यस्तचतुर्जवनिकान्तरा
प्रकृष्टप्राकृतमयी सट्टकं नामतो भवेत्।

2 .*Bālarāmāyaṇa* I, 6,13; *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* I, 5.

3 *Bālarāmāyaṇa* I, 13.

4 *Karpūramañjarī* ed. by Sten Konow (Harvard Oriental Series Vol. IV) I, 9 p. 6.

बालकइ कइराओ णिब्भरराअस्स तह उवज्झाओ।

that Nibbhararāa was but another name of Mahendrapāla is manifest from the *Karpūramañjarī* itself (I, 5), where Rājaśekhara is called the teacher of Mahindavāla. *Ibid* p. 6.

भाव कहिज्जउ एअं को भणइ रअणिवल्लहसिहण्डो।
रहुउलचूड़ामणिणो महिन्दवालस्स को अ गुरु॥

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The plot of the *Karpūramañjarī* centres round the marriage of King Caṇḍapāla with the Kuntala princess Karpūramañjarī through the instrumentality of the Śaiva Tāntrika ascetic Bhairavānanda and the consequential attainment of paramountcy by him.[5] We learn from Act I of the play that the ascetic Bhairavānanda was asked by the king Caṇḍapāla to produce a lovely girl on the stage. Accordingly, he made Karpūramañjarī, fresh from the bath, enter the court. The king was instantly enamoured of her. She chanced to be the neice of the queen who made her stay for a fortnight with her. In the meantime, the aforesaid princess also developed love for the king. Knowing this development, the queen become jealous of the princess and imprisoned her in a room, but through a secret subterraneous passage she went to the palace garden and met the king. Thereupon, the queen got that passage blocked at the garden-end. Meanwhile, Bhairavānda induced the queen to assent to the marriage of a princess of Lāṭa named Ghaṇasāramañjarī with the king, since he would thereby become a paramount sovereign. When the wedding arrangements were complete and the bride was to be presented, Karpūramañjarī was brought through a branch of the subterraneous passage opening out in the Banyan Grove near the temple of Cāmuṇḍā which was newly constructed for that very purpose without the knowledge of the queen. Then the queen realised that whom she thought to be Ghaṇasāramañjarī, of Lāṭa was, infact, Karpūramañjarī, the princess of Kuntala. In this way, the marriage of the king with the princess was celebrated in the presence of Bhairavānanda and he took his seat as the paramount sovereign.

2. *Caṇḍapāla and the Deccan.*

Caṇḍapāla of the play is considered a king of the Deccan by C. R. Lanman, the English translator of this work. His argument is that Caṇḍapāla addresses his queen as 'daughter of a sovereign of the Deccan' and that Caṇḍapāla and the king of kuntala are represented as marrying aunt and niece, a custom prevalent in South India.[6] But, we do not find any state of South India in the tenth century A. D. except the Rāṣṭrakūṭas whose king might have claimed paramount sovereignty of India. Of course, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

[5] *ibid* I, 12 p. 7.

चण्डवालधरणीहरिणङ्को चक्कवट्टिपअलाहणिमित्तं ।
सत्थ सट्ठअवरे रससोत्ते कुन्तलाहिवसुअं परिणेइ ॥

[6] *Karpūramañjarī*, Harvard Oriental Series Vol. IV p. 213.

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of Mānyakheṭa were a great power in the Deccan and sometimes they were on the verge of conquering practically the whole of northern India by reducing the Pratihāras and the Pālas, but, as we shall presently see, the heroine of the play, Karpūramañjarī, is stated to be the daughter of Vallabharāja, who is unmistakably identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of the Deccan. As this princess was married to Caṇḍapāla, he must necessarily be different from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, for it is inconceivable that this king should have married his own daughter. So Caṇḍapāla was certainly not the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, and, since no other dynasty could claim paramountcy in the Deccan in the tenth century, this king can not be deemed to have flourished in the South.

3. *Caṇḍapāla and Mahīpāla.*

V. V. Mirashi holds that Caṇḍapāla is identical with the Prahtihāra king Mahīpāla.[7] We learn from the *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara that Mahīpāla was also known as Kārtikeya. As, according to the *Mahābhārata* Caṇḍa is one of the names of Kārtikeya,[8] Mirashi supposes that Caṇḍapāla was a sobriquet of Mahīpāla. Mirashi argues that after the sack of Kaṇauj by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III in 916 A. D. Mahīpāla had to flee from his capital. After the retreat of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from northern India he recovered his kingdom with the assistance of the Candela king who must have been Harṣa or his son Yaśovarman. But "the feeling of revenge might have been rankling in his mind." This is reflected in the reference to Mahīpāla as the incarnation of Candragupta Maurya and the Karṇāṭas, meaning the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, as the embodiments of the vicious Nandas in the *Caṇḍakauśika* of Kṣemīśvara. Rājaśekhara himself in his *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava* described Mahīpāla as an axe to the Kuntalas. So after the death of Indra III, some years after his northern expedition, and the accession of his weak and lascivious son Govind IV, Mahīpāla must have found an opportunity to avenge himself on his adversaries. "It was evidently in the reign of Govinda IV that the marriage-alliance commemorated in the *Karpūramañjarī* took place."

4. *Mahīpāla and the East.*

The arguments of Mirashi, though ingenious, carry little conviction in view of some other weighty considerations based upon the data given in the play. In Act I the bard hails Caṇḍapāla as a

7 V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* Vol. I p. 57.

8 *Mahābhārata* III, 232, 4.

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conqueror of eastern regions in these words, "Victory, Victory to thee, O, King ! Thou gallant of the women of the East, thou campak-bloom ear-ornament of the town of Campā, thou, whose lustre (*rāḍhā*) transcends the loveliness of Rāḍhā, who has conquered Assam by thy prowess, who providest merry-making (*keli*) for Harikeli, who mayst well make light of the beauty of genuine gold, who delightest us by the comeliness of all thy person! May the beginning of the fragrant season (spring) be a joy to thee !"[9] In this remark Campā stands for Bhagalpur,[10] Rāḍhā is the famous district of Western Bengal,[11] Kāmarūpa obviously signifies Assam, and Harikeli is a name of Bengal, as noted by Hemacandra.

All these places and regions are included in the East (*pūrvā diś*) which is stated to be under the sway of Caṇḍapāla. Now, we have no evidence to indicate that Mahīpāla had any hold or exercised any sway over the eastern regions of Bihar and Bengal. On the other hand, we have epigraphic evidence to show that the Pālas, taking advantage of the internal strife and Raṣṭrākūṭa invasion of Kanauj, recovered some of their ancestral possessions up to the eastern banks of the river Son. The Uddaṇḍapura image inscription records the gifts of Thāruka, son of Raṇakauca, resident of Uddaṇḍapura (modern Bihar town in Patna district) in the fifty-fourth year of the illustrious Nārāyaṇapāladeva. Similarly the Baragaon (modern Nālandā-Bihar) inscription[13] of the twenty-fourth year of Rājyapāladeva proves Pāla occupation of that

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[9] *Karpūramañjarī*, tr. p. 226, text, P. 9.

जअ जअ पुव्वदिसङ्गणाभुअङ्ग चम्पाचम्पककण्णऊर राढाणिज्जिदराढा-चङ्गत्तण विक्कमक्कन्तकामरूव हरिकेलिकेलिआर अवमणिदजच्चसुवण्णवण्ण सव्वङ्ग-सुन्दरत्तणरमणिज्ज सुहाअ दे होदु सुरहिसमारम्भो ।

[10] Campā, the capital of Anga, stood at the confluence of the river of that name, modern Chāndan, and the Ganges. According to Cunningham, the villages named Campānagara and Campāpura near Bhagalpura represent the site of the ancient city. Anga was to the east of Magadha and to the west of Rajmahal Hills. At one time it included Magadha and even extended to the shores of the sea. H. C. Ray Choudhury, *Political History of Ancient India* 5th ed. p. 107.

[11] Rādhāpuri, the city of western Bengal, is mentioned in the second act of the *Prabodhacandrodaya.*

[12] *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 46 (1918) p. 110.

[13] *ibid.* p. 111.

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portion of Bihar. Two inscriptions of the time of Gopāla II also lead to the same conclusion. One of them, found at Nālandā,[14] records the covering of the image of the Goddess Vāgīśvarī by a pious individual in the first year of the reign of Gopāla II, and the other, discovered in the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhagayā,[15] commemorates the installation of an image of Buddha by one Dharmabhīma. Thus, it is clear that at the time of Mahīpāla the Pālas were on the offensive, had wrested many parts of their dominion in Bihar from the Pratihāras and exercised a firm control over them. Therefore, the conquest of Bihar and Bengal attributed to Caṇḍapāla in the *Karpūramañjarī* militates against his identification with Mahīpāla who had nothing to do with these regions.

5. *Mahīpāla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas*

In the drama the king of Vacchoma, Vatsa or Vatsagulma *i. e.* modern Basim in the Hyderabad State, in the Kuntala country named Vallabharāja is praised as popular and beloved of his subjects.[16] It is admitted on all hands that Vallabharāja was the title of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa. Arab writers called them Balhara which is an adaptation of this title Vallabharāja.[17] In ancient times the territory of Kuntala comprised southern Mahārāṣṭra and the northern Kanarese districts of the Mysore state. It included the North Kānaḍā district and parts of Mysore state and Belgaon and Dhārwād districts as well as the upper and central valleys of the Kṛṣṇā. Though the empire of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas

14 *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* Vol. I (1862-65) p. 36.

15 *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 38 (1910) p. 237.

16 *Karpūramañjarī* ed. Durgaprasad and Pansikar (Kāvyamālā 4) p. 34. अत्थि एत्थ वच्छोमं णाम णअरं कुन्तलेसु ।
तहिं सअलजणवल्लहो वल्लहराओ णाम राआ ।
The reading in the edition of Sten Konow p. 32 is as follows :
अत्थि एत्थ दक्खिणावधे कुन्तलेसुं सअलजणवल्लहो वल्लहराओ णाम राआ ।
In *Kāvyamīmānsā* (P. 10) Rājaśekhara states that Vatsagulma (Vacchoma) was included in Vidarbha. This shows that Vidarbha and Kuntala were united in the empire of Vallabharāja or the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

17 A. S. Altekar, *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times* p. 49. The Cālukya King Vikramāditya conferred the title of *Prithvīvallabha* on Dantidurga, the founder of the *Rāṣṭrakūṭa* dynasty. Dhruva and Govinda III also adopted the title of *Śrī-Vallabha*. So the title Vallabha came to be associated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.

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and Later Cālukyas comprised northern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha also, besides these regions, their capitals Mānyakheṭa and Kalyāṇī respectively were situated in the country between the Kṛṣṇā and the Godāvarī. Hence they were called rulers of Kuntala or the Karṇāṭas[18]. Thus, the reference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king in a way showing no enmity or rancour, but rather indicating amity and friendliness, proves that the king Caṇḍapāla was on good terms with him. We know that about 916 A. D. the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Indra III raided and devastated Kanauj and forced Mahīpāla to leave it and repair to Prayāga.[19] Hence there could be no question of Mahīpāla being friendly towards Indra III. Indra III died prematurely in 622 A. D.[20] and was succeeded by his son Amoghavarṣa II. The latter fell a prey to the foul play of his younger brother Govind IV. Govinda IV was a youth of 25 at the time of his accession and gave himself up to a life of vice and luxury. He became tyrannical and unpopular and his feudatories and ministers planned his removal by inviting Amoghavarṣa, an uncle of Govinda, to occupy the throne in his place. Mirashi thinks that the marriage-alliance mentioned in the *Karpūramañjarī* took place in the reign of this Govinda IV and that he is the Vallabharāja, referred to in this play. But, as seen above, Govinda IV was vicious, tyrannical and unpopular, whereas the Vallabharāja of the drama was extremely popular and beloved of all his subjects (*Saala-jaṇa-vallabha*). So there is a world of difference between the two and their identification is far from plausible. Amoghavarṣa overthrew Govinda IV in 936. But, as he was aged about 50, the government was entirely entrusted to his able and ambitious son Kṛṣṇa. This Kṛṣṇa led an expedition into Bundelkhand and captured the important forts of Kālanjara and Citrakūṭa. [21] It has been inferred that these two forts of the Pratihāras were occupied by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa army shortly before

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[18] V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* Vol. I pp. 164-165

[19] The Cambay plate of Govinda IV, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VII p. 26.

येनेदं हि महोदयारिनगरं निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं नाम्नाद्यापि
जनैः कुशस्थलमिति ख्याति परां नीयते ।

[20] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 13.

[21] Deoli Plates, *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. V. p. 188

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940 A. D.[22] This resumption of Rāṣṭrakūṭa aggression must have enhanced the estrangement between these two dynasties. Thus, we observe that Mahīpāla was never on good terms with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and never succeeded in humbling them, the view of Tripathi and others that he successfully proceeded against Govinda IV, based on vague references to the enmity of Mahīpāla with the king of the Karṇāṭas and Kuntala, given in the *Caṇḍakauśika* and *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, being quite unsupported by any epigraphic testimony. The result of this enquiry is that Mahīpāla could not be the contemporary of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, mentioned in the *Karpūramañjarī*, and the views of Mirashi in this respect are not convincing.

6. *Caṇḍapāla and Mahendrapāla*

Sten Konow has suggested that Caṇḍapāla should be identified with the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla, the pupil and patron of Rājaśekhara.[23] Konow holds that both *caṇḍa* and *mahendra* mean Śiva and are thus synonymous. In order to examine this view we should apply the same tests which we applied to Mirashi's theory, noted above.

7. *Mahendrapāla and the East.*

In the first place, let us see whether Mahendrapāla conquered the eastern regions of Bihar and Bengal and exercised any effective sway there. Several inscriptions dated in the regnal years 2-19 of Mahendrapāla show that his hold over Magadha and North-East Bengal was quite intact. One of them dated in the year 4 of Mahendrapāla's coronation found on the pedastal from Bihar Sharif in Patna district, records a pious gift for the religious merit of Gautamī, the mother of the monk Dharmamitra.[24] Another inscription dated in the same year records the installation of the image of Kumārabhadra as a gift of the Saindhavas.[25] An inscription dated in the year 8 of the reign of Mahīndrapāla (Mahendrapāla), found at Ramagaya, opposite the Gadādhara temple at Gaya, records the gift of Ṛṣi Saudi's son Sahadeva on the

22 R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* p. 267 ; B.N. Puri, *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* p. 91. The latter writer thinks that this event happened in the regin of Vināyakapāla who was different from Mahīpāla.

23 Sten Konow, *Das Indische Drama* pp. 85.

24 *Archaeological Survey of india Reports* (1923-24) pp. 101-102.

25 Hirānānda Śāstrin, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India* (no. 66) pp. 105-106.

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pedestal of the figures of Viṣṇu.[26] Another of the ninth year, discovered at Guneria in the southern part of Gaya district, is engraved on the pedestal of a Buddha image dedicated by Śrīpāla, the son of the merchant Haridatta.[27] An inscription found at Itkhori in the Hazaribagh district of Bihar, incised on the pedestal of an image of Tārā, contains the name of Parameśvara Mahendrapāla.[28] Besides these inscriptions from Bihar, we have also an inscription from Paharpur in the Rajashahi district of Bengal, dated in the fifth year of Śrī Mahendrapāladeva, commemorating the dedication of a pillar to Buddha by a monk named Sthavira Jayagarbha.[29] A Similar inscription is dated in the 19th year of this king Mahendrapāla.[30] Kielhorn, Smith and Hara Prasāda Śāstrin believed that the Mahendrapāla, referred to in these inscriptions, was a Pāla ruler.[31] But, it is now generally held on the ground of the titles of the king, given in these records, as well as their palaeographical character that they must refer to the Pratihāra king Mahendrapāla.[32]

The inscriptions of the Pāla monarch Nārāyaṇapāla do not appear in this region after the seventeenth year of his long reign of 54 years. His inscriptions found there are only the Gaya record of the year 7, the Bihar inscription of the year 9, and the Bhagalpur epigraph of the year 17. Thus, it seems that the Pratihāras occupied Bihar and North Bengal after the 17th regnal year of Nārāyaṇapāla, B. N. Puri holds that the credit of making these conquests goes to Bhoja.[33] But Tripathi observes that "no inscription gives the credit for this achievement to Bhoja, nor any of his records has been found outside the eastern limits of the

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[26] *Memoirs of the Archaeolgical Survey of Bengal* Vol. V part III pp. 64-65.

[27] *Indian Antiquary* (1918) p. 110.

[28] *Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (Central Circle) 1920-21 p. 5,

[29] *Archaeological Survey of India* (Annual reports) 1925-26 p. 141.

[30] *Epigraphia Indica* vol. I p. 244.

[31] *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. VIII Appendix p. 18; *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 38 p. 246 ; *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 3 p. 16

[32] R. D. Banerji, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Bengal* Vol. V. p. 63-64 ; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* p. 149.

[33] B. N. Puri, *History of the Gurjara-Pratiharas* p. 69.

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United Provinces.[34]" Hence he holds that "it is reasonable to conclude that the event probably took place soon after Mahendrapāla's accession. Perhaps the Cātsu inscription also contains a reference to it, since we learn that Guhila with excellent horses from the sea-coast vanquished the king of Gauḍa and levied tribute from princes in the East."[35] This Guhila must have accompanied his Pratihāra suzerain in his expedition against Magadha and Bengal. Thus, we observe that the account of the eastern conquests of Caṇḍapāla, mentioned in the *Karpūramañjarī*, can adequately apply to Mahendrapāla alone.

8. *Mahendrapāla and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas.*

Let us now examine Mahendrapāla's dealings with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Madendrapāla's Rāṣṭrakūṭa contemporary was Kṛṣṇa II (Cir 878-914A.D.). In the beginning of his reign he fought with the Pratihāra king Bhoja and the battle between them was so severe as to be remembered even in 914, the date of the Begumra plates. In this struggle Kṛṣṇa was assisted by Kṛṣṇarāja of the Lāṭa branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. But, soon afterwards, he was engaged in a very serious conflict with the Eastern Cālukya king of Vengi named Vijayāditya III who had overthrown the Rāṣṭrakūṭa yoke during the reign of Amoghavarṣa. On the accession of Kṛṣṇa, Vijayāditya III attacked the Nolambas and the Gangas in the south and penetrated into Berar in the north. But the Rāṣṭrakūta armies, though initially rebuffed, eventually defeated the Cālukyas and imprisoned Bhīma, the successor of Vijayāditya. However, Bhīma was released after some years and permitted to rule over his kingdom. He again took the offensive against the Rāṣṭrakūṭas but was put down. Kṛṣṇa II was also embroiled in Cola politics by supporting the cause of his daughter's son Kannar against Parāntaka, a son of Āditya Cola by another wife, but suffered a decisive defeat at Vallāla. Thus, his wars generally ended in disaster.[36]. This explains why Kṛṣṇa could not disturb the peace of the Pratihāra empire during the reign of Mahendrapāla. These circumstances also suggest the possibility of the growth of friendship between Kṛṣṇa

34 R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj* p. 250; R. C. Majumdar (*The Age of Imperial Kanauj* p. 33) also holds that the credit of the eastern conquests in Bihar & Bengal goes to Mahendrapāla.

35 *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XII p. 15.

36 A. S. Altekar, *Age of Imperial Kanauj* p. 12, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their Times* p. 90 et. seq.

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and Mahendrapāla and its culmination in a matrimonial alliance, mentioned in the *Karpūramañjarī*.

9. *Mahendrapāla and Lāṭa.*

The drama also refers to the likelihood of the assumption of paramount sovereignty by Caṇḍapāla by marrying the princess Gaṇasāramañjarī, daughter of Caṇḍasena, the king of Lāṭa.[37] In fact, Bhairavānanda prevailed on the queen of Caṇḍapāla to assent to this marriage in order to uplift the political status of her husband. We know that Lāṭa was under the rule of a branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family. The contemporary of Kṛṣṇa II in Lāṭa was Kṛṣṇarāja. He assisted his kinsman in his early wars with the Pratihāras. He is known to have been on the throne upto 888 but no successor of his is so far known. Altekar writes: "Whether he died without leaving any issue, leading to the lapse of his kingdom, or whether there was a further war between the main dynasty and the Lāṭa branch, which wiped out the existence of the latter, we do not know.[38]" It is also likely that Mahendrapāla exerted relentless strain and pressure on the Lāṭa branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. His two grants found at Una[39] in the southernmost part of Kathiawad in the Junagarh State dated 893 A.D. and 899 A.D. and recording grants of the villages of Jayapura and Amvulaka in the Saurāṣṭra Maṇḍala to the temple of the sun by the Cālukya Balavarman and his son Avanivarman II Yoga respectively, who were his feudatories, demonstrate that he was successful in maintaining and, perhaps, even in extending his hold over the province of Saurāṣṭra which gave him access to the sea. In this context the reference to Caṇḍapāla's suzerainty over Lāṭa becomes understandable.

10. Caṇḍapāla identified with Mahendrapāla

It is clear from the aforesaid discussion that in Caṇḍapāla we have a veiled reference to Mahendrapāla. His eastern conquests and southern alliances won him the paramount position in India. The court-poet Rājaśekhara dramatised these memorable events of his time but clothed them in the garb of fiction by concealing

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[37] *Karpūramañjarī* ed. Konow p. 105

अत्थि एत्थ लाडदेसे चण्डसेणो णाम राआ। तस्स दुहिदा घणसारमंजरी'त्ति। सा देवण्णेहि णिद्दिट्ठा जधा एसा चक्कवट्टिघरिणी भविस्सदि'त्ति। तदो सा महाराएण परिणेदव्वा।

[38] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 12.

[39] *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. IX pp. 1-10.

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the name of his imperial patron in a less known and remotely connected but clearly perceptible synonym[40]. From this standpoint it would appear that Rājaśekhara wrote the *Karpūramañjarī* at the time of Mahendrapāla. So it was composed earlier than his *Bālabhārata* or *Pracaṇḍapāṇḍava*, in the prologue of which Mahīpāla is mentioned and called an axe to the Kuntala king, showing his deep-seated enmity for the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. The view of Mirashi that it was written later than the *Bālabhārata* is not sound. As a matter of fact, there seems much substance in the view of V. S. Apte, expressed as far back as 1856 in his essay entitled *Rājaśekhara, his life and writings*, that the *Karpūramañjarī* was the earliest composition of this author.

The *Karpūramañjarī* is also rich in cultural material. Of special significance is the description of the Kaula cult of the Śaiva ascetic Bhairavānanda and his performance of supernatural magic feats. This cult centred on the unstinted consumption of meat and wine and constant company of women. All the same its followers professed superhuman powers by virtue of which they made their mark in royal courts. This was the beginning of the constant association of the *Siddha* (perfected ascetic) and the *Sāmanta* (feudal lord) which became the corner-stone of medieval Indian culture and conditioned its characteristic orientations.

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40. Padmagupta in his *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* and Soḍḍhala in his *Udayasundarīkathā* have followed Rājaśekhara's style of disguising the name of a historical personage in fictitious and remotely connected name and describing the incidents of his career in a romantic and miraculous way. This style was a departure from that of Bāṇa in which the life of the hero was presented in a more direct, though poetically embellished, manner. [V. V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology* Vol. II. p. 63.

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Appendix to Chapter VII 'Fall of the Maurya Empire'.

In Chapter VII section 5 at page 155 the *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra (IX, 54) has been quoted to show that Samprati ruled over the eastern half of India including the Deccan. In Jacobi's edition (Bibliotheca Indica) p. 264 the following reading of this verse is given :

क्रमेण साधयामास भारतार्धं सदक्षिणम् ।
प्रचण्डशासनश्चाभूत्पाकशासनसन्निभः ॥

Here the word *sa* is joined to *dakṣiṇam* so as to show that *sadakṣiṇam* is connected with the preceding word *bhāratārdham.* Accordingly, the line has been taken to mean that Samprati ruled over one half of India including the Deecan. But the verse admits of another construction also. It is possible to separate *sa* from *dakṣiṇam* and treat it as the nominative form of the pronoun of the third person in singular. Thus, the line will read as *krameṇa sādhayāmāsa bhāratārdham sa dakṣiṇam* and will mean that "he gradually conquered the southern half of India." If this construction and interpretation are adopted the conclusion drawn from it at pages 153 and 155 above that Samprati ruled over one half of India including the Deecan seems to falls through. But the argument of the chapter is not at all impaired. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of kalhaṇa (I. 117) expressly states that Jalauka, the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra, conquered the country up to Kānyakubja (Kanauj in middle India). This implies that the successor of Aśoka at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha lost his hold over the western half of India up to Kānyakubja and had to be content with his rule over those parts of the country which lay to the east of this city, though he extended his sway in the south in course of time. The remark of Kalhaṇa makes it clear that Kānyakubja was the dividing line between the dominions of the successors of Aśoka in Kaśmīra and Magadha. This shows that the conquests of the successor of Aśoka in Kaśmīra up to Kānyakubja had the effect of the division of the Maurya empire between him and his Magadhan contemporary. In this way, the main thesis advanced at the aforesaid pages of the chapter under reference remains intact and does not call for any revision or alteration.

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INDEX

A

Abdullah-ibn-al-Mukaffa, 89.
Abdur Rahman ibn Muhammad ibn al-Ashas, 322.
Abgars, 381.
Abhayanandin, 236.
Abhinavagupta, 116
Ābhīra, 381-2, 384, 416.
Abhisāra, 46-7, 52, 63.
Abhisares, 38.
Abul Hasan, 124.
Abu Mansur Abdur Razzak bin Abdullah Farrukh, 89.
Abu Mansur al Maamari, 88.
Abu Salch bin Sh'aab bin Jami, 124.
Acalabhrāṭṛ (Ayalabhāyā), 78.
Achaemenids, 25, 28, 179, 209, 378.
Achtichtat, 235.
Actium, 24.
Āditya Chola, 425.
Adraistai, 64.
Aelian, 73.
Aeschylus, 280.
Agamemnon, 17.
Agathocles, 215, 333.
Agnibhūti (Aggibhūī), 78.
Agnimitra, 221-3, 228-9, 231.
Agrianians, 48.
Ahmad bin Muhammad bin abu Bakr of Khalanjan, 88.
Ahurmazda (Harmuz), 388.
Ajātaśatru, 72, 80.
Ājivika, 8-9, 11, 106, 167, 172, 183, 206.
Ajjhitabhaṭṭarikā, 379.
Akālajalada, 417.
Akampita (Akampiya), 78.
Akbar, 23, 331.
Akhnaton, 26.
Akun, 317, 374-5, 386.
Alan, 27.
Alauddin Khalji, 92.
Al-Biruni, 360, 392-3.
Alexander the Great, 24, 28, 30-1, 69, 74-5, 86-7, 91, 93, 95, 104, 117-9, 123, 125-31, 133-4, 141, 144, 156, 209-10, 236, 274, 331, 334, 336-7, 342.
Alexandria, 24.
Al-Jabarti, 25.
Alketas, 48, 51.
Al-Makin, 46.
Amarasiṁha, 282.
Amin Nasr, 88.
Amir Khusrau, 91-2.
Ammianus Marcellinus, 267-8, 302.
Amoghavarṣa, 396, 422, 425.
Amokan, 382.
Amru, 381.
Amyntas, 291.
Anāthapiṇḍaka, 178.
Andhaka, 226.
Androgorous, 212.
Androsthenes, 155, 156.
Aṅga, 180, 181.
Angulimāla, 95.
An-Kuo, 297, 298.
Anosharwan Khusro, 301.
Antialkidas, 291.
Antigonas Gonatas, 128.
Antigones, 48, 51, 139.
Antiochus, 155-6, 158-9, 210-13.
Antimachus, 214-15, 233.
Antipater, 139.
Apama, 128.
Apollodorus of Artemita, 216, 290.
Apollodotus, 215, 334.
Apollonius, 24.
Appianus, 127.
Āraṭṭa, 109.
Aratus, 8.
Arbela, 39, 43.
Arcadius, 313.
Archebius, 219.

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Archimedes, 24, 35.
Ardashir I, 263, 274-5, 296, 298, 325, 327, 360-1, 378-80, 382, 390, 394.
Ardashir II, 273, 275-6, 367, 398.
Ardwan, 274.
Arejataspa, 301.
Aristotle, 24, 61, 87.
Aristoboulous, 52, 87.
Arjaspa, 89.
Arjuna, 14, 31-2, 247-8.
Ārjunayāna, 35, 248, 263.
Arjuna Kārtarīrya, 16.
Aronos, 45.
Arrian, 30, 46, 49, 50-1, 53-4, 59, 60-1, 63, 67, 86, 94, 126, 132, 134.
Arsaces, 212-13.
Arsacid, 360.
Artaban, 292.
Artadr, 292.
Artaxerxes, 36-7.
Āryaka, 405-6, 410-11.
Āṣāḍhācārya, 141.
Aśoka, 2, 67, 72-3, 76-7, 85, 142-3, 145-6, 148-55, 157-64, 166, 172, 174, 181, 189-90, 193, 199, 200, 202,, 204-8, 384, 428.
Aspasioi, 337.
Assakenoi (Aśvakāyana), 45, 63, 74, 126, 337.
Assyrians, 25.
Astes (Hastin), 45.
Aśvaghoṣa, 202, 273.
Attalus, 48, 51.
Attila, 312.
Aurelian, 265.
Austanes, 31.
Avanti, 34, 95, 111.
Avantivarman, 135, 136.
Avantivarman II Yoga, 426.
Axumite, 358.
Azes, 292.
Azilises, 292-3.

B

Bābar, 332.
Babylon, 25, 44.
Bagdat, 381.
Baghdad, 25.
Bahman, 378.
Bahram, 265, 315-16, 320, 325-7, 329, 361, 364, 407.
Bahram Cobin, 318.
Balabhadda, 141-2.
Baladevagupta, 141.
Bālāditya, 321.
Balagupta, 141-2.
Balamitra, 221, 229, 391.
Balarāma, 226.
Balash, 317.
Balavarman, 426.
Bālhi, 30.
Bālhika, 36, 300.
Bāli, 399.
Bāṇabhaṭṭa, 1, 37, 145, 173, 272, 359, 427.
Bandhupālita, 144, 153, 154.
Bandhuvarman, 137, 401, 405.
Barmak, 308.
Bastille, 25.
Bati, 381.
Baudhāyana, 188.
Bazira, 45.
Beruvan, 381.
Beruvan-i-spandar, 381.
Bessos, 44-5, 61, 75.
Bhadra, 178.
Bhadrabāhu, 78.
Bhadrasāra, 144.
Bhāgavatas, 18.
Bhagīratha, 16.
Bhagīratha (Kadamba King) 397.
Bhairavānanda, 418, 426, 427.
Bhallika, 181.
Bhānugupta, 401, 411.
Bhānumitra, 221-3, 228-9, 231, 391.
Bhāraśiva, 263.
Bharata, 29.
Bhartṛhari, 6.
Bharu, 114.
Bharukaccha, 114.
Bhāsa, 370.
Bhasvan, 365, 370, 377.
Bhaṭṭi Maghavarman, 320-1.
Bhauṭṭa, 355.
Bhīma, 34.

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Bhīma (of Vengi), 425.
Bhīma (author of *Pratijñācāṇakya*), 116.
Bhoja, 424-25.
Bhṛgukaccha, 231.
Bhuvanapāla, 395.
Bhuvanekabāhu, 241.
Bilhaṇa, 1.
Bimbisāra, 34, 146, 177-8, 181, 187.
Bindusāra, 115, 144, 152, 163.
Boukephalas, 68.
Brāhmaṇas, their revolt against Alexander, 65.

Brāhmī, 153, 191, 370.
Bṛhadratha, 144-5, 147-9, 169, 173-4, 216-7, 221.
Bṛhaspati, 144.
Buddha, 2, 13, 18, 75-6, 78-82, 84, 120-1, 176, 178, 180-1, 208, 219, 236, 332, 335, 340, 343, 350.
Buddhabala, 365, 369, 370.
Buddhaghoṣa, 34, 72, 187, 351.
Buddhism, 4, 12, 76, 78, 172, 183, 185, 206-8, 304.
Budhagupta, 400.
Bulgars, 409.
Bu-ston, 372.

C

Cakrapālita, 385.
Callisthenes, 87, 90.
Cālukya, 421, 422, 425.
Cambysis, 35.
Cāṇakya, 60, 62, 66-7, 69, 94-5, 97, 100, 106-7, 119-20, 122-3, 125, 132, 134. 137-8, 140-1, 399.
Candaguttika Nanda, 121.
Candanaka, 406, 409.
Caṇḍa Mahāsena, 390.
Caṇḍapāla, 418, 419, 420, 422-23, 425-26.
Caṇḍasena, 426.
Candragomin, 282.
Candragupta Maurya, 2, 60, 62, 65-7, 69, 73-4, 77, 85-7, 93-100, 109, 115-6, 118-20, 122, 124-5, 127, 129, 130-4, 137-42, 144, 146, 152, 163, 209, 419.
Candragupta I (Gupta dynasty), 274-5.
Candragupta II Vikramāditya, 135-8, 272-6, 326-9, 359-61, 363, 367-8, 384, 386, 392-3, 395-8, 402.
Candraprakāśa, 363.
Cāndrodaya, 175.
Cāritryavardhana, 277, 348.
Cārudatta, 399, 406, 412-4.
Carus, 265.
Caṣṭana, 251.
Chakarpāta, 385.
Chang K'ien, 250, 279, 286, 289.
Chang-ti, 287.
Charax of Mytilene, 97.
Che-Che, 286.
Che-mong, 362.
Ch'eng-Tang, 286.
Chen-P'an, 297-8.
Chhalari Nṛsiṁhācārya, 243.
Chingizkhanids, 25.
Chong, 295.
Christ, 18
Cicero, 61.
Citravarman, 138.
Cleitus (see Klitos)
Cleochares, 46.
Comte, 11.
Condorcet, 17.
Constance, 267, 313.
Cosmas Indikoplenstes, 383-4.
Curtius, 46, 52-3, 60, 86, 107-8. 126.
Cyrus, 35, 209.

D

Damascus, 25.
Dāmodara, 145, 153, 159.
Dāmodarasena, 395, 402.
Dandamis, 97, 129.
Daṇḍanāyaka, 388.
Daṇḍin, 402.
Danishwar, 89.
Danṣṭrānivāsin, 219.
Daqiqi, 89.
Dārā, 378.

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Darada, 224, 227, 300, 355.
Darius I, 35-6, 209, 387.
Darius III, 36-7, 39-46.
Daśaratha, 144-5, 147-9, 152-4, 166-7, 171-2, 200, 206.
Daśona, 144, 153, 154.
Dantidurga, 421.
Demetrius (Alexander's general), 54.
Demetrius (Indo-Greek King), 156, 213-6, 220-1, 223, 227-8, 231-9.
Devadharman, 144-9, 172.
Devarāja, 397, 402.
Devavarman, 145-9.
Devendragaṇin, (Nemicandrasūri), 65, 96, 134.
Dhanananda, 66, 111, 116-7.
Dhanañjaya, 138, 177.
Dhanapāla, 338.
Dhanika, 138.
Dhanyaviṣṇu, 320, 412.
Dharmabhīma, 421.
Dharmameru, 277.
Dharmamitra, 423.
Dharmavijaya, 164, 172, 181, 206-7.
Dhavala (Dhavalappa), 175.
Dhṛtarāṣṭra, 152.
Dhruva (Rāṣṭrakūṭa King,) 421.
Dhruvadevī, 272-3, 393.
Dhuṇḍhirāja, 73, 119.
Dhundumāra, 399.
Dhvajavati, 388.
Digpambak, 381.
Dinakara, 277, 348.
Dinawari, 91, 301.
Diocletian, 365, 266.
Diodotus, 155-6, 211-3.
Diodoros, 49, 53, 60-1, 66, 86, 104, 107, 136, 139, 227.
Diogenes, 129.
Dīpankara, 332.
Dīrghacārāyaṇa (Dīghacārāyaṇa), 79.
Divākara, 307.
Divākarasena, 395-402.
Divākīrti, 106.
Divastich, 346-7.
Dṛḍhanemi, 13.
Droṇa, 399.
Dṛṣadvati, 29.
Dvārakā, 225, 227.
Dvimukha (Dummukha), 34.

E

Ecbatana, 44.
Elakaccha, 164.
Epander, 234.
Eratosthenes, 24.
Ethiopic version of the Pseudo Kallisthenes, 39, 58, 92.
Eudamos, 65, 69, 139, 140.
Eukratides, 231, 232, 233, 234, 238.
Eumenes, 139, 140.
Euthydemus, 156, 213-6, 233, 344.

F

Fa-hien, 80, 84, 150, 356, 362.
Farnadāta, 385.
Farishta, 242, 390, 394-5, 397-8.
Farsman, 313.
Fa-sheng, 362.
Faustus of Byzantium, 271
Fa-wei, 362.
Fa-yong, 362.
Firdausi, and his Shāh-nāmā, 39, 43-4, 47, 59, 60, 87, 90, 92-3, 96-7, 103, 112, 117, 119, 123, 125, 129, 130, 274-6, 301, 318, 407.
French Revolution, 24.

G

Gabiene, 139.
Gaḍahara, 263.
Gandhāra, 33-5, 37, 45, 76, 95, 120, 179, 210, 232, 247, 331, 365, 366, 367, 370, 372-3, 377.
Gangaridai, 67.
Gardabhilla, 391.
Gaugamela, 43-4, 54.
Gautama, 16, 188.
Gautamī, 423.
Gayaggapaya, 164.
Gelarius, 266.

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Ghaṇasāramañjarī, 418, 426.
Ghatfar, 318.
Glaukanikai (Glaucukāyana), 63.
Goethe, 9.
Gopa, 410.
Gopāla II, 421.
Goparāja, 401, 411-2.
Gorgias, 51.
Govinda III, 421.
Govinda IV, 419, 422, 423.
Govindarāja, 175.
Govinda Ṭhakkura, 243.
Grahavarman, 135.
Granikos, 43, 61.
Grumbates, 262, 302, 307.
Guhila, 425.
Guṇaratna, 10.
Guṇavarman, 256.
Guṇavijaya Gaṇin, 348.
Gupta, 135, 386.
Guptakula, 405.
Gurek, 346.
Gurjara, 322, 417.
Gushtasp, 89.

H

Hages, 52.
Haider Mirza Dughlat, 355.
Hailandurk, 317.
Haimavata, 224.
Halāhala, 181.
Hammurabi, 25.
Haribhadra, 106, 241, 242.
Haridāsa Miśra, 348.
Haridatta, 424.
Harikeli, 420.
Harikeśabala, 182.
Harimedhas (Harmuz), 388.
Hariścandra, 19.
Hariṣeṇa, 94.
Hariṣeṇācārya, 65.
Harisimha, 243.
Harṣa of Kanauj, 22, 135.
Harṣa of Kaśmīra, 242.
Harṣa (Candela), 419.
Harun-al-Rashid, 25.
Hecates, 333.
Heliocles, 234, 344.
Hellenic culture, 23.
Hellestheaeus, 383.
Hemacandra, 1, 65, 67, 106, 134, 145, 153-4, 162, 242, 258, 260, 299, 420, 428.
Hen Chao, 288.
Hephaestion, 54, 337.
Hephthal, 315, 317, 320, 325.
Hephthalites, 304-13, 315-21, 323, 325-7, 347-364, 371-2, 374-5, 386, 406-7, 410.
Heracles, 237.
Heraus, 293.
Hermaes, 292.
Hero, 24.
Herodotus, 30, 309, 335, 349, 350.
Herophilus, 24.
Hesiod, 8, 11.
Hipatia, 24.
Hipparchus, 24.
Hippocrates, 24.
Hisham bin Muhammad, 43.
Hiuen T'sang, 32, 75-6, 84-5, 113, 120, 150, 160, 174, 219, 244, 298, 308, 310, 319, 320, 332-3, 335, 343, 344-6, 350, 352, 360.
Hiung—nu 250, 283, 285-9, 304-5, 309, 311-2, 321-2, 331 360, 366, 371.
HoCh'u—ping, 284.
HoKiu—ping, 286.
Homer, 18, 336.
Hormizd, 264, 265-6, 317, 335, 369, 380, 381-2, 394, 296, 340, 361.
Hormizdjan, 378.
Ho—ti, 287.
HuCh'u-ts'iuan, 287.
Hu-han-ye, 286.
Humai, 278.
Hūṇa, 26, 267, 277, 282, 298-302, 305-7, 309, 320-6, 329-30, 342, 346-7, 350, 364, 370, 373-7, 385, 408-10.
Hummi, 370.
Huviṣka, 299, 344.
Hu-yi, 370.
Hverenah, 388.
Hyrcodes, 292-3.

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I

Ibn-al Aṯhir, 25.
Ibn-Khaldūn, 11, 25.
Ibrahim Lodi, 118.
Idrisi, 280.
I-fu, 297.
Ilion, 336.
Iltutmish, 393.
Indra (Vedic god), 19, 399, 172, 176, 236, 248.
Indra III (Rāṣṭrakūṭa), 419, 422.
Indrabhūti, 78.
Indramitra, 228, 229.
Indraṛālita, 144, 153-4.
Indrārjuna, 248.
Isa Garumtat, 388.
Isfandiyar, 249, 378.
Isidore of Charax, 30, 214.
Issos, 43, 55.
Istakhri, 280.
Iśvarasena, 416.
Iwdag, 347.

J

Jahangir, 281.
Jainism, 12, 165, 172, 183, 185, 206.
Jālauka, 145, 152-3, 158-9, 203, 428.
Jālika, 158.
Jambudvīpa, 180, 353.
Jāmi, 91.
Jaraśabda, 388.
Jarāsandha, 223, 225, 228, 231.
Jarrah bin Abdullah, 346.
Jartikas, 319.
Jassarāja, 242.
Jaṭāyu, 399.
Jaṭila, 177,
Jaula, 317, 318, 321.
Jayagarbha, 424.
Jayanātha, 404.
Jayasiṁha, 1
Jayavarman, 281.
Jayavarman (king of Fu-nan), 281.
Jayavarman (king of Malwa), 405
Jetavana, 178.
Jinaprabha sūri, 106, 145.
Jineśvara sūrī, 178.
Jiṣṇu, 405.
Jīvaka, 95.
Jivantasvāmin, 162, 164.
Jñānagupta, 307.
Joseph-ben-Gurion, 58.
Joshua, 302, 313.
Jotiya, 177.
Jovian, 313.
Juan-juan, 283, 306, 315-6, 325, 364-6, 370-1, 410.
Junah, 379.
Justin, 52, 60, 86, 93, 98, 127, 212, 232.
Justinian, 383.
Jyotirīśvara Kavi Śhekharācārya, 243.

K

Kadamba, 403.
Kadphises, 247, 250-1, 295, 299, 344.
Kaid, 91-3, 96-8, 100, 117-9, 124, 127-9, 274-6.
Kākabaliya, 177.
Kākavarṇa, 37 111, 158, 207.
Kakustha, 76.
Kākusthavarman, 403.
Kālaka, 391.
Kālanemi, 399.
Kalanos, 129.
Kalaśa, 342.
Kālāśoka, 111, 158, 207.
Kālayavana, 223-9, 231, 233-4.
Kalhaṇa, 2, 145, 152-4, 157-9, 203, 242, 428.
Kālidāsa, 2, 32, 218-9, 221, 276-9, 282, 288, 300, 308-9, 323-6, 328-30, 337-8, 340-2, 346-8, 350-1, 354-5, 368, 387, 395-6, 402, 407, 416.
Kalinga, 34, 181, 204-5.
Klitos, 48, 51, 61.
Kallisthenes, 61.
Kālodaka, 358.
Kāmarūpa, 420.
Kāmboja, 210, 275, 300, 341, 346, 350-2, 355.

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Kaṁsa, 223, 227.
Kaṇāda, 16.
Kanaka, 122.
Kang-kiu, 293, 300.
Kaniṣka I, 76, 211, 247, 251, 254-6, 264, 295-9, 332-3, 358, 373.
Kaniṣka II, 264.
Kanka, 300, 374.
Kannara, 425.
Kaṇva, 203.
Kao-Kiu, 364.
Kapila, 16.
Kapilavastu, 80, 81, 85.
Kāpya Patañcala, 34.
Karkaṇḍu, 34.
Karke, 235.
Karma, 171-2,
Karṇa, 34.
Karṇāṭa, 419, 422-3.
Karpūramañjarī, 418, 419.
Kāruvāki, 150.
Kassites, 25.
Katanes, 31.
Kathaian, 64.
Katulphe, 318, 325.
Kauśāmbi, 176. 372.
Kauṭilya and his Arthaśāstra, 35-6, 48-9, 51, 94-5, 124, 183, 187-8, 190-1, 193-4, 199, 200, 206, 247-8, 323, 338.
Kawadha, 301, 303, 317-8, 374, 386.
Kazak, 253.
Kekaya, 33, 34, 36.
Keng Kuei, 287.
Keteus, 139, 140, 141.
Kharapallāna, 256.
Khāravela, 104.
Kharoṣṭhi, 76, 153, 160, 216, 296, 308, 370.
Khasa, 205, 224, 227.
Khionite, 304, 307, 310, 316, 322-3, 325, 327, 347, 406-7.
Khurha, 210.
Khusroe I, 298, 317, 318.
Khusroe II (Khusrau) 377.
Khuttal, 347.
Khwarazmian, 25.
Kiang, 285.
Kiang-leang-len-che, 358.
Kīcaka, 353-354.
Kidara, 269, 270, 365-72, 375, 385.
Kinnara, 32, 355-6.
Kira, 278.
Kirāta, 354, 355-6.
Ki-to-lo, 365, 366.
Kiu-to, 363.
Koines, 48, 54-6.
Kosala, 70, 177, 187, 228.
Koṣthaka, 219.
Krateros, 31, 48, 51-3, 57.
Kritiyas, 319.
Kṛmiśa, 219-21, 227-8, 234.
Kṛṣṇa, 14, 223, 225-9, 235.
Kṛṣṇa (Rāṣṭrakūṭa king), 422, 425, 426.
Kṛṣṇapāda (Kaṇhapā), 241.
Kṛṣṇarāja, 425-6.
Kṛtavīrya, 365, 371-4.
Kṣemārjuna, 248.
Kṣemendra, 73, 121, 236.
Kṣemīśvara, 419.
Kṣīrasvāmin, 282.
Kṣudraka, 38, 140.
Kuang Wu Ti, 287.
Kulaipa, 384.
Kumārabhadra, 423.
Kumāragupta, 273, 360, 362, 363, 385, 401, 403, 405.
Kumārajīva, 256, 373.
Kunāla, 144-5, 147-9, 150-4, 160.
Kundamāna, 345.
Kungkas, 365, 371-5.
Kuninda, 263.
Kuśala, 365, 370, 377.
Kuṣāṇa, 251, 262-3, 265-9, 270-3, 291, 293-4, 296-7, 299, 315, 326, 335-36, 339-40, 353, 358-62, 368-71, 373-7, 379-84, 386.
Kuśinagara, 75, 80, 84.
Kuśmehan, 316, 364.
Kuru, 29, 34.
Kurukṣetra, 33.
Kuruśravaṇa, 28.

L

Lakṣmadeva, 278, 279.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Lakṣmaṇa, 16.
Lakṣmaṇagaṇin, 242.
Lampāka, 299.
Leon I, 313.
Licchavi, 180.
Lieu Yuan, 288.
Li Ling, 286.
Li Yen-shu, 313.
Lysias, 291.

M

Madanapāla, 242.
Madhyāntika, 223, 239, 281.
Madra, 33-6, 263.
Madragāra Śaungāyani, 34.
Madraka 29.
Maes Titianos 245.
Maga-bhojaka-brāhmaṇa, 388.
Magadha, 34, 37, 60, 62-7, 74, 78-9, 82, 97, 108-9, 115, 118, 121, 123, 125, 132, 134. 177, 179, 181, 191, 206, 207, 223, 227, 229, 231, 255-6, 263, 428.
Magha, 263.
Mahādeva, 73, 119, 122.
Mahāgiri, 164.
Mahākāla, 393.
Mahānandin, 110, 111, 158.
Mahāpadma Nanda, 104, 106-8, 110, 112-3, 115, 121.
Mahāsaṅghika, 207.
Mahāsthaviravādin, 207.
Mahāvijita, 13.
Mahāvīra, 2, 78, 81, 163-4, 176, 178, 180-1.
Mahendra, 372, 399.
Mahendrāditya, 376, 403.
Mahendrapāla. 242, 322, 417, 423-7.
Mahendrasena, 372.
Mahīpāla, 417-23, 427.
Māhiṣmati, 34.
Mehmed Ali of Kawalla, 25, 26.
Mahmood II, 25.
Mahmood Gaznavi, 88, 89, 242.
Makarasimha, 357.
Mālava, 29, 38, 69, 140-1, 263, 390.
Malayaketu, 69, 138-41.
Malayaprabha Suri, 145.
Malik Muhammad Jāyasi, 243.
Mallinātha, 277, 347.
Mameluke, 26.
Mamūlnār, 112.
Mānāṅka, 397, 402.
Mānatungasūri, 145.
Māndhātā, 16.
Maṇḍita, (Maṇḍiya), 78, 81.
Mani, 358.
Mankhalin Gośāla, 181.
Manu, 188.
Mao-tuen, 285.
Marathas, 23.
Marco Polo, 345.
Mardians 44.
Marwak 381.
Marzban 272.
Massaga 61, 86-7, 125-6, 128.
Massagetae, 209.
Masudi, 92, 119, 318.
Mathurā, 169, 180, 223-5, 227-31, 233, 235-7, 256, 259, 263, 275, 295.
Matsya, 353.
Ma-tuan lin, 371.
Maurya, 34, 70-4, 76-7, 81-3, 85, 116, 120-1, 142, 148, 152-4, 157, 160, 167, 174, 187-8, 190, 192, 195-6, 198, 202, 206, 387.
Mauryaputra, (Moriyaputta), 78, 81, 121.
Mayūraka, 72.
Mayūrapoṣaka, 72.
Megasthenes, 93, 97, 108, 189, 353.
Meghanāda, 138.
Meleager, 48, 51.
Menander, 215-16, 228, 233-4, 236-9, 334, 354.
Meṇḍhaka, 117.
Meroes, 59, 60, 62, 67, 132-4.
Metārya, (meijja) 78.
Mihira, 388.
Mihirakula, 306, 308, 319, 320-1, 385.
Mihrak, 274.
Milad, 129.
Ming, 264.
Ming-ti, 287.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Mir Ali Shir Navai, 91.
Mithra, 308, 340.
Mithridates, 231, 232, 290-1.
Mitra Alasen, 381, 382.
Mitta, 241.
Moggallāna, 65, 70-1, 94, 99, 121, 158.
Moggalliputta, 208.
Moliyagāma, 78.
Moliyasivaka, 78.
Mongol, 253, 409-10.
Moriyanagara, 71, 72, 75.
Moriyasannivesa, 78, 81, 82.
Moses of Khorene, 89, 253.
Mṛgāra, 177.
Mṛtāngāra Ṭhakkura, 243.
Mucukunda, 226-7.
Muhammad, 89-90.
Mu-jung, 288.
Mu-jung Tsiun, 288.
Muktāpīḍa, Lalitāditya, 355.
Mung T'ien, 285.
Murā, 73, 119.
Muruṇḍa, 256.
Mustafa Kamal Atāturk, 25.

N

Nāgasena, 238.
Nagnajit (Naggajji), 34.
Nakhver Gushnaspdād, 318.
Nanai-dvār, 304, 406.
Nanai-vandak, 304, 406.
Nanda, 64, 67-8, 72-4, 77, 87, 95, 103-6, 108-9, 112-3, 115-23, 125, 127, 131-4, 139, 187, 387, 419.
Nandasāra, 144.
Nandivardhana, 111.
Naṛki, 321.
Napoleon, 25.
Nārada, 188.
Naravarmadeva, 278-9.
Naravarman, 401, 405.
Nārāyaṇapāla, 420, 424.
Narendrasena, 397.
Narse, 265, 266, 316, 381-82.
Navadhana, 242.
Nava Surendrāditya Nandin, 357.
Nava-vihāra, 308.
Nearchus, 97.
Nemicandra Bhaṇḍāri, 243.
Nemicandra, Sūri, 145.
Newton, 9.
Nicanor, 50.
Nikaia, 68.
Nikṣubhā, 388.
Nimi, 34.
Nineveh, 25.
Nirbhayarāja, 417.
Nirmūka, 376.
Nizāmi, 91.
Nokonzoko, 211.
Nūh II, 89.
Nyāya-vaiśeṣika, 3, 8.

O

Onesicritus, 87, 97, 129.
Ora, 45.
Oxyartes, 31.

P

Padmagupta, 1, 427.
Pahlava, 224, 227, 341, 274, 376, 384.
Pahlika, 372, 373.
Pak, 381.
Pāla, 419-21, 424.
Pālaka, 406, 410-11.
Palladius, 97.
Pañcāla, 34, 169, 222, 228-9, 231, 353.
Pāñcarātra Philosophy, 8.
Pan-chao, 287, 295, 353.
Panchen, 67.
Pāṇḍava, 34-5, 353.
Pāṇḍuka, 122.
Pāṇḍugatika, 122.
Pāṇini, 30, 32, 36, 141, 173, 187, 195, 203, 210, 344, 377.
Pantaleon, 215, 233.
Pāpak, 378.
Pārada, 224, 227, 341.
Paradan shah, 382.
Paramarṣikas, 300.
Parāntaka, 425.
Pariok, 377.
Parivrājaka, 404.
Parmenion, 43, 61.
Parṇadatta, 385.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Patañjali, 6, 16, 173, 187, 194-5, 203, 223, 239.
Pāṭaliputra, 69, 73, 76, 93, 95, 106, 111, 115, 121-2, 131-140, 145, 148, 152-3, 164, 167, 169-70, 174, 215-6, 218, 221, 223, 228-31, 233, 236-7, 239, 255-6, 362.
Parvataka, 33, 65-6, 69, 134, 138, 140.
Parvatiya, 30-2, 355-6.
Pei-han, 288.
Perdikkas, 54, 337.
Pericles, 17.
Peroz, 264, 301, 317, 340, 341, 361, 365, 369, 372, 374-5 380, 386, 407.
Peroz bin kabk, 322.
Persepolis, 37, 44, 61, 210.
Phila, 126.
Philip, 61, 94.
Philippos, 65, 139.
Philostratus, 69.
Philoxenus, 291.
Phraates, 292.
Pi, 287.
Pingala, 388.
Pipphalivana, 81, 83-5, 121.
Piro, 367-70.
Piroch, 366, 369-70.
Pītāmbara, 396.
Pithon, 139.
Plato, 24.
Pliny, 253.
Plutarch, 49, 53, 60, 86, 93, 117, 118, 125, 126-7, 131, 234.
Polexenus, 233.
Polyaenois, 54.
Polybius. 156.
Polyparchon, 48, 51.
Poros, 28-69, 93-4, 104, 108. 132-4, 138-41.
Poṭaladeva, Śāhi, 357.
Prabhāsa (Pabhāsa), 78.
Prabhāvatiguptā, 395, 402.
Pradyota, 34.
Prakāśa, 365, 370, 377.
Prakaṭāditya, 411.
Prārjuna, 35, 248.
Prasenajit, 79, 80, 95, 177, 181.
Prasioi, 67.
Pratihāra, 417, 419, 421-6.
Pravarasena, 395, 397, 402.
Priscus, 371, 375.
Probus, 265.
Procopius, 305, 310, 383, 384.
Pṛthviṣeṇa, 403, 404.
Ptolemy, 34, 52, 87.
Ptolemies, 26.
Pukkusāti, 34, 35.
Pulkeśin, 175.
Punnaka, 177.
Pu-nu, 287.
Pūrṇavarman, 174.
Puru, 28-69.
Pururavas Aila, 30.
Puruṣapura, 356, 366.
Puṣkalāvati, 29, 45, 337.
Puṣkarākṣa, 138.
Puṣyadharman, 144.
Puṣyamāṇava, 173-4.
Puṣyamitra, 144, 169, 173-4, 203, 215-22, 227-9, 231-2, 235, 238-9.
Puṣyamitras, 375.

Q

NIL

R

Rāḍhā, 420.
Rādhagupta, 142.
Rāghava, 16.
Raghu, 32, 275, 277, 279, 282, 308, 323-4, 326-30, 335, 337-8, 342, 346, 347, 350-3, 356-7, 387, 407.
Rājagriha, 33, 80, 141-2, 176, 178.
Rājaśekhara, 241, 272, 359, 417, 419, 423, 426, 427.
Rājña, 388.
Rājñī, 388.
Rājuvula, 237.
Rājyapāla, 420.
Rājyaśrī, 135.
Rākṣasa, 137-40, 142.
Rāma, 16,
Rāmadāsa, 395.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Rāmagupta, 272-3, 315, 328, 359, 367, 369, 393.
Ramanila, 320, 385.
Rambhā, 399.
Ramdeo of Deogir, 92.
Rāṣṭrakūṭa, 418-23, 425-7.
Ratnagarbha, 73, 119.
Rāvaṇa, 16.
Ravinartaka, 73, 119, 122.
Reformation, 24.
Reform Movements, 24.
Renaissance, 24.
Rohita, 19.
Ṛṣīka, 300.
Rudra, 399, 404-5.
Rudradāman, 198, 384.
Rudrasena, 395, 402.
Rudrasimha, 393.
Rudravarman, 404-5.
Rustam, 249.

S

Sadīruddin Muhammad Aufi, 322.
Saffarid, 25, 89, 322.
Sagara, 16, 341.
Sahadeva, 423.
Śāhi Tegin, 244.
Saindhava, 423.
Śaka (Scythian), 48, 68, 224, 227, 248-9, 251, 260, 263, 267, 272, 275, 291, 293, 299, 300, 326, 328, 341-2, 359-61, 369, 381, 384, 386-7, 391-3.
Śakāra, 399, 400-4.
Śākadvīpa, 388.
Śākala, 34, 217, 237, 360.
Sāketa, 168-70, 176-7, 223, 239, 255.
Śakuna, 372-3.
Śakuni, 76.
Śakuriśān, 381-2.
Śākya, 70, 72, 75-7, 79, 80-1, 83, 120-1.
Śālibhadra, 178.
Śāliśūka, 144-5, 147-9, 158, 167-8, 169, 170-2, 174, 200, 206, 215-16, 230.
Sālva, 228.
Śalya, 34.
Samanid, 25.
Sāmba, 388.
Sammati, 146.
Samprati, 144-50, 152-55, 157, 161-3, 166, 172, 206, 428.
Samudragupta, 35, 247, 248, 262, 272-3, 275, 359, 366, 383-4, 386, 394.
Samyuta, 146.
Sandhyākara Nandin, 1.
Sangala, 61, 64.
Sangata, 144, 146.
Sanghabhadra, 220.
Sangrāmapāla, 242.
Sangrāmasimha, 118.
Śankarācārya, 2.
Śānkarārya, 37.
Sānkhya, 3, 9.
Saptasindhu, 33.
Saptati, 146.
Sarasvati, 29, 391.
Sarmatian, 251, 295.
Śarvanātha, 404.
Sarvasena, 402.
Sarvayaśas, 365, 370, 377.
Śarvilaka, 412.
Sasan, 378, 387.
Śaśigupta, 74, 75.
Sassanid, 262-3, 265, 268, 274, 276, 296-7, 302, 313, 315-18, 325, 339-40, 359-60, 362, 364-73, 378, 381, 383, 386-9, 407.
Saṣṭhisvāmin, 399.
Śatadhanus, 144-9, 172-3.
Śatadhanvan, 144-5.
Sandi, 423.
Saurāṣṭra, 198.
Savarti, 409.
Sayyidi, 381.
Seleucos, 93, 127-8, 209, 212.
Seleucid, 25, 157, 158-9.
Selim, 25.
Seljuquid, 25.
Senaka, 321.
Senārjuna, 248.
Seuṇacandra, 175.
Shah-jahan, 23.
Shāhpuhr I, 263-66, 274, 296, 299, 303, 325-7, 335-6, 339-

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

40, 361, 368, 378, 380, 390, 394.
Shāhpuhr II, 262, 320, 325, 327, 367, 370.
Shāhpuhr, III, 266, 267-9, 271-3, 302-3, 315, 367, 369, 370, 394, 398.
Shahristan-i-Yazdegird, 316.
She-Lei, 288.
She-po-lu, 319.
Shih-Min, 284.
Shivāji, 26.
Shog, 377.
Sho-lo-hu, 318.
Sho-luen, 364.
Śibi, 34.
Sien-pei, 287, 410.
Sikā, 381, 382.
Śikhara, 137.
Śīlāditya, 365, 370, 377.
Silk Route, 22.
Siṁhanāda, 138.
Siṁhavarman, 405.
Sinatroces, 292.
Śiśunāga, 37, 111.
Siuan-ti, 286.
Śivadatta, 416.
Siyāvush, 350.
Skandagupta, 273, 317-18, 363, 375-6, 385, 400, 403, 407.
Slok, 268, 383.
Socrates, 18.
Soḍāsa, 237.
Soḍḍhala, 427.
Soḍhanaka, 412.
Somadeva, 73, 121, 376.
Somaprabhasūri, 145.
Somaśarman, 145.
Spāhbād, 318.
Spandorat, 381.
Spengler, Oswald, 9, 11.
Spitaces, 47.
Śrāvasti, 80, 176-8, 256.
Śrīpāla, 424.
Śrīprabha 145
Śṛngala, 224.
Sseu-chuan, 362.
Stasanor, 209.
Stilicon, 315.
Sthulakoṣṭha, 219.
Strabo, 35, 46, 127, 252, 290.
Stratonice, 128.
Strauśa, 388.
Subandbu (author of Vāsavadattā), 374.
Subandhu (King of Māhiṣmati), 399, 400-1, 403-4.
Subhāgasena (Sophogsenus), 155-9, 213, 217.
Sudarśana Lake, 385.
Sudharman (Suhamma), 78.
Śūdraka, 175, 399, 416.
Suhastin, 162-4.
Sujihva, 388.
Suketuvarman, 175.
Sumativijaya, 277, 348.
Śunga, 194-5, 203.
Sung-yun, 307, 310, 319-20, 327, 356.
Sun-yat-sen, 26.
Supārśva, 144.
Surānanda, 417.
Suraśmicandra, 400.
Suren, 272.
Susa, 44.
Suṣeṇa, 138.
Suvarṇadvīpa, 179.
Sviśākha, 384.
Śyāmilaka, 320, 404, 413.
Symmachus, 50.

T

Tabari, 43, 91, 263, 267, 296, 301, 313, 318, 346, 360-2, 379, 383.
Tāhirid, 25.
T'ai-Wu, 366.
Takṣaśilā (Taxila), 29, 38, 45, 63, 66, 94-5, 119, 123, 125, 129, 132-3, 150-1, 155, 159, 160, 192, 205, 215, 309.
Tāmali Moriyaputta, 79.
Tāmralipti, 79.
T'ang, 409.
Tao-pu, 362.
Tao-tai, 362.
Tao-yo, 362.
Tapassu, 181.
Tāranātha, 144, 157, 360.
Taraori, 22.
Tarkhan Nizak , 308, 318.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Tauron, 55.
Taxiles, 38, 45, 59, 64, 94, 132.
Tchou Fa-hun, 307.
Teleas, 156.
Teu-man, 285.
Thāruka, 420.
Theon, 24.
Theophanes of Byzantium, 318.
Theophilus, 24, 291.
Thracian, 48, 383.
Thucydides, 18.
Tinaskeh, 235.
Tiran, 267.
Tirdat, 381.
Tridates, 213, 229.
Tiṣyarakṣitā, 150-1.
Tivala (Tivara), 150.
Tomara, 322.
T'o-pa, 288, 313, 363.
T'o-pa Kuei, 288.
T'o-pa-Tao, 364.
Toramāṇa, 306, 308, 319-20, 322, 411, 412.
Toynbee, 11, 17, 209.
Trāsadasyu, 28.
Trasdamad, 271.
Trigarta, 353.
Triparadeisos, 209.
Triśanku, 399.
Trogus, 252, 290.
T'sin She Huang-ti-, 285.
T'si Yong, 287.
Tukhāra (Tokharian), 224, 227, 245, 253, 261, 291, 299, 300, 308, 352, 355, 365.
Tuṣāra, 224.
Tuṣāspa, 384.
Turuṣka (Turk or Tu-kiue), 278, 283, 309-10, 318, 349.

U

Ucchakalpa, 404.
Udayākara, 348.
Udāyin, 111, 170, 216., 230.
Uddālaka Āruṇi, 34.
Udyāna (Uḍḍiyāna), 219, 356.
Uggasena (Ugrasena), 122.
Ugrian, 409.
Uighur, 252, 283, 264.
Umar (Caliph), 89.
Urvaśī, 30.
Uśinara, 34.
Utpala, 238.
Utsavasanketa, 29, 32, 355-6.
Uttarasena, 75-6, 219.

V

Vahmana, 389.
Vaiśāli, 72.
Vaitulyaka, 208.
Vajrapāni, 343.
Vakbha, 321.
Vākpati, 2.
Valarsace, 235.
Valens, 272.
Valerian, 265, 361.
Vallabhadeva, 277, 348.
Vallabharāja, 419, 421-2.
Vāmana, 362.
Vanaspara, 256.
Varāhamihira, 29, 238, 388.
Varāhrān, 339, 340-1, 361, 367, 368 370, 380-2.
Vararuci, 259.
Varāsgurt, 381.
Varāzdāt, 272.
Varāzgirde, 381-2.
Varo Shāhi, 366, 369-70.
Varus, 286.
Vāsabhakhattiyā, 80.
Vasantasenā, 399, 406, 412, 414
Vāśiṣṭhīputra Śrī Pulumāvī, 416.
Vāsudeva I, 296, 298, 299, 335. 344, 389.
Vāsudeva II, 264, 299.
Vāsudeva III, 264, 299.
Vasumitra, 208, 218-9.
Vāyubhuti, (Vaubhui), 70.
Vedānta, 3.
Vehsadjan, 298.
Vico, 11.
Videha, 34.
Vidiśā, 164.
Viḍuḍabha, 70-1, 75, 79, 80-1.
Vigatāśoka, 144.
Vijaya, 160, 168, 170, 206.
Vijayāditya III, 425.
Vijayagaṇin, 277.
Vijayakīrti, 160.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

CC-O. In Public Domain. Digitized by Sarayu Trust and eGangotri

Vijayasaṁbhava, 160.
Vijayasiṁha, 160.
Vijayavīrya, 160.
Vikramāditya, 2, 26, 374, 376, 390-8, 416.
Vikramāditya (Cālukya King,) 421.
Vikrama era, 26.
Virādhagupta, 142.
Viraka, 416.
Virasena, 136, 144, 155, 157-9, 393.
Viśākhā, 177-8.
Viśākhadatta, 65, 68, 73-4, 95, 116, 121, 135-8, 272, 359.
Vishap, 235.
Viṣṇuṣeṇa, 414-5.
Viṣtāspa, 301.
Viśvavarman, 137, 401, 405.
Vṛṣasena, 144.
Vṛṣṇi, 226.
Vyāghra, 404.
Vyakta (Viyatta), 78.
Vyāsa, 188.

W

Wang Mang, 283.
Wei, 364.
Wei T'sing, 286.
Wistam, 377.
Wu-huan, 387.
Wu--kong, 357.
Wu-sun, 250, 252, 289.
Wu-ti, 286.

X

Xandramas, 67, 87, 108, 117, 122.
Xenophon, 113.
Xerxes, 36, 37, 38, 209.

Y

Yādava, 223, 225, 228.
Yajñasena, 221.
Yājñavalkya, 188.
Yāqūb bin Leith, 89, 322.
Yāqūbi, 91.
Yāqūt, 280.
Yāqūt-al-Hamavi, 25.
Yāska, 351.
Yaśodharman Viṣṇuvardhana 26, 321.
Yaśovarman, 419.
Yaudheya, 263.
Yavana, 37, 169, 204, 210, 218, 223, 226, 229, 231, 236, 239, 335, 341, 372-3, 379.
Yavaneśvara, 238.
Yāyāvara, 419.
Yazdegird, 11.
Yen t'sai, 295.
Yen-yong-tsa-tsu, 248.
Ye-po-lo, 319.
Ye-tha, 313, 319, 364.
Yezdegird, 89, 315-7, 325, 367.
Yi-che-sie, 286.
Yoga, 3.
Ysamotika, 251.
Yu ch'u kien, 287.
Yudhiṣṭhira, 16, 159, 275-6, 300, 355, 356.
Yue-ai, 362.
Yue-che, 245-6, 249-50, 252-3, 256-7, 260, 263-4, 289, 291, 293, 295, 299, 300, 305, 352, 358, 360, 364-6, 371, 373.
Yuvarājadeva, 417.

Z

Zacharias of Mitylene, 313.
Zamasp, 318, 381.
Zambil, 322.
Zarathustra, 89.
Zenob de Klag, 235.
Zenobia, 265.

UP State Museum, Lucknow

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